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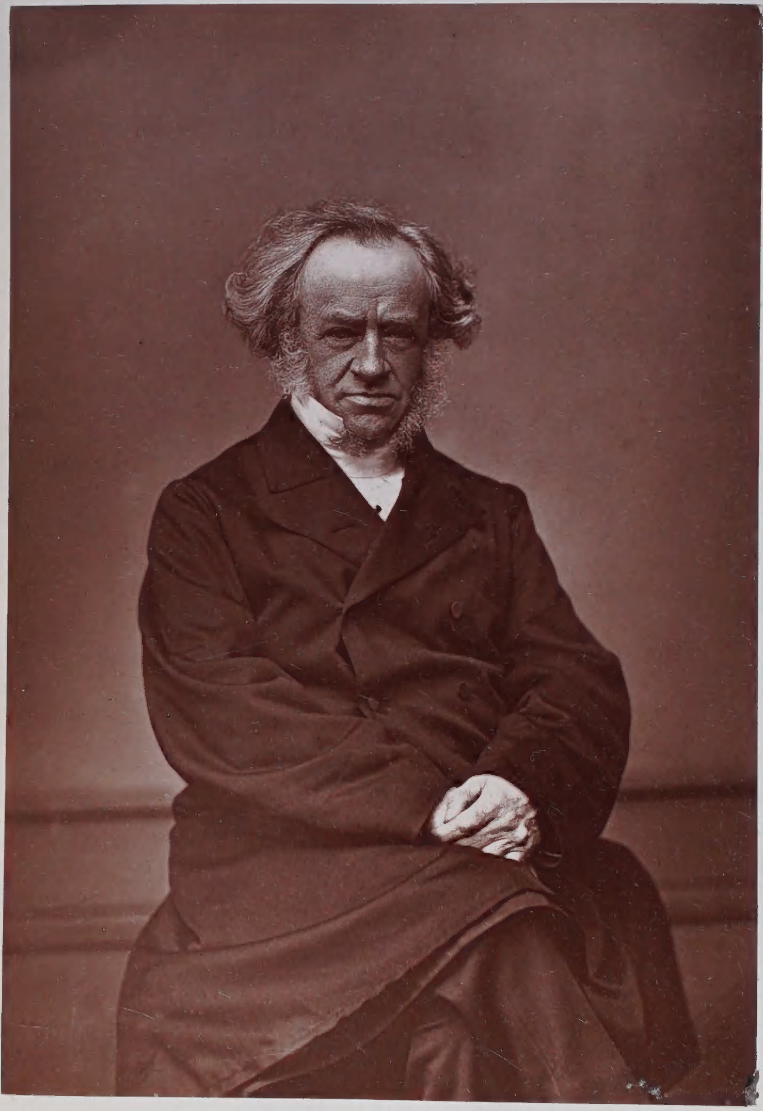
MEMORIALS

OF

ROBERT SMITH CANDLISH, D.D.



Yours very truly

Robt Candlish

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MEMORIALS

OF

ROBERT SMITH CANDLISH, D.D.

MINISTER OF ST. GEORGE'S FREE CHURCH, AND PRINCIPAL OF
THE NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

BY

WILLIAM WILSON, D.D.

MINISTER (EMERITUS) OF ST. PAUL'S FREE CHURCH, DUNDEE

WITH CONCLUDING CHAPTER

BY ROBERT RAINY, D.D.

PRINCIPAL, AND PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

EDINBURGH
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
1880

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In these Memorials I have put on record all the information I could gather regarding Dr. Candlish personally—his early training—his habits of life—his correspondence—and his public transactions, Ecclesiastical and Philanthropic. It seemed suitable that a man who occupied such a prominent place, and who took such a large share in the transactions of a very critical period in the history of Scotland, should have his words, and actings in relation to them, embodied and preserved in this way; for these are of abiding interest, and largely illustrate an epoch of Scottish history, pregnant with issues which are still in progress of development in this and in other lands. To understand fully the transactions of that period it is necessary to be acquainted with the part Dr. Candlish took in them.

WILLIAM WILSON.

October 1880.

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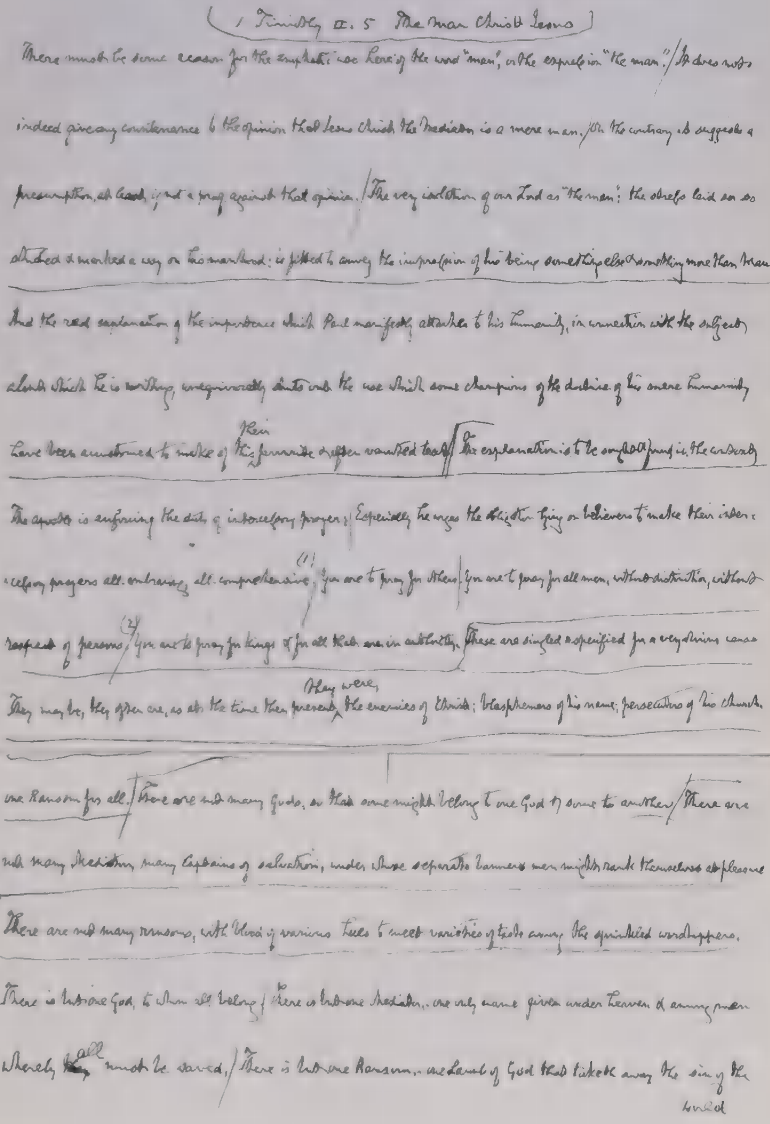
CHAPTER XXI.

Dr. Candlish as a Theologian, by Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal and Professor of Church History, New College, Edinburgh . . Pages 601-623

FACSIMILE

FROM MANUSCRIPT OF SERMON ON 1. TIMOTHY II. 5.



(1 Timothy II. 5 The man Christ Jesus)

There must be some reason for the emphatic use here of the word "man", or the expression "the man." / It does not
indeed give any countenance to the opinion that Jesus Christ the Mediator is a mere man. / On the contrary it suggests a
presumption, at least, if not a proof, against that opinion. / The very isolation of our Lord as "the man": the stress laid on so
studied & marked a way on his manhood: is fitted to convey the impression of his being something else & something more than man
And the real explanation of the importance which Paul manifestly attaches to his humanity, in connection with the subject
about which he is writing, unequivocally shuts out the use which some champions of the doctrine of his mere humanity
have been accustomed to make of this their favourite & often vaunted text. / The explanation is to be simply found in the context.
The apostle is enforcing the duty of intercessory prayer; / Especially he urges the obligation lying on believers to make their inter-
cessory prayers all-embracing, all-comprehensive. (1) You are to pray for others. / You are to pray for all men, without distinction, without
respect of persons. (2) You are to pray for kings & for all that are in authority. These are singled & specified for a very obvious cause
They may be, they often are, as at the time then present they were, the enemies of Christ; blasphemers of his name; persecutors of his church.

one Ransom for all. / There are not many Gods, so that some might belong to one God & some to another. / There are
not many Mediators, many Captains of salvation, under whose separate banners men might rank themselves at pleasure
There are not many ransoms, with blood of various hues to meet varieties of taste among the sprinkled worshippers.
There is but one God, to whom all belong / There is but one Mediator, one only name given under heaven & among men
whereby ~~they~~ all must be saved, / There is but one Ransom, one Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the
world

CHAPTER I.

Parentage—Birth—Early death of father—Removal to Glasgow, and manner of life there—Home education—University career—Enters Divinity Hall—Reminiscences of fellow-students.

ON a tombstone in the Calton Burying-ground, Edinburgh, there is the following inscription :—

JAMES CANDLISH, A.M.,
Teacher of Medicine, Edinburgh, died 29th April 1806, aged 46 years.

JANE SMITH,
his widow, died 20th January 1854, aged 86 years.

JANET, their daughter, died 12th March 1797, aged 9 months.
JANET SMITH, their daughter, died 12th February 1803, aged 2 years.
HENRY, their son, died 24th April 1805, aged 6 months.
JANE SMITH, their daughter, died in Glasgow, 23d May 1827, aged 30 years,
buried at High Church, Glasgow.
ELIZA L. SMITH, their daughter, died 1st January 1867, aged 67 years.

WALTER, son of R. S. CANDLISH, D.D., Edinburgh,
died 20th February 1840, aged 6 months.
JANE SMITH, his daughter, died 30th March 1840, aged 1 year 9 months.
AGNES, his daughter, died 24th April 1845, aged 2 years 9 months.
MARY ROSS, his daughter, died 30th September 1866, aged 15 years 3 months.

ROBERT S. CANDLISH,
born 23d March 1806,
died 19th October 1873.

James Candlish, A.M., and Jane Smith, the parents of the six sons and daughters whose deaths are registered on this tombstone, and of others whose names are not found there, were both brought up in Ayrshire (although James Candlish was a native of Galloway), and in that district of the county which has been peculiarly designated as the land of Burns. They were contemporaries of the poet, James Candlish having been born in the same year with him, and were both within the circle of his acquaintances. In his published letters there are two addressed to James Candlish. The first of them is dated "Edinburgh, March 21st, 1787," and Mr. Candlish is there addressed as "Student in Physic, Glasgow," and called "My ever dear old acquaintance." The other letter is without date, but written from Edinburgh, and, from its contents, evidently in the following year. Mr. Candlish in it is addressed as "My dear friend," and it points to the prospect of renewed correspondence at a less busy time. In a letter also, sent by the poet from Ellisland to Mr. Peter Hill, bookseller, Edinburgh, dated conjecturally March 1789, he thus speaks of James Candlish:—"Candlish, the earliest friend, except my only brother, that I have on earth, and one of the worthiest fellows that ever any man called by the name of friend, if a luncheon of my best cheese would help to rid him of some of his superabundant modesty, you would do well to give it him."

In 1787, when Burns was busy furnishing material for Johnstone's *Musical Museum*, it appears that James Candlish was applied to for some little help in that publication. Burns wrote him as follows:—

> "I have collected, begged, borrowed, and stolen all the songs I could meet with. 'Pompey's Ghost' (a Galwegian song, John Low, author), words and music, I beg from you immediately, to go into his second number—the first is already published. I shall show you this first number when I see you in Glasgow, which will be in a fortnight or less. Do be so kind as to send me the song in a day or two; you cannot imagine how much it will oblige me."

To this request James Candlish replied in a way which shows his keen appreciation of Scottish song:—

> "Your kind letter came to hand, and I would have answered it sooner, had I not delayed in expectation of finding some person who

could enable me to comply with your request. Being myself unskilled in music as a science, I made an attempt to get the song you mentioned set by some other hand; but, as I could not accomplish this, I must send you the words without the music. Some of Edina's fair nymphs may perhaps be able to do you a piece of service which I would have done with the greatest pleasure had it been in my power. It is with the greatest sincerity I applaud your attempt to give the world a more correct and more elegant collection of Scottish songs than has hitherto appeared. They have been long and much admired; and yet, perhaps, no poetical compositions ever met with approbation more disproportioned to their merits. Many, from an affectation, perhaps, of a more than usual knowledge of ancient literature, extol with the most extravagant praises the pastoral productions of the Greek and Roman poets, and attempt to persuade us that in them alone is to be found that natural simplicity, and that tenderness of sentiment, which constitute the true excellence of that species of writing. For my own part, though I cannot altogether divest myself of partiality to the ancients, whose merit will cease only to be admired with the universal wreck of men and letters, yet I am persuaded that in many of the songs of our own nation there are beauties which it would be vain to look for in the most admired poetical compositions of antiquity. They are the offspring of nature; they are expressed in the language of simplicity: and the love songs, breathing sentiments that are inspired by the most tender and exquisite feelings, are in unison with the human heart. There is no one in whose veins the smallest drop of Scottish blood circulates but must feel the most heartfelt pleasure when he reflects that those songs which do such honour to both the genius and the feelings of his countrymen, which, in simplicity of language, and in the sensibility that pervades them, have never been equalled by those of any nation, and which have been so much admired by foreigners, will continue to be sung with delight by both sexes while Scotsmen and the Scots language remain. If the collection is to be published by subscription put down my name for a copy. My time this winter is very much employed—no less than ten hours a day."

The occupation of James Candlish, like that of so many other students, was teaching—an occupation for which he had no peculiar liking, but which was necessary for earning the means of subsistence. Necessarily also, as a student, he was forecasting the future, and had to make up his mind as to his future avocation. It appears from a letter of his still extant, dated 1784, that he had entertained some purpose of studying for the ministry. But there were hindrances in the way; and above all this, that he had adopted religious views which, although far from being in harmony with the Confession of Faith, were too generally entertained at the time, and most of all, perhaps, by ministers of the Church of Scotland. James Candlish was too honest to undertake to teach others what he did not himself believe to be true. In his letter, apparently to a fellow-student, he says:—

> "By nature I hate hypocrisy, and consequently feel great reluctance to preach doctrines I do not believe. I have never felt it possible to dissemble my opinions for one day when I had any need to express myself in religious matters, and from this have concluded that should I ever put myself into an employment which will make it necessary for me to dissemble, my own internal happiness must be lost by it."

Thus it happened that James Candlish turned his attention to the study of medicine, and when his studies in that science had been sufficiently advanced, he was doubtless attracted to Edinburgh, as presenting a much wider field for prosecuting the calling to which he had devoted himself as Teacher of Medicine. And, accordingly, he is found resident there at least as early as 1789. In his profession he was eminently successful, and is referred to as an authority twenty years after his death, as appears from evidence given before the University Commissioners 11th December 1826.

James Candlish's life was very brief, and one suspects from this fact, as well as from the fact of so many of his children dying in early years, that he must have had some constitutional infirmity. Mr. Benjamin Bell, surgeon, furnishes the following note concerning him from Dr. Abercrombie, who knew him, and attended him in his last illness:—"He was a gentleman of short stature, full flabby habit, and sallow complexion, at least latterly. He was in the act of making a speech in the Royal Medical Society on the evening of April 28th, 1806, when he was seized with an uneasy sensation in his head 'as if his head would have burst,' or 'as if the brain had been too big for the skull.' This feeling soon went off; and he continued his speech. When he had finished it he left the room, and felt extremely ill. After some time he was able to walk home; and Dr. Abercrombie saw him about an hour after the attack. He continued sensible for two hours, but was much oppressed, and answered questions very slowly. Everything was done for him that skill could suggest, but by eleven o'clock he had lapsed into a state of complete insensibility. Dr. Abercrombie has recorded the case in his book on the brain; and it is certainly one of great interest to the professional reader." He died on the 29th April 1806, when his youngest child Robert Smith was just five weeks old.

The name of Jane Smith, the wife of James Candlish, has also been mentioned by Burns; but in her case it is in one of his earlier poems. Among the six belles of Mauchline, of whom he sang in 1784 as "the pride of the place, and its neighbourhood a'," and whom he characterised as possessing various attributes fitted to win respect and admiration, he says of her, "Miss Smith, she has wit," by which he meant, doubtless, that she was possessed of strong common sense and sagacity. She survived her husband for well-nigh half a century; and although there is no memory of him among the living, there are many who have a vivid recollection of her, as she lived in the house of her only surviving son. As I remember her, she was a lady of stately and somewhat majestic presence, grave and reserved in manner, although always kindly and courteous. She had bright eyes, and a face beaming with intelligence. Mr. Bell says:—

> "Mrs. Candlish (senior), when I first became acquainted with her, must have been about sixty-six years of age; and at once impressed

me with the conviction that she was a very superior woman. She had a firm mouth, and eyes which seemed to see one through and through."

By the sudden and early death of her husband Mrs. Candlish was left in very narrow circumstances, requiring the most rigid and even stern economy. This was carried to the extent of refusing to put crape on her mourning dress. She said that this was out of no want of respect for her husband's memory, but she had no right to take the bread out of her children's mouths. A favourite maxim through life with her was "out of debt out of danger." With a view to earn a livelihood for her family, consisting of two sons and two daughters, she removed to Glasgow, and by keeping a school for young ladies, she was enabled creditably to maintain herself and her children. Of the two daughters, one, Jane Smith, died in 1827, and the other, Eliza Smith, survived till 1867, and was, along with her mother, an inmate in the house of her younger brother in Edinburgh till nearly the close of her life. Of the sons, James Smith, the elder of the two, died of fever in 1829, at the commencement of what promised to be a prosperous career. Mr. Bell says:—"Mrs. Candlish had a very high estimate of her elder son, James, and he must, indeed, from all accounts, have been a young man of remarkable attainments and of rare promise. She remarked to me more than once, "Robert was naething thocht o' so long as James lived." This was natural enough, considering that James was some years his brother's senior, and had already achieved considerable success in his profession as a medical man. An anecdote concerning him is very creditable to his kindness of heart and brotherly affection. For many years after her husband's death Mrs. Candlish had a hard struggle with the "res angusta domi" in Glasgow, and was in the habit, from motives of needful economy, of making her son's clothes with her own hands, even during the years of his college course. When the time came for Robert to enter on the same course, James went to his mother and insisted that Robert should have his clothes made by a regular tailor, and so be spared the ridicule and discomfort which he himself had undergone. James Candlish, according to another witness who knew him well, was not only a man of great ability, but very gentlemanly in his appearance and manners. He was a taller man than his brother, and, like him, had a large well-formed head and broad chest.

Robert Smith Candlish was never sent to school. This may have been due to the straitened circumstances already referred to, or it may have been because, in his early boyhood, he was not very robust, and the numerous deaths among her children would make his mother very careful that her Benjamin should not be exposed to the risks and vicissitudes of public school life. As afterwards appeared he had very competent instructors in his mother and elder sister and brother, and, doubtless, they had in him a very apt pupil, as eager to acquire knowledge as they were to impart it. There are few surviving reminiscences of his boyhood, save that at first he was "somewhat delicate, and rather timid," but soon acquiring strength and courage he engaged with hearty enjoyment in the games and amusements of his companions. Those who knew him well in his mature years will understand with what zest and spirit he would participate in such pleasures; for, till late in life, like many other distinguished men, he retained the ardour and elasticity of boyhood, and could join with entire sympathy in youthful amusements.

Of his home surroundings during his early and college life we have a vivid representation given us by the Rev. Andrew Urquhart, minister at Portpatrick, whose friendship for Robert Candlish was strengthened by the fact that their fathers had been college chums; and Robert spent many pleasant days at Kilbirnie, where Andrew's father was minister.

> "It always appeared to me that, more than to all his other teachers, he was indebted to his mother. He reverenced her with all the loyalty

of the tenderest filial observance. And she was indeed in every respect worthy. I always think of her as I knew her in my college days in Glasgow. I think of her as the grandest old lady I have ever seen. Most wondrously tenacious of well-ascertained facts, and singularly indifferent to hypothetical speculations, her intellectual perceptions were always clear, and her practical logic indomitable. Most conservative of all established proprieties, she was at once dignified and motherly, courteous and kind; and her manner carried with it an authority which, in the quietest conceivable way, was absolute, decisive, and indisputable. Whether as the head of her family and household, or among her visitors, she seemed to me the very model of a motherly Christian sovereign. Under such an influence the habits of subordination to duty and order were sure to be cultivated ; and to these early habits I have always attributed much of that wonderful power which, in the hearts not less than in the minds of both her sons, ever found a place for everything, and kept everything in its place and proportion.

"I have referred to her two sons as they were known in public life. But I cannot forget that the results of the same early training were exhibited, in different ways but not less admirably, by her two daughters in their more private sphere. Their assiduous and orderly attention to domestic duties, and their filial and sisterly affection, manifested in every way, were tenderly recognised and cordially reciprocated by their mother and their brothers. Indeed, the whole fireside was abundantly blessed with the fruits of the old Scottish family order. All the members of the family seemed to live much for one another, and to illustrate very remarkably the Scriptural principle, 'Let each esteem other better than themselves.'

"It was a very heavy stroke to all of them, and especially to the aged mother, so quietly but unmistakably proud of all her children, when her eldest son, James, at that time her highest and fondest hope, was suddenly cut off by typhus fever, just as he was preparing to enter on his duties as professor of surgery in the Andersonian University. During the preceding session, and when he had just begun to practise as a doctor of medicine, he had delivered a course of lectures in the Mechanics' Institution, and his most lucid expositions had attracted the notice of some of the most distinguished men of literature and science in the city. Much hope was entertained of his future eminence, both as a physician and as a professor ; and I believe that his death was regarded as a public loss by the medical faculty generally. I remember well how, on another reckoning, the intelligence affected me when it reached me in the country. I thought of the quiet mid-day walks which, during the past year, I had frequently enjoyed with the doctor, and I felt as if Glasgow could never again be Glasgow to me. Few now survive to remember the Andersonian professor whose vigorous mind, thoroughly cultivated and richly stored with varied information, was remarkably distinguished by the composure of settled principle and purpose, and by a very large measure of the gift of common sense; whilst an undemonstrative but kindly manner made familiar intercourse with him as free and agreeable as it was always sure to be profitable. How soon oblivion comes over the hopes of the past when they have been cut off! But that life was not lost, the remembrance of which lived during long years after in the grateful heart of him who, recently taken from us, has left an indelible impression on his country's history, and who delighted to tell to loving ears how much he owed to his elder brother James, and how much he cherished and revered his memory."

We have also a charming note from Miss Duncan, a fellow pupil of his at his mother's school, which gives us a vivid picture of Robert Candlish in his earlier years. Miss Duncan says:—

"When I first came to be associated with Dr. Candlish he was a little boy of about eight years of age. We were at that time very much together, both at lessons and play. While the girls were engaged at needlework little Robert always sat on a low stool beside his mother, doing sums of arithmetic, of which occupation he never seemed to tire. He never was sent to a public school. His mother and eldest sister gave him all the instruction he required until he was too far advanced for them to carry on. His eldest sister's love for her little brother was very tender. She watched over and took an interest in everything he did and said. I remember her often saying how much she felt hurt at the remarks people made about him, when she went out with him and an old nurse, Jenny, who came with his mother and young family to Glasgow. He was a peculiar but interesting-looking child. His delicate fair complexion, his large forehead, and eyes with very long eye-lashes, and the rest of his body being so small, made him so peculiar-looking that people often stopped and asked whose child he was. One day a lady gave him a penny, which he carried home and showed to his mother, and asked if she thought the lady took him for a beggar; he was so early trained to abhor everything that was mean and selfish. His brother James, who was, I think, about four or five years older than Robert, took his education entirely on himself after his mother's training. Hers was a severe school of discipline; but she had such an objection to anything like a child being punished by whipping that she at once removed her eldest son James from an English school he had been sent to in Glasgow on account of his having come home one day and told that he had been punished in that way along with some other boys, and, as he thought, unjustly. After that a tutor was got for him—Mr. Clark, who was afterwards minister of Canongate Church, Edinburgh. There was another English master (Sheridan Knowles), quite famous at the time for his elocution. He had a good deal to do in teaching the boys to read well, and to repeat by heart long pieces of metre and blank verse. He compiled a book called *The Orator*, in which were a great many selections from Shakespeare and the best of the poets. Indeed, that part of his education was so much attended to that when he and his two cousins, Adam and John Bogle, were all under the tuition of James Candlish, their very recreations were of such an intellectual character that the great amusement of a Saturday afternoon, or any other holiday, was to get Mrs. Candlish to invite the aunts and cousins to tea, and then the large schoolroom was made into a kind of theatre, the company arranged on forms at the one end, and a large screen towards the other, formed of a green crumb-cloth hung over a string. The three boys were behind the screen, and when it was pulled aside the acting began, that is to say, the boys came forward and repeated in a theatrical way long pieces from Shakespeare's historical plays. Hamlet's address to the players was a great favourite, and Cato. Dr. Candlish had a great defect in his articulation; but every pains was taken to correct it. When any celebrated actor came to Glasgow the boys were taken to the theatre; and always after that there was an imitation of it at home the first opportunity."

According to the bad practice of entering college too young—a practice which was almost universal at the time—Robert S. Candlish was sent to the University of Glasgow in his thirteenth year, on the 10th October 1818. It was some compensation for this, however, that his undergraduate course extended over five years, terminating in the spring of 1823, when he obtained the degree of M.A. His career at the University was by no means undistinguished, and his name appears in the prize-lists during every successive session of his course. During the session 1818-19 he seems only to have attended the Latin class, in which he gained the sixth prize. At the close of the following session (1819-20) his name appears four times in the prize-lists. He gained the second prize for original composition in Latin prose; the second for translation from English into Latin prose; the fifth for exemplary diligence; and the fifth prize in the Greek class for propriety of conduct, diligence, and eminent abilities displayed during the session. At the close of session 1820-21 his name appears six times in the prize-lists. He gained the first prize for original Latin prose; the sole prize given for translation of Cicero "De Amicitia;" the fourth prize in the senior Greek class; the fifth prize in the class Logic Juniores, the late Lord Ardmillan being the third on the same list; the first prize for the best specimen of recollection; and the second for excelling in the Blackstone examination. At the close of session 1821-22 his name appears four times in the prize-lists, and during this session his name stands always first—in the class of Ethics Juniores; for superior excellence in Latin themes; for a vacation theme on the controversy between Nominalists and Realists; and for the best essay on the Roman Dictatorship. At the close of session 1822-23 his name is found three times in the prize-lists—once for the best essay on Roman Censorship; once for the best essay on the poetical character of Aristophanes as it is displayed in the conception and execution of the "Clouds;" and his name is second in the prize-list of the Natural Philosophy class.

He entered upon his studies in the Divinity Hall in session 1823-24, and at the close of the session he gained a silver medal for the best view of the evidence from miracles for the truth of Christianity, and the third prize for general eminence. After this his name does not appear in the records of the University; but we learn from a note of his own, dated 1869, that he attended the Divinity Hall three regular and one partial session, and finally left college in December 1826.

I have before me interesting reminiscences of his college life from several of his fellow-students, some of which I insert as affording a life-like picture of what Robert S. Candlish was in those early days. To Professor James S. Candlish, the Rev. Josias Walker, now rector of Wood Ditton, near Cambridge, writes :—

"My earliest recollection of your father dates from the year 1818, when, in the month of October, being boys of thirteen, we became class-fellows and bench-fellows under my father, the Professor of Humanity in Glasgow College. Candlish speedily showed his superiority in point of application, capacity, and conduct, to all but a very few of his fellow-pupils. A reference to the files of the Glasgow newspapers of that period, containing the prize-lists of succeeding firsts of May, will show how high he stood among us during our entire curriculum. In this career of distinction he was followed at the distance of one year by his cousin Adam Bogle, who gained, like himself, the favour of every professor into whose class they successively came. By their fellow-students they were regarded with affectionate and admiring reverence. Both alike trained under the roof of widowed mothers, both enjoying the wise tuition of your accomplished uncle James. There was in them, without a trace of effeminacy, a purity of thought, an unconscious sanctity of character, that could not be forgotten, even amid the most boisterous excitement of boyish sports. Not the most coarse and reckless of their comrades would have uttered in their ears a lewd or profane word. Yet they were not utterly exempt from the minor sufferings which the young and weak too often undergo when mingled with older or stronger boys. I can well remember your father's flushed face and writhen features, while, close under the professor's pulpit, our light-hearted and waggish friend Tom Miller shook him with sudden cordiality by the hand, having previously by some cunning dodge inserted a sharply-fluted pencil-case between the fingers. Of course the victim was too magnanimous to betray his tormentor by a cry, while the latter was too wary, and, I think, too really good-natured to push the torture beyond what nature, however strong, could silently endure.

"I never came into very close relation with the cousins till 1822, when Mrs. Bogle invited me to visit her in a house which she had hired for the summer at Helensburgh, then a primitive enough sea-side resort. There James and Robert Candlish were domesticated with her own two boys and girls, and happy indeed was the week I spent in their society. Rides, drives, and botanising rambles over moors and hill-tops were our chief active occupation. Their conversation, whether in active or sedentary hours, however gay and flowing, had always a refined and elevating tone. James's quiet influence would have ensured this, even if your father and his cousins had been of a less thoughtful turn. I can recall one illustration of your father's independence of judgment, at the early age of seventeen, which he had then attained. Under such a teacher as your uncle scientific enthusiasm was easily fired. So it is not surprising that, having sat down on the morning of a persistently rainy day to identify a moss which he had gathered on the summit of Banachen—so, I think, the hill was named—Bogle and I, with an occasional hint from James, continued till nearly dusk our endeavours, vain after all, if I remember, to identify the species in Hooker's *Flora*. Robert had shared the investigation for an hour or two, when he suddenly got up, declaring time and intellectual power to be, in his mind, too valuable to be so lavishly expended on a study which, pursued as we were pursuing it, yielded little more fruit than a copious list of names. He withdrew to his Shakespeare, or Hume's *England*, from which sources he was then storing his mind with imagery, knowledge, and language, to be turned to profit in his destined calling of a preacher of Divine truth. Bogle was made of less stern stuff, and would not desert his friend and guest, for the botanical craze was perhaps chiefly mine, as long as the latter thought fit to pore over the petty object of our study. Ah! how beautiful, how amiable, how mentally endowed young Adam was, and how deplored even by mere acquaintances, when he died in 1827 of decline."

What immediately follows in Mr. Walker's communication carries us on to a period somewhat later, but it may not be unsuitable to insert it here:—

"Lodged for a week, in autumn 1825, in the same London boarding-house with your uncle James, then on his return from Paris, where he had completed his long course of medical study, I, no longer a mere boy, learned fully to appreciate the charm of his society. With a mind richly stored with literary, and fully with scientific lore; exempt from prejudice of every kind, yet restrained by natural sobriety of judgment from all extravagance of speculation; with a power of clear exposition and a readiness of expression that made him subsequently one of the most popular of lecturers ; bland and tolerant towards all who differed from him, he might startle my hereditary conservatism, now long extinct, by his large and liberal views, but the captivation of his talk was irresistible. He was the most accomplished man whose intimacy I have ever gained. From the period of his return to Glasgow, where he settled as a general practitioner, he was my almost daily companion and dearest friend.

"In 1828, if I am not mistaken (1829 is the proper date), your father returned from Eton to become assistant, or curate in full charge, as we should say here, to Dr. Gibb, the Hebrew professor, as incumbent of St. Andrew's Church. My intercourse with my old friend became now much more constant than in former days. His severe logicality of mind was indeed somewhat antagonistic to my less rigid and uncompromising turn of thought. But James could enter into sympathy with both, and thus we formed a sufficiently harmonious trio. Your father, though firm as a rock in all his own opinions, was as incapable as his brother of ill-temper, intolerance, or bitterness. Yet James's intellectual sympathies were more fully, I think, on my side, at least in our theological discussions. I remember how, after one of them, in which your father had insisted on a fuller adherence to the spirit in which the Westminster Divines had framed their Confession than we were disposed to yield, your uncle, when left alone with me, said, with a serious smile, 'Bob will one day cause the Church a deal of trouble,' or words as nearly as possible to that effect.

"At this time I was a constant attendant on your father's ministrations in St. Andrew's. Nothing of rigid Calvinism was discernible in his preaching. His sermons were eminently practical, lucid in expression, and full of thought ; often argumentative, but never abstruse. He had, as he told me, taken Barrow for his model, having studied that great man's works systematically, with the desire of attaining to something like his copiousness and facility of speech. Nor had he studied them in vain.

"I shall never forget your father's ghastly hue and emaciated condition while he watched by your uncle James as he lay delirious during that attack of typhus, of which he died in the autumn of 1829. Never was grief more terrible than that of the surviving brother ; never did the death of a friend cause me such desolation as I then endured. His memory served greatly to strengthen such affection as existed between your father and myself. James was cut off on the threshold of what promised to be a splendid practice, having been recently called in to attend the mother of the present Duke of Argyll, and being already Professor of Surgery in the institution now called the Andersonian University."

But reverting again to Robert Candlish's college career, the late Lord Ardmillan has furnished the following valuable and interesting statement :—

"I was at Glasgow College with our dear friend Dr. Candlish in 1821 and 1822 in the Greek, Logic, and Moral Philosophy classes. We were intimate and warm friends, and in the Logic class generally sat side by side. Candlish was a keen, eager, earnest student ; very prompt and quick ; and recognised, alike by his professors and his fellow-students, as a leader and a youth of power in the class. There were closer and harder students, but his quick working, and his great capacity for grasping ethical and metaphysical reasoning, soon placed him in the front rank in these classes. His essays, and his answers on oral examination in Professor Jardine's class were much praised by him. In the Moral Philosophy class of Professor Mylne, his power of reasoning and of forcible and impressive writing was yet more fully developed. He wrote in a spirit fearless and free, but always earnest and reverential.

"In disposition he was impatient, yet persevering ; versatile, yet persistent ; sensitive, and sometimes irritable ; but always kind, manly, generous. I remember how warm and tender was his affection for a cousin named Adam Bogle. I have seen him playing football on the College green with all the intense energy, keenness, and activity which characterised him in the later years of his distinguished life. To me he was always a warm and kind, as he was a dear friend. He was for nearly forty years my pastor, and I owe him more than I can venture to express. Never can I forget our parting, when, shortly before his death, he threw his feeble arms round me and said, 'Oh, James Crawford, we have been friends for fifty years!'

"He and I sat together in the College Hall to hear an eloquent sermon from Dr. Hodgson of Blantyre, on the text, 'There shall be no night there' (Rev. xxi. 25). Candlish was delighted by the discourse, which was very suggestive and original, and he used often to bring it to mind and advert to it in conversation. He alluded to it as an old College recollection, when speaking of the prospect of parting then before him, for it was within a few days of his death."

Miss Duncan says that Robert Candlish "was taken very much notice of by Professor Young in the Greek class. Professor Walker also took a great liking to him." She also tells us of the sensation excited among their friends by his success in the second year of his course, and by the yet greater success of his cousin Adam Bogle in his first year. She says:—"No one was more elated than the eldest Miss Candlish. She, her mother, and younger sister, and Mrs. Bogle all went on the 1st of May to the College Hall to see the boys get the prizes. It was quite a day to be remembered. Professor Walker called Adam Bogle his star; and a great friendship was kept up long after that with Josiah Walker and the three boys." Referring to a somewhat later time, Miss Duncan says that Robert Candlish was also a distinguished student in the Logic class, and gained prizes. She adds:—"He had many young friends always tearing at him. His scarlet college gown was so torn by them, that when the day came for the prizes to be given, there was scarcely a bit of it left; and as an advanced student could not put on a new gown, one had to be borrowed for the occasion. He was such a funny merry wee fellow, it was no wonder. At the same time anything like unfairness or meanness met with his most undisguised indignation."

Mr. John Bogle has furnished Professor Candlish with some reminiscences of his father's early years, which are not uninteresting. He says—

"From my earliest recollection your father was much with my brother Adam and myself both, in summer and on Saturdays during the winter, when we used to take frequent and long walks together. At that time your father was not at all strong, and rather timid naturally, so that it appeared more remarkable that in after life he should have exhibited so much energy of character and undaunted moral courage in so many trying emergencies.

"The first time I have any distinct recollection of seeing your father was when he came up to see us at Old Place, near Blantyre, I think in the summer of 1814 or 1815, when he was much afraid of our watch-dog Trusty, which, in its exuberance of spirits on being let off the chain, upset him in its rough and awkward gambols. After my father's death in 1817 we used to spend our summers generally at Helensburgh, where bathing and climbing hills together, and rambles through the fields, were our daily amusements, if not chief occupations. As I was about two years younger than my brother, while your father was eighteen months older than he, our studies were entirely different, though we could all enjoy reading aloud the *Arabian Nights* together, and alternately inventing stories after going to bed to amuse ourselves before going to rest.

"Although at the first your father showed great antipathy to sea-bathing, and it was long before he would even dip over the head without having hold of our hands, still at the last he so conquered himself as to become as expert a swimmer as any of us, and equally fond of the water. During our college life I well recollect a long walk we took one Saturday, along with Josiah Walker, to New Kilpatrick to climb Dunotter. On our way down we lost sight of each other, and only reunited when we had trudged back to Glasgow, somewhat tired and anxious. I recollect, also, when we spent some months together (*en famille*) at Newhaven, having gone there by the canal to Grangemouth, and thence by steamer to Leith, of our tramping off together to get our first view of Edinburgh Castle, and encountering two quarrelsome fishwives, who had emptied their creels of fish against each other. That summer we climbed Arthur's Seat along with John Temple, another friend who is gone."

The Rev. Robert Wilson, minister at North Ronaldshay, who became acquainted with Robert Candlish through his cousin Adam Bogle, a class-fellow of the former, says of him—

"While he was undoubtedly a diligent student, yet he was playful in mind, and fond of bodily exercise. He was always distinguished for his logical acumen, and his fertility and versatility in argument. His ingenuity and sharp discrimination often revealed distinctions which, even when stated by him, were not readily perceived by ordinary intellects. In him we observed the exercise of mental power, without the self-consciousness of it. There was a great absence of ambition, so far as could be seen, combined with the manifestation of powers which might have led him in early life to the desire and enjoyment of it. But there was that sort of abandon in his manner which made his associates feel that he did not seek the exercise of control over his fellows, except in the defeat of an intellectual opponent, or in the right settlement of some special subject. And yet we could not say amidst his self-abnegation and frequent deference to others, that he was devoid of influence. For in his play of intellectual activity he did exercise an unassuming influence, and became a central object of attraction and source of incitement in the circles amidst which he came.

"I have mentioned that, while showing mental activity, he was fond of bodily exercise. The latter seemed in some measure a necessity of his constitution, and probably was thought by him conducive to the maintenance and increase of mental health and power. Although he did not often draw illustrations from natural objects, yet he had great delight in bold mountain scenery and rural excursions. On one occasion, when we sailed together down the Clyde, he observed what delight it gave him to gaze on the hills which are seen as we approach the Firth of Clyde. He seemed to associate the free mountain breezes with the manly freedom of thought and spirit which characterised the Scottish nation.

"There was one notable excursion during our residence in Helensburgh in which many took part. As far as I can remember, Mrs. Bogle, her sons and daughters, James Candlish and Robert, Miss Candlish, Mr. Urquhart (now minister of Portpatrick), and myself, formed the company. We started as pedestrians from Helensburgh to visit Ben Lomond and Loch Lomond. It was a most delightful excursion, especially from the joyousness of the company and from the grand and beautiful scenery amidst which we passed. These were sunny days, in different senses, and the remembrance of them is very pleasant and fragrant after the lapse of so many years. James Candlish and Robert were the very life of the company. Though all, amidst the buoyancy of health and exuberance of youthful spirits, contributed their quota to the general enjoyment, the two brothers abounded in wit and wisdom. We all slept in an inn at the foot of Ben Lomond, and next morning started early, the ladies being provided with ponies, that we might, if possible, witness the sunrise from the top of the mountain. In this, however, we were disappointed, as the morning proved cloudy and misty. We to some extent surmounted the clouds, having some beneath us. When we had advanced considerably up the hill, Robert Candlish and myself by mutual consent started in a race to the summit. As he gazed around on the panorama of hills, loch, and valleys and islands now visible, the view seemed to fill him with awe, and he could not help exclaiming in rapture on the superbness of the scene."

Professor Candlish furnishes this note as to his father's love of scenery :—

"In reference to his early visits to the country, he used to say that the view at Ardentinny on Loch Long was what first gave him an idea of beauty of scenery. That must have been very early, and, ever after he observed and enjoyed the beauties of nature in all kinds of scenery more than any one else I ever knew. I remember long ago, in the summers of 1847-8-9, or thereabouts, at Burntisland, Musselburgh, and North Berwick, how he delighted to take me out with him on long walks, and climb hills to get views of the country, and when, later, in 1855 and following summers, we went to the West Coast, he enjoyed renewing his acquaintance with the scenes of his old holidays, and resuming the exercise of rowing and fishing, of which he had been so fond."

To these early recollections of intimate friends I cannot but add those of the Rev. Andrew Urquhart. Take this brief note, first of all, regarding bodily exercise, as cognate to some already given. In a letter to Professor Candlish Mr. Urquhart says—

"In the freshness of his life your father was fond of some athletic exercises, and excelled in them. I can attest his expertness in swimming and rowing. His skill in the latter was acquired chiefly at Eton ; and, at least to me, it appeared very remarkable—probably all the more remarkable that I had once a pretty strong pull against him on the lake of Lochnaw, and was utterly discomfited and subdued."

In a letter to Professor Candlish we have also from Mr. Urquhart this gratifying testimony as to Robert Candlish's personal character. It is dated

"Free Church Manse, Portpatrick, 20th June 1874.

"My dear Sir—You are aware that my friendship with your father, originating in hereditary associations, was from first to last a personal and private friendship. All the more I feel confidence in expressing my belief that from very early years, and before I knew him, he had walked with God in the spirit of adoption. For all my recollections of him from the first, when I became acquainted with him as a fellow-student of the second year at Glasgow College, are associated with the impressions of a spirituality, which, in no way demonstrative, was so dominant and habitual as to be suggestive of its having grown up with him from his childhood, and of its being at once indispensable and familiar to him as the breath of life.

"I think it was during our first summer holidays, that for some weeks we slept in adjoining beds in one of the attic rooms of my father's manse. And I cannot forget the simple earnestness with which, in the evenings, he composed himself to his devotions ere we went to rest, after days of free and joyous sports and rambling. His hearty and healthful sympathy with all the interests of human life, even the most trivial, seemed even then to harmonise wondrously with the solemnity of communion with God, so as to impress me with a deep sense of the thoroughness of his piety, whilst the essential soundness of the principles which were vital in his faith was evidenced by his quiet relish for everything that savoured of gospel truth. Considering his intense dislike of all pretentiousness and the downright earnestness of his character, I can have no doubt as to the accuracy of the general impressions to which I have referred. And that they were the impressions of my earliest intercourse with him, I remember as distinctly as I remember anything in my personal history.

"During more than fifty years afterwards I had brotherly correspondence with him in joys and sorrows on both sides, and enjoyed many precious opportunities of private fellowship with him in almost every conceivable variety of circumstances. Amidst the anxious struggles of his ecclesiastical life I found a frequent home by his fireside in Edinburgh, just as before in his mother's house in Glasgow in our College years. When he much needed recreation, we scrambled over the Giant's Causeway and the cliffs in the north of Ireland, and knelt together to implore a blessing on Ireland and its people. I travelled with him in my gig from manse to manse in Galloway for a week, preparatory to the Convocation in 1842. He has sat with me by the fireside of my manse in Portpatrick, when I was soon to leave it. And in the quiet shade of my garden we have conversed on the prospects and interests of Christian society in the world. But on a review of all such intercourse I can remember no sensible change, except in the deepening and widening of the impressions of my earliest acquaintance with him, when, as lads of fifteen years, we rambled over the hills of Ayrshire, or waded, fishing for pike, in Kilbirnie Loch early on the summer mornings. I doubt not there may have been points in his experience after he left College, to which he might have referred as dates of new life in the sense in which we often speak thus, when we would mark strongly the effect of light thrown upon saving truth from a new point of view,

> revealing it with unwonted clearness, or in contrast with deceitful worldly fashions, or in its opposition to the subtlety of nature's delusions, and thus deepening beyond all power of expression our perceptions of its practical power and infinite preciousness. I have some general remembrances of conversation with him in our walks after he returned from Eton, which amount pretty nearly to what I have suggested as possibly the right construction of any strong expressions which he may have used either in speaking or writing of his experience when he was there. However remarkable the advancement may have been at some particular stages in the development of his spiritual life, I am quite sure he was not the man who could ever mean to ignore the gracious dealings of God with him in his earlier days. And I never can think of him otherwise than as one who was very early 'planted in the house of the Lord.'"

What is stated in the foregoing letter of Mr. Urquhart does not seem to be at all inconsistent with what Mr. Bell records concerning a conversation he had with Robert Candlish's mother, as to a great spiritual change in his character. It is by no means uncommon in men's spiritual history that in their progress Zionward they experience seasons of deep depression, followed by great light and enlargement; and at Eton Robert Candlish seems to have had such experience. Mr. Bell says—

> "What I regard as the most interesting and important conversation I had with Mrs. Candlish, was one which bore reference to the period which her son spent in England when he acted as tutor to Sir Hugh H. Campbell, Bart., of Marchmont, then a young man at Eton. It would appear that when there, at a distance from home, and apparently less favourably placed in respect to religious privileges, Mr. Candlish came under deep spiritual anxiety. He wrote to his mother for advice and guidance, and she acted, in the circumstances, with great discernment and enlightened wisdom. 'I just told him,' her words to the best of my recollection were, 'Robert, I cannot venture to solve the doubts and difficulties that occur to a mind like yours. My advice is to go to your Bible, and pray to the Lord for light, and you will get it.'"

We have seen that Robert Candlish was a favourite of the professors under whom he studied, as such a successful student deserved to be; and the regard was mutual. He held in high esteem especially Walker (Latin), Young (Greek), and Jardine (Logic). His fellow-students must have recognised the closeness of his affinity to the Professor of Greek, who bore among them the cognomen of Cockie Young, and Robert Candlish was designated Little Cockie. Of this professor, Dr. Candlish, writing in 1870, says—"Professor Young was no ordinary man; an enthusiast in Greek literature, a singularly acute critic and lecturer. I attended his class two sessions. During the third year of my attendance, when I was student of Logic under Professor Jardine, Professor Young died very suddenly." Of the theological professors, Stevenson M'Gill was the one he respected most, and got most good from; but he often spoke of the inadequacy of the theological training of those days. Even M'Gill mentioned no books to the students, and so left them quite at sea in the prosecution of their studies. After leaving College, Robert Candlish, besides Barrow, studied Horsley's works with great admiration.

His letters will help yet farther to show us what his occupations were, and how he looked upon things, in these College days. The earliest letter of his of which I am in possession is without date, and is addressed to Mr. Andrew Urquhart. It must have been written from Helensburgh in the summer of 1821 or 1822. In it, among other things, he says—

"I have been so much occupied hitherto, and have made so very little progress in the various studies which I *intended* to pursue, and, moreover, I have the prospect of being yet so much engaged in various plans of amusement which are here formed, that I am very much afraid it will not be in my power to do myself the pleasure of seeing you this summer. Be assured that nothing could give me more pleasure than to spend a few days with you if I could. My visit last year was too agreeable not to produce a desire of repeating it, and nothing but the reason I have already given could prevent me availing myself of your kind invitation to do so.

"We had Josiah Walker with us for a week some time ago, and you may be assured that when three (Adam Bogle, or his brother James, must have been the third) such diligent geniuses met there would be something unusually grand forthcoming. But, lo ! we spent our whole time in rambling among the fields, climbing hills, and other rural occupations. The only books, I believe, we read were Shakspeare's plays, and this, too, only when we could get nothing else to do."

Our next letter, also addressed to Mr. Urquhart, is dated 15th September 1823. I give a brief extract from it :—

"You say you have not heard of or from Josiah (Walker) this summer. I suppose his botanical studies occupy him too much to allow him time for writing ; at least, that seems to be the case with respect to his correspondence with Adam (Bogle), for I have had no epistolary correspondence with him this summer, owing as he says to my laziness, but as I affirm to his. He attended Dr. Hooker (Professor of Botany) zealously during his whole course, and took a trip with him to the Highlands for a week, with about twenty more students. During the jaunt he caught a cold by too much exposure, which adhered to him slightly all the rest of the summer. Indeed, when I was at Glasgow a month ago, he was confined to the house. But I believe he is now better. He was down visiting us for a fortnight in the middle of summer, when, besides enjoying plenty of wind and rain, as we have done all summer, he made some progress in his favourite study, along with Adam and James, who were visiting us at the same time. We were obliged to snatch hasty walks, in the intervals between the showers, when we generally gathered as many plants as served us to botanise upon till I (and even Adam sometimes, though one of the zealots) was quite tired out."

The following extract is from a letter to Mr. Urquhart, dated 27th May 1824 :—

"Lord Byron's death is stale now. I hope your tears for the event are now dried up, and that you have sacrificed largely to Melpomene (is that the right name ?) on the sad occasion. It seems to have given the newspaper bards something to do. I wonder how the cause of Greece will come on without his lordship's powerful aid. *You* will be happy to hear of Dr. M'Farlane's success in the General Assembly.[1]

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[1] The question raised in the Assembly was whether Dr. M'Farlane should be allowed to hold the two offices of Minister of the High Church, and Principal of the University of Glasgow.

The majority, I believe, was pretty large. I have not yet seen any report of the speeches, which, doubtless, were very acute, and brilliant, and persuasive, and so on ; but I suppose might just as well have been delivered after as before the voting ; for it is not likely any of the members went with the same impartial, undecided mind as Mr. Smyth, of St. George's, carried with him to the Presbytery. In fact, *I am of opinion*, that the reverend body could have listened with far more calmness, and, of course, with far more delight, to the extraordinary eloquence of the speakers, had the important business of voting first been off their mind. 'Tis a pity that oratory should be so cruelly wasted as it generally is in such discussions. I wonder if any decisive measures will be taken for the abolition of pluralities, a system so contrary to the spirit and welfare of our National Church. Have not many of Dr. M'Farlane's supporters, after a sort, pledged themselves to make the attempt ? But the usual objection will still recur that a university which cannot maintain itself must depend for support on the funds of another institution, and that the interests of the Church, and of religion perhaps, must be sacrificed to maintain the grandeur of Edinburgh College.

"Mrs. Bogle went to Helensburgh last week to spend the summer. Miss Bogle and my sister have not yet returned from London, but we expect them in the middle of next month. Botany and the ponies, I believe, are to constitute the standard amusements of the season, for Adam's zeal is not yet cooled, and riding is an employment in which both he and John are too eager to indulge to allow their steeds much idleness. I propose to join them when the Grammar School vacation leaves me entirely at liberty ; but previously I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at Kilbirnie for a day or two. I hope you are studying Hebrew as diligently as you *intended*. I have read five psalms since the first of May. Is not that most wonderful ?"

In a playful letter to Mr. Urquhart, dated 12th August 1824, under the date he writes—

"Don't you pity the poor birds to-day ?" And then, afterwards, he says :—"I hope your zeal in the study of Latin ! Greek ! ! Hebrew ! ! ! and Prideaux ! ! ! ! remains unabated, and that your lecture and exegesis bear testimony to the reality of your good intentions. I hope, moreover, that the botanical mania you seemed afraid of has passed over without any very serious injury to yourself or your neighbours, for madness is always catching. The record of my *studies* is easily given. Since I left you I have spent two months at Helensburgh, which passed like the baseless fabric of a vision, and left not a trace behind of zeal or diligence in any one of the various occupations to which I am rejoiced to see you have so diligently devoted yourself. I came to town on the 2d of this month, and have now got the length of intending to reform."

In a letter to Mr. Urquhart, 13th July 1825, he refers his friend to sources of information on the subject of oratory:—

"On the subject which you mention I remember reading a very good essay in the *Edinburgh Review* last year. I will send the number if it is in (the library), and likewise Hume. Of course you have Blair's *Lectures*. The subject is discussed there very concisely and distinctly. In some of Cicero's rhetorical works (particularly the *Claris Oratoribus*), and in the Dialogue (*De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ*) attributed to Tacitus or Quinctilian, I suspect you will find something to your purpose—for of the causes which they assign for the decline of oratory among the ancients, some, I daresay, you will find account in part for the inferiority of the moderns."

In a letter to Mr. Urquhart, dated Glasgow, 24th August 1826, he says—

"How you must have enjoyed this beautiful summer! I have often wished to be with you, but have been constantly in town, except being at Helensburgh pretty frequently on Saturdays and Sundays. And yet, though I have been thus constantly resident in this 'quiet retreat of learning,' I have not been at all busy in the way of study, and my reading in Divinity and Church History has not at all advanced. I do believe, although the opinion is paradoxical, that the country is the best place for study in the summer. One is not so completely suffocated and stupefied by the heat, nor so constantly tantalised by the distant prospect, or what is nearly as bad, the conception of green fields and mighty rivers (like the Garnock at Kilbirnie). I suppose you have now got on pretty far in your perusal of Greek oratory, and in your professional and miscellaneous reading. Your letters at least intimated a zealous commencement. Why did you select Isocrates to translate, and not him whose thunders, etc.? And why did you pronounce such a eulogium on Gr. Penn? I have not read the book, but from a few passages I saw, and from some extracts I met with in a review, I should be inclined to call him one of the most absurd and speculative of all the speculative geologists. Is not the very name of Mosaical geology enough to condemn him? Is there any geology at all in Moses? or are his works intended to teach us matters of science? Nothing seems to me more absurd and dangerous than to implicate Revelation at all in disputes on subjects not in the least connected with religion, and on subjects, moreover, when speaking on which the Scriptures must have accommodated themselves to the opinions and language of the day, and on which, in fact, they can scarcely with any propriety be said to have advocated any theory at all. Our society lasted for nearly three months. It consisted of Buchanan, Dowie, Wilson, Clow, Martin, and myself. It was dissolved because Dowie, Wilson, and Buchanan were all going away. Dowie has gone to a family near Edinburgh, and Buchanan is just going to be licensed. Wilson is at Helensburgh. By the by, would it not be a good plan to secure, if possible, the Ram's Horn (now St. David's) Church for winter? Give me your authority (as Sec.), and mention the highest rate at which we should pay for it. The Chemical Society, I suppose you know, has lost Mr. Graham (afterwards Sir Thomas Graham, Master of the Mint), its chief prop since Johnson left it. Will it survive the loss? Vix aut ne vix quidem. Graham is adorning a similar institution in Edinburgh.

"We (*i.e.* Mrs. Bogle, Miss Bogle, Miss J. Bogle, Miss E. Candlish, Messrs. Bogle, Mr. Wilson, my brother, and myself (was not that a fine party?), were at Ben Lomond one Saturday lately, and all except Mrs. B. at the top of it. The morning was rather hazy, but we had a very fine view of the surrounding hills.

"You ask in one of your letters what I thought of the General Assembly. There was much more order and far less bickering than I was led to expect, but the business was not very interesting, and speaking but middling. On the plurality question the Lord Justice-Clerk or the Lord President (I forget just now which) made a very dogmatic and imposing speech against the legislative powers of the Church, and the fallacy of his argument was most ably and clearly answered by Moncreiff in certainly the best speech I heard. Dr. Cook made a most admirable and satisfactory speech against pluralities, but 'what a lame and impotent conclusion.' . . . On the Bracadale case the impression was very strong in favour of M'Leod, but I rather think now, though I confess I did not think then, that the Moderates were right. What an admirable report Principal Baird gave of the scheme for educating the Highlands and Islands. I particularly admired Principal Nicol. The show of moderation, whether sincere or politic, and his constant good humour and desire to *keep the peace*, are very prepossessing. On almost every question that was not very important, he made a sort of compromise, and satisfied both parties."

This is the latest letter of Robert Candlish which we have during the currency of his College course, extending from 1818 to 1826. It was the period of a great crisis in the religious and ecclesiastical history of Scotland. There were three powerful influences which then began to operate, that were destined in their issues to produce mighty unforeseen changes, and which have given shape to the state of things as now found among us. They could not fail to affect a nature so susceptible as that of Robert Candlish, whose mind was always open to accept and adopt what was good and true, and to help it forward with all his energy.

One of these influences, and that by no means the least powerful, although operating in a noiseless and unseen way, was the publication of Dr. M'Crie's Lives of Knox and Melville, the former in 1811, and the latter in 1819. These works had an extensive circulation, and especially among the class of men who mould the character of the age in which they live. They carried the mind back to Reformation views and principles, and were a very effective protest against the Moderatism which had so long cramped and stifled the religious life of Scotland. As they greatly helped to awaken the questions which soon came to be agitated, and which led to the separation of the Free Church from the State, so they also shed the clearest light upon these questions, and made the way plain enough to all who cherished the principles of the Reformation. To Dr. M'Crie more than to any other we owe it that so many of the people of Scotland clearly apprehended the doctrine of the Church's autonomy, and recognised her obligation to act out what she had ascertained to be the will of her great living Head irrespective of what secular and civil authorities might do and determine.

Another of the influences to which I have adverted was wielded by Dr. Andrew Thomson, whose place in the Church Robert Candlish was soon destined to fill. By means of the *Christian Instructor* he was to a large extent working on the same lines as Dr. M'Crie, while he was at the same time encouraging and helping forward every evangelical movement. But he effected still more by his living voice and energy. Being inducted in 1814 as the first minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, his influence soon began to be felt among the *élite* of the city, as respects culture and intellectual power. Edinburgh at that time had many eminent citizens, and some whose fame was world-wide; but Andrew Thomson soon placed himself in the front rank of them all. He was felt as a power not only, perhaps not even chiefly, in the pulpit; but as a public speaker he was unrivalled in versatility and eloquence. He could confront and defeat the ablest members of the Bar. Bold and uncompromising in word and deed, if he made some enemies he secured the affection and venerated adherence of many friends. When he began his ministry the tone of Edinburgh society was decidedly cold towards religion, and tending very much towards infidelity—a tendency mightily strengthened by the Edinburgh Reviewers. It was Andrew Thomson chiefly who turned the tide, and obtained respect at least for evangelical religion on the Bench and at the Bar, and among the medical profession. He was the means gradually but very effectually of producing a great and blessed revolution in the character of Edinburgh society. Nor was it in Edinburgh alone that his influence was felt. The Apocrypha controversy made him known all over Scotland, for he went everywhere advocating a pure and unadulterated Bible with wondrous eloquence and success. And, whatever intemperance may have characterised the controversy at some of its stages, we owe it very much to Andrew Thomson that the views so extensively prevail which are now held in Scotland regarding the inspiration and the sole and supreme authority of the Word of God as the rule of faith and manners. This was, perhaps, the greatest permanent service he rendered to the Church and to the country.

The third, but by no means the least influential power which had begun to work in Robert Candlish's student days, was Dr. Chalmers, who began his ministry in Glasgow in 1815, and in which he continued till 1823. He was at once recognised as the greatest preacher of his time, and attracted great multitudes to hear him—not a few of whom were savingly impressed, and became from that time and afterwards the leaders and promoters of every philanthropic work. But it was not his pulpit ministrations nor his published writings which were the most valuable contribution of Dr. Chalmers towards the moral and spiritual wellbeing of his countrymen and of mankind at large; it was rather the evangelistic bent he gave to the energies of the Church. Dr. Chalmers still lives in the work of Church extension, and in the methods he devised for carrying it forward. His aim was not the erection of a place of worship, and to set open a door for the entrance of such as might be attracted to it by the ministrations of the pulpit; but to provide an agency to carry the gospel to the homes of the people within a limited territory, and to "compel them to come in." This was the peculiar life work of that great orator and practical philanthropist.

Thus there were three great powers in those days simultaneously at work in somewhat distinct departments, which largely moulded the future history of the Church and country. Dr. Chalmers led the way in the great evangelistic movements which so happily characterise the present time. Dr. Thomson awakened a new interest in the Bible, as the alone authoritative guide of what the Church and individual men ought to believe and to do. Dr. M'Crie, by his publications, created a new era in ecclesiastical affairs.

It was under such influences as these that the College career of Robert Candlish was carried on and came to an end. He personally enjoyed the ministrations of Dr. Chalmers, and scarcely less those of his distinguished assistant Edward Irving, although the latter was then far from being generally popular. But Robert Candlish and a few of his fellow-students were among Irving's regular hearers.

CHAPTER II.

Tutor at Eton—Correspondence—Licensed as a probationer—Assistant in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow—Assistant at Bonhill—Proposal to go to Canada — Characteristics of Mr. Gregor of Bonhill — Assistant in St. George's, Edinburgh.

As has been already stated, Robert Candlish's fourth session at the Divinity Hall was a partial one, that is, while he was enrolled as a student for that session, he did not attend the class. This was a course very generally followed by students of theology at that period. The cases, indeed, were rather exceptional in which attendance was given during the whole four years over which the curriculum extended. Attendance on the classes, in many instances, was almost wholly dispensed with; but when this happened the rules of the Church provided that five years must elapse from the time of entering the Hall before the student could be licensed to preach the gospel. In the case of Robert Candlish there was a special reason for bringing his studies at the Hall so suddenly to an end. Miss Duncan says—"After he had entered the Divinity Hall a letter came to some of the Professors asking them to send the most able young man they could recommend to go to Eton as tutor to Sir Hugh Hume Campbell of Marchmont. Mr. Candlish was asked to undertake the charge, and went." This was at the end of 1826. Miss Duncan adds — "I remember hearing some of his letters to his sister read at home, expressing how much overwhelmed he felt at being placed among so many great doctors and bigwigs. He felt very small indeed."

The earliest of his letters from Eton which has been preserved is dated 8th May 1827, and is addressed to his old friend Mr. Urquhart. In it he says—

"During the first half of my stay here (for you must know the year at Eton contains three halves) you may conceive that among perfect strangers, and without much *business*, I felt dull enough. In fact, having never been from home before, I had no clear idea of the horrors of a solitary life in lodgings, and I felt the change from the society of friends and relations the more, because I did not calculate on feeling it much. I have now got, in some degree, accustomed to my situation, and as the summer has now arrived there will be more amusement and means of killing time. There are nearly thirty tutors here, some Fellows of Cambridge, and many of them clergymen. They are, I think, in general, very pleasant men; but as there is no common pursuit or engagement to bring them frequently together, or make them mix with one another, a considerable time must elapse before a stranger can become intimate with any of them. Most of them called upon me on my first arrival, but you are aware that an acquaintance—at least a familiar acquaintance—is not soon formed merely by calling. There is a boating club here, which during the summer goes regularly a few miles up the river to an island, where an hour or two is spent in playing at quoits or some other game. As I shall join the club, I expect by this means to be led to mix more with my fellow tutors, and this, besides the pleasure of the exercise, will be an advantage. But still I miss, and shall, I fear, continue to miss, some one engaged in the same studies as myself, with whom I can communicate the remarks and feelings that occur in the course of reading and thinking. I have felt the want of a *friend*, and one advantage of my present absence from home is that it will make me value the advantages of friendship more when I can again enjoy them. Correspondence by letter, however regular and frequent, is but a sorry substitute for conversation and personal intercourse.

"By means of a news-room and a book club we have a very comfortable supply of newspapers, magazines, and new books, but there is no library where old books that one may want to see can be procured. This obliges me to incur considerable expense in purchasing books on any particular subject. The libraries in our college are a very great advantage, and fully worth all the money which we used to murmur at being forced to contribute.

"You perhaps expect from me a full account of the system of education pursued here, but I am a shocking hand at description. I confess my prejudices in favour of our Scotch system have not been much diminished by an acquaintance with Eton. There is not much work done here. In a regular week there would be a good many verses written, and a good deal of Latin and Greek construed and transmitted to memory, but since I came there has not been a single regular week. What with saints' days (for in regarding saints' days they are very orthodox), founders' days, bishops' days, etc., they have had one or two holidays, besides half-holidays, every week, in consequence of which they get off half of their verses, as well as no small portion of their lessons. I do not see the benefit of their committing to memory so much as they do, more especially as they do not commit it perfectly ; and I think they read too many authors at the same time. They go to church twice every whole holiday, and once every half, so that you may believe they are not taught to value it much. By means of frequent *absences* (a technical word), what we mean by *calling the catalogue,* they are effectually kept from going very far astray, and they are all locked up at dusk. But then there are so many in a house, and they are left so much to themselves, that they can hardly avoid idleness and mischief. In fact, a boy must possess very extraordinary studiousness if he have the wish, and still more extraordinary firmness, if he have the power, to resist the inroads of boisterous and noisy companions into his study. I omit to notice, though they are considerable, the interruptions to which the junior boys are subject from fagging. Of course I speak of those only who have not private tutors ; but out of nearly 600 only about 50 have that advantage. Upon the whole, I cannot avoid preferring that mixture of public instruction and domestic superintendence which forms the system of our Universities. A boy is much more likely to do good when he spends his evenings with his friends, or with those whom his friends have appointed, than when he is exposed to the temptations of idle companions.

"I have dined once with the Provost, and been once or twice at the house of one of the (word torn off). They live in splendid style—have fine houses, good salaries, and nothing to do with the school. The masters, on the other hand, though well paid, have a great deal to do. They not only teach publicly, but have private pupils, who construe to them their lessons, etc., before going to school.

"If I had room I would expatiate upon the beauties of the country here. The hawthorn is just budding. How horrid a town life in summer is ! When do you take flight ?"

This was evidently meant to be the end of the letter, but finding a small vacant space, the writer starts afresh, and then writes across the pages, already filled:—

"There is but one Scotchman here besides myself among the tutors—John Campbell, a student of Glasgow College, and a nephew of T. Hunter. Even he has got a degree at Oxford. I believe I am at present the only tutor who has not studied at one of the English Universities. Campbell leaves this at Midsummer, and goes to the English Bar.

"I am glad you are going on trials. Whether I shall get to Scotland this summer long enough to get over my examination I know not. I hope I may, but there is no great hurry. I hope, for the credit of the Assembly, they will not be so selfish as to petition for the relief of Presbyterian Dissenters alone from the Test Act. Why not be consistent, and make the petition general? I wish they would add to it one for Catholic Emancipation. What a fine example of Christian charity and liberality would our Church then hold out to other churches. But I fear we are still so bigoted as to wish only those of our own sect to enjoy perfect freedom and to be delivered from all civil disabilities. Why will Churchmen always be behind their fellow-citizens in learning to advocate the cause of religious freedom? I know you will not assent to these observations, but I know also that you will excuse them. What has moved the Irvine Presbytery to oppose Patronage? The law, as it is now administered, undoubtedly requires revision. But should Patronage be altogether abolished? I think the sale of it should be rendered illegal. I mean that it should be attached to the land, and, if possible, I should like to see some more effectual check than there is at present on the part of the people upon its abuse.

"Do write very soon. You have no idea how acceptable a letter from Scotland, and particularly from you, is. I want you to give me an account of the proceedings of the Assembly. I shall get the newspapers sent to me, but you can tell me your thoughts on the different subjects—the state of parties and of public feeling, and sundry other things, which a newspaper report cannot take notice of."

Our next letter, also to Mr. Urquhart, is dated Glasgow, 18th August. In it he says—

"I left Eton on Monday the 30th July, for the summer vacation, without any expectation of visiting Scotland; but as my pupil was to go with his aunt to visit the south coast of England, and as my services were not required, I embarked on Wednesday and reached Glasgow on Saturday. I lost no time in applying to the members of Presbytery that my examination might be got over. The Committee agreed to dispense with the usual forms in some degree. They examined me last Thursday, and are to report to the Presbytery in September. I hope, therefore, to get over the preliminary business then, so as to pass the spring Synod, as it is now too late for the autumn Synod."

Our next letter is from Eton, dated 2d October 1827, and is addressed to Mr. Robert Wilson :—

"I had set apart Saturday evening for the task (of reprimanding him for delay in writing), and you were saved merely by the arrival of the sixth volume of Napoleon's life, which volume, by the by, I think almost the most interesting of those which I have read. It treats of the affairs of the Peninsular war. One great excellence of the volume, and, indeed, of the whole work, is the amazing distinctness with which Sir Walter details the military transactions. I cannot say that I ever understood clearly the description of a battle before reading his. 'But this,' in the words of the Rev. John Muir,[1] after some tremendous cut at the Papists or our sister Church, 'this by the way.'

"I was glad to hear that Dowie[2] got on so well in Mr. Marshall's.[3] I hope he made as good an appearance last Sunday. You did not tell me how *he looked* in the pulpit ; not so very juvenile, I suppose, as we anticipated. Have you heard, by any means, what sort of *impression* he has made among the critics ? If so, be sure to let me know when you write. You promised to tell me what arrangements were made or likely to be made as to Buchanan's and Dowie's present situations. Dowie, I suppose, will go to Home Drummond's family ; but who is to succeed Dowie ? You should apply yourself, *i.e.* if it be a good situation, for really I know nothing about it. I suppose you will have seen these two friends pretty often since they arrived at Glasgow. I hope Buchanan[4] is pleased with his election at Rosslyn. He has got a beautiful place to reside in, and his hearers, I suppose, will give him a cordial reception. Has he been preaching in Glasgow or the neighbourhood?

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[1] Mr. Muir was minister of St. James's, Glasgow, and was notably antipopish and anti-prelatic.

[2] Mr. Dowie became minister of Dryfesdale.

[3] Mr. Marshall was then minister of Outer High Church, Glasgow, afterwards translated to Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. Before the Disruption he became Episcopalian, and a minister of the Church of England.

[4] Afterwards minister of North Leith, then of High Church, Edinburgh, and finally Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, Edinburgh.

"You will, doubtless, expect some account of my voyage, and of my present occupations in this place of exile. I left Greenock soon after you went off in the *Goddess of Beauty*, but accident obliged the vessel to return before she had reached Gourock. I made a very hasty visit to Helensburgh, and then sauntered about Greenock very disconsolate, as you may suppose, till the evening, when matters were again put in order for sailing. We had a tedious and stormy passage, and did not reach Liverpool till Wednesday forenoon. I admired the town and the docks, and on Thursday morning set out for London. The day was very fine, and I do not think I ever rode through a more beautiful country. The scenery in Cheshire and Staffordshire is particularly rich, and so varied that almost every mile gives you a total change of prospect. I reached London on Friday, and came to Eton on Saturday. I found my solitude and retirement dull enough, but I am again getting somewhat reconciled to my fate. Since I returned I have joined a society formed here among the masters and tutors for playing at fives—a strange amusement, you will think, for 'bearded men' (to use Professor Mylne's phrase), and so I thought at first; but in England these things are more common than with us. It is a good exercise, and when I become more experienced I shall like the game, I think. I am reading just now with very great pleasure, *Campbell on the Gospels.* It has given me quite new ideas of the critical study of the Scriptures. I am also reading, with much interest, the *Life of Andrew Melville*, though I cannot help smiling sometimes at M'Crie's almost Quixotic admiration of the Reformers. But he vindicates their conduct most powerfully."

In another letter to Mr. Wilson from Eton, dated 29th October, he says—

"If I were disposed to be polemical, I would take up the cudgels against you concerning Dr. Chalmers, as I do not agree with you as to the evanescent nature of the effects of his oratory. In fact, they seem to me as lasting as the impressions made by any oratory can be. But it may be questioned whether, if the decision had not immediately followed his speeches, Demosthenes himself could have swayed the Athenians as he did. As to your quotation from the graphic Johnson, it seems to me one of those commonplaces which the mighty moralist delighted to clothe in sesquipedalian words and monotonous periods, and I do not see that it applies to the Doctor more than to any other orator. From Dr. Chalmers one naturally passes to the Divinity Chair at Edinburgh. I saw, to my no small satisfaction, in an Oxford newspaper (a strange channel, you will say, for such a piece of news), that old Dr. Ritchie had at last (words torn off) by the fat slumberers of the Church to resign. Suppose Dr. C. succeeds him, pray how are the 'temporalities of the see' to be arranged? The paltry income of the professorship cannot be made up to him by a comfortable Church; so, what is to be done? Or is the chair to fall again into the lazy hands of a pluralist? μη γενοιτο. Is it true that the Doctor refused Sir H. Moncreiff's church? And has Paul got it by the wishes of the heritors and (word torn off)? You see I mean to draw largely upon you for clerical and academic news.

"From the general tenor of this epistle you must long ago have discovered that I have nothing to say. There is, I believe, a sort of lethargic influence in the very air of this dull place. At least I have of late been abominably lazy and stupid. I am endeavouring to rub up my Hebrew a little, and have agreed to take lessons from a little Italian Jew, who professes to teach the language here. But as his terms are none of the lowest I shall rest satisfied with a very few interviews with him, and principally wish to learn the use of points. I often wish I had some discourses to write, or some ponderous tome on divinity that I was forced to study. I might then be roused from my indolence. However, though shamefully idle at present, I console myself by visions of future diligence, and make large promises to my conscience.

"I envy you the locality of your situation. I have got a river here, but no fine hills. You know I admire hills, 'free as the mountain breeze that whistles.'"

This is our last letter from Eton, and we have no further knowledge of Robert Candlish's life there. We know, from a family register which he kept, that, in prosecution of his purpose to obtain license as a preacher, and, I suppose, availing himself of the summer vacation at Eton, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow, 6th August 1828. In the year following, as we have seen, he was present at the death of his brother in Glasgow.[1] In the same year he became assistant in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, to Dr. Gavin Gibb, who, besides being Professor of Hebrew in the University, was also the minister of that charge. He did not owe this appointment to any sympathy with Dr. Gibb's views, but, as Mr. Urquhart informs us, to the fact that Dr. Gibb and Mr. Candlish's father had been College friends. I have already given Mr. Walker's estimate of his pulpit work in St. Andrew's Church. But Miss Duncan informs us that she often heard, through his mother, that he did not enjoy preaching for Dr. Gibb in St. Andrew's. He said it hung like a cold blanket about his neck. It is not to be inferred from this that he disliked the work of preaching the gospel. But his position was a very trying one, and especially to a man who had such a lofty estimate of what sermons ought to be. He had only recently been licensed, and was yet a youth in his twenty-third year, and the whole charge of a city congregation, including the preaching of two sermons every Sabbath, was devolved upon him. Besides he had practically become the minister of a congregation which had been accustomed to a very Moderate type of preaching, and who could hardly be expected to appreciate sermons of such a kind as Mr. Candlish could not but deliver to them. He then prepared and delivered, in the ordinary course of his duty, some of those sermons that afterwards made a profound impression in St. George's, Edinburgh, and established his fame as a preacher. Amid the peculiar difficulties of his position it must have been a great comfort and support to him to have the companionship and friendship of the Rev. David Welsh, who was at that time minister of St. David's, and who frequently invited him to preach to his congregation. This friendship was renewed with increased warmth and intimacy when Dr. Welsh, who had become Professor of Church History in Edinburgh University, was one of Mr. Candlish's elders in St. George's, and continued unbroken till the death of Dr. Welsh in 1845. His friendships with other Glasgow ministers, contracted at a somewhat later date, were all of a very intimate and endearing kind, and life-long in their duration. Among these friends may be reckoned Dr. Smyth of St. George's, Dr. Henderson of St. Enoch's, and Dr. Robert Buchanan of the Tron Church.

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[1] "Fratrem unicum optimum." Dr. Candlish's Family Register.

The following lettter, addressed to Mr. Andrew Urquhart in February 1831, will help to indicate his views and feelings at this time. He says—

"Observing in the *Herald* of yesterday Dowie's appointment to the chapel at Dumfries, it occurred to me that you might have no objection to his situation as Dr. Buchanan's assistant.[1] I accordingly made application to his (Dr. B.'s) nephew, Dr. Andrew Buchanan, the result of which application is now at your service. You will see, of course, that there is no time to be lost. As it is, it is perhaps too late, though Dr. Buchanan's friends here have heard of no person likely to be chosen. Perhaps you may not think it worth your while to stir in the matter, though it seems to me, on some accounts, a desirable situation. Dowie's allowance was, I believe, liberal, and it is only half-duty in the preaching department. The old Doctor, to be sure, is said to be a little peculiar in his temper. But then his good word goes a great way, evangelically ; and the fame of having assisted him has already obtained for several the odour of sanctity, and its due reward. You are not like poor unhappy me, shut out by irreversible decree of fate from what, in these days, is the high and sure road to preferment. You don't read—you don't preach in (very) Moderate pulpits. You are already known as a champion of orthodoxy. You are a very amiable person, and just the man for Dr. Buchanan. So, make his acquaintance by all means, and take your chance. As long as your pupils continue in Edinburgh the two occupations of teaching and preaching might not be incompatible. But I forgot. Pluralities avaunt! You see how one degenerates in a contagious climate. '*Ille ego qui quondam*,' etc. The less good, however, is without scruple to be sacrificed to the greater. On the whole, I thought it advisable to give you the opportunity ; and if you should not choose to take advantage of it, it is but a double postage to you. I would advise you, however, to call upon the old gentleman, at all events, immediately on receiving this. It can do no harm. If you come through to

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[1] Dr. Buchanan was minister of Canongate, Edinburgh, which is a collegiate charge.

Greenock I shall, of course, expect to see you; if not, write and tell me how the matter stands. Perhaps I might be of some further use to you in getting certificates or letters of recommendation from this quarter by way of subsidiary force. Let me know.

"Dr. Thomson's death must have created a great sensation in Edinburgh.[1] He will be much missed by the Church. It is lamentable to think of so young a man being cut off in the very vigour of his talents and in the midst of so many gigantic plans and labours of usefulness. It will be hard to get a worthy, or even a not unworthy successor. Some of our Glasgow cannons are expecting a summons, but which of them—except, perhaps, Welsh—is in the least degree competent?"

The death of Dr. Gibb in June 1831 brought to an end Mr. Candlish's engagement in St. Andrew's Church. It serves to show how entirely congenial to his taste and feelings was the work of the ministry even at this early period that, as Miss Duncan tells us, when he had the alternative offered to him of being assistant to Professor Walker in teaching Latin in the University of Glasgow, and of becoming assistant to Mr. Gregor, the minister of Bonhill, he accepted the latter appointment without hesitation, although the remuneration offered for the former appointment was twice as much as he received from the minister. At Bonhill, as in St. Andrew's, Glasgow, the whole of the pulpit and pastoral duties of the parish were devolved upon him, and these he discharged with such ability, and diligence, and zeal, as to gain the respect and affections of the congregation. But as yet it cannot be said that he had become a popular preacher, and he was suffered to remain in the position he now occupied for two years and three months without receiving a call from any congregation, or realising his hope of being the ordained minister of a small rural charge. His prospect of obtaining such a settlement, indeed, seemed so small, that he seriously contemplated emigrating to the colonies, and actually offered himself for work in Canada. There were several reasons for this deferred hope, some of which are indicated in the letter to Mr. Urquhart, which I have given above. He was a reader, at least he had been so when assistant in St. Andrew's Church. Besides, he had been assistant to one notable Moderate minister, and was now in the same relation to a minister of the same type. Moreover, his appearance and manner in the pulpit were at first sight by no means attractive, and young preachers of far inferior powers were preferred before him. In illustration of this fact I may give, from Mr. Bell's notes, his first impressions of the preacher. He says—

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[1] It did, indeed. In the month in which this letter was written Dr. Thomson fell down dead at the door of his own house, returning from a meeting of Presbytery, in the business of which he had taken part apparently in his usual health, and in mid-time of his days. I did not hear of it till next day, when walking in the morning from Leith to attend Dr. Chalmers' class in the University; but on Leith Walk the usual crowds of hurrying feet were arrested, and every face bore an expression of sadness. Those who knew the fact arrested those who did not, and whispered the startling intelligence. Dr. Chalmers came into his class-room as usual, but broke down in the first sentence of his lecture, and rushed out, bathed in tears.

> "My acquaintance with Dr. Candlish commenced in the close of 1834 or beginning of 1835. Returning after an absence of three years from Edinburgh, I found him minister of St. George's, where I had been a hearer, from boyhood, of Dr. Andrew Thomson, and whom, with most others who enjoyed that privilege, I regarded as a very great man, whose place no successor could be expected to fill. My first impressions, therefore, were unfavourable. The minister looked so young; he had an awkward way of habitually shrugging up one shoulder, which gave him almost a deformed look; his voice often passed into a scream or even screech, and his gesticulation was sometimes almost extravagant. But these peculiarities speedily ceased to be regarded, and very soon I felt with everybody else that a great preacher had appeared, and that a new era was coming in for the Scottish pulpit."

Mr. Candlish's voice subsequently became very melodious, but the nervous twitchings never disappeared. Writing in 1865 Mrs. Gilbert says—"On Sunday morning, M. and I heard Dr. Candlish; that is, she heard and I saw him,—a short man, with broad shoulders and a head large enough for his diploma. But, oh! such nervous varieties! If I were his wife I would make his waistcoat and his gown fit better; they were never doing their duty to his satisfaction."

His offer of service in Canada is contained in a letter addressed to Dr. Robert Burns, then of Paisley, dated 30th March 1833:—

"Knowing the interest which you take in the settlement of Christian Churches in British North America, I take the liberty, though a stranger, of addressing you on the subject. I am disposed to regard that country as an interesting field of ministerial labour; and as I understand that at present there seems to be a call for additional labourers there, I beg to express my desire of serving the great Head of the Church in any part of His vineyard where a fair opening may appear, and my willingness accordingly to accept of any appointment which may hold out the reasonable prospect of professional usefulness and respectability.

"I have been a preacher of the gospel now for about five years, during nearly four of which I have been regularly engaged in the discharge of pulpit duty, and latterly of parochial duty also, as an assistant in Glasgow, and in my present situation. I hope, therefore, that I may be in some measure warranted in my wish of forming a more intimate and permanent connection with a congregation of my own."

In a subsequent letter, dated 13th April of the same year, he says—

"Though not bound to remain for any definite period, I am unwilling suddenly to desert my post; and there are considerations that make me feel that, by leaving this place immediately, and without some little preparation, I should not only put the minister to serious inconvenience, but materially incommode and perhaps injure the congregation. I have received great kindness from Mr. Gregor, and it would ill become me to do anything in this affair without consulting, as far as possible, his feelings. I know that he will be averse to part with me, and I should wish that he had such previous notice of my intention as might enable him better to dispense with my services. I may mention, too, that within these few months I have, with Mr. Gregor's concurrence, begun to adopt measures for the more effectual discharge than hitherto of parochial duty here; and I feel myself in

> some degree bound to see these measures carried into effect—at least, so far as to prevent them falling to the ground in the event of my going away. The works and plans which I have begun I should like to leave in such a state that any one coming in my place may without difficulty take them up."

Mr. Gregor, who was a shrewd and sagacious man, doubtless knew the value of his assistant's services, and would be very unwilling to be deprived of them. He was somewhat of a caustic humourist, and the Vale of Leven abounds with reminiscences of some of his memorable sayings, which Dr. Candlish in later years was wont to rehearse. He belonged to the "Moderate" school, but when he found that the sort of moral essays which these divines used to give for sermons was not popular with his parishioners at Bonhill, he burned all his discourses of that kind, and wrote such as were more acceptable to the people. Thus it happened that, without much evangelical fervour, his preaching was quite orthodox. He was neat and elegant in his person, and his composition partook of the same characteristics. His statements were often remarkably felicitous and beautiful. Thus, in fencing the table before the Communion, he would convey encouragement to the doubting and timid in such words as these:—"If you cannot come *with* assurance, come *for* assurance; if you cannot come with the strong confidence of him who said, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him,' at least come with the trembling faith of the afflicted parent who cried, 'Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief.'"

After he obtained an assistant, he never preached in his own pulpit himself. "What is the use," he said, "of keeping a dog and then barking yourself?"

On one occasion he was to preach at Row on the Monday after the Communion. It was the custom there to have two sermons on that day without any interval, and the minister of a neighbouring parish was the first preacher; Mr. Gregor, as the senior minister, following immediately after. During the course of the first sermon he was fidgeting about and looking at his watch from time to time, evidently thinking the preacher was encroaching on the time that should have been allotted to him. At length he got possession of the pulpit, and then began with a prayer, in which he introduced the petition that what they had heard might be blessed "in so far as it has been intelligible, and that which has been intelligible in so far as it has been edifying." Then, taking out his watch, and laying it down before him, he said, "My friends, at this late hour I will not detain you long. You all know there is a great difference between the length of a sermon and the strength of a sermon."

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To a probationer who once preached for him, he said that it was a good discourse; but that it would be better if he would not put quite so much matter into a sermon, and give more attention to the manner of expression. "In a word," he concluded, "a little less meat, and a little more cooking."

At the time when cholera first visited this country ministers were requested to urge upon their congregations the precautions necessary to be observed as a protection against it. Accordingly, on one Sabbath, after Mr. Candlish had preached, Mr. Gregor ascended the pulpit beside him to do this. The first thing he had to enforce was cleanliness, and this he illustrated in the following way:—

"My friends, you may have heard of a substance that has been newly invented, called Mackintosh's patent cloth, which has the property of keeping out wet from the body. It has been found, however, that the wearing of this cloth is not very good for the health; for while it keeps out the wet it has also the effect of keeping in the moisture of the body, and that is injurious. Now it stands to reason that a coating of dirt will have much the same effect as Mackintosh's patent cloth."

Next he had to speak of temperance, which he did as follows:—

"I used to think, my friends, that a glass of toddy after dinner was good for digestion. But I have come to have some doubt about it. You may have seen in the windows of apothecaries' shops various animal substances in glass jars, preserved in spirits. Now, if spirits have the effect of preserving animal substances, they can hardly be good for digestion. But you must not think that it is only spirits about which you need to be careful, for I can tell you that if you get drunk on port wine you'll not be sober for a week."

This was said in the presence of many of the country gentlemen, who did not let it down upon him for a long time after, "I can tell you."

Such was the manner of man to whom Mr. Candlish was assistant for more than two years. As still further illustrative of his views and feelings, it may be mentioned that during the period of Mr. Candlish's services at Bonhill the first collection for Indian Missions was made throughout the Church. Such a thing had never been done in that parish before, and Mr. Gregor was at first opposed to having the collection made at all, but his assistant prevailed on him to allow it. Then Mr. Candlish preached a regular missionary sermon, and the result was a very large collection, and in the end the old minister was not a little proud that theirs was the largest collection in the Presbytery.

Of his experiences and feelings during his residence at Bonhill there is very scanty information. A letter, however, addressed to Mr. Urquhart, and dated 1st January 1833, indicates that he was then becoming somewhat restless. The letter is little more than an invitation, but it is characteristic :—

"I venture to put in a claim for a day at least of your company. When at Glasgow you can easily run down to Dumbarton, and it will be pleasanter and quieter to talk over all matters here than in the great city of Babel. If you are not *very* particularly engaged on Sabbath the 13th, give us a sermon. Do, for auld lang syne. You never would assist me in Glasgow, and I think I have some claim on you. Exert yourself for once, and do a kind and generous act. Get off any engagement you have, and spend the Sunday with us. If you really cannot do me so great a favour, at least come down here for a night before you leave Glasgow. My mother and sister would be very glad if you would bring Miss Urquhart along with you. They claim a promise from her to visit us; and if she is disposed to double the kindness, now is the time for enlivening and cheering our dull abode in the dreariness of winter. I hope she may be persuaded to fulfil her promise, and take the opportunity of your coming. In which case I engage, after a due and reasonable time has elapsed, and our endeavours fail to reconcile her to our banishment, to conduct her safely to Kilbirnie, Greenock, or any other civilised part of the habitable globe."

In a letter to Mr. Urquhart, dated 3d October of the same year, he says—

"I have often reproached myself all this summer for not writing to acknowledge your kindness in preaching for me. I delayed in expectation of having something definite to tell as to my prospects. But they are still as dark and doubtful as ever. I thought once that I was within reach of a settlement either in London or here, as there was a movement about the successorship. The principal party concerned, however, threw cold water on the proposal. My London hopes proved visionary; and so here I am again thrown back. Abundantly discontented you may suppose. A speedy removal from this place, since I cannot get a permanent appointment, would be very desirable for more reasons than one; but, alas! I see no probable pretence for changing."

The change was nearer than he anticipated. He was on the eve of being removed to his permanent sphere of labour in St. George's, Edinburgh. Before detailing the steps which led to this change, I give his own letter to Mr. Urquhart in the immediate prospect of it, dated 11th December 1833:—

"I should have written you sooner, but waited till I could communicate something certain regarding my movements. I believe now that my business is all but fixed, and waiting only on Roxburgh's arrangement.[1] Only, as I have not received any formal and official call, I do not like to speak too confidently. The matter stands thus. The very day I left you James Mitchell wrote to Shanks More, and by return of post received an invitation for me to preach. Welsh was referred to, and also written to. I spent a fortnight in Edinburgh, and preached on the 17th November in the Canongate Chapel, and on the 24th in St. George's. For the former I have little chance, at least just at present, there being sundry petty cabals in progress. But the impression in St. George's was decided—indeed, so favourable as to surprise me a little, considering the small notice taken elsewhere. Dr. Chalmers was a hearer, and is now warmly interested in my success. That of itself, I mean the gaining of his approbation, and his personal friendship, would be a sufficient benefit resulting from my visit. I found More most kind, and, after Sabbath, he spoke for himself and his brother elders very strongly, so that altogether, unless some awkward chance intervenes, I have little doubt of success. I had a letter this morning from Buchanan (North Leith) confirming my expectations. I believe the Session are merely waiting till Roxburgh's affairs are in some degree fixed. There was some fear of delay in regard to his induction at Dundee, in which case he might have resumed his engagement for three months in Edinburgh. But I understand now the difficulty is got over, and he is to be settled without delay; so that I should *hope* he will not require to continue much longer where he is. Mr. More told me I might possibly receive rather sudden notice; so that I hold myself in waiting as patiently as I can. I was very much pleased with his kindness, and the frankness with which he spoke of his desire to serve me not only in this but in any other matters. I was only afraid the sough of my connection with St. Andrew's Church would operate against me. But I hope any false impression on that head has been guarded against. I did not use your letter, though not the less obliged to you for it on that account. Mr. Martin is in Italy, and leaves the affair entirely to the Session. They informed him, however, of the application and recommendations in my favour, and he signified his willingness to acquiesce. He is rather better, I understand, though not much. He has twice, I believe, expressed an anxiety to resign. It is very conscientious and noble disinterestedness. Of course there can be no idea of any such arrangement so long as there is any prospect of recovery at all.

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[1] Dr. Roxburgh, now of St. John's, Glasgow, was then assistant to Mr. Martin in St. George's, Edinburgh.

"I have thought it due to our friendship and the interest you took in the matter to let you know the improved, and, as I trust, improving, state of my prospects, though still doubtful and uncertain. I confess I have so often now been disappointed when on the very point of success that I am anxious and somewhat restless, and feel as if I could depend on nothing till some irrevocable step is taken. I would fain hope, however, that whatever may be the issue of this affair, I have made some friends, and gained some notice likely to help me to gain others."

It was a letter addressed by James Mitchell, Esq., Glasgow, to J. Shank More, Esq., Edinburgh, which led to the introduction of Mr. Candlish to the congregation of St. George's. The letter, dated 16th October 1833, is in the following terms:—

"My friend Mr. Robert Smith Candlish, A.M., assistant to Mr. Gregor of Bonhill, having heard that the assistancy in St. George's is vacant, is desirous to have the appointment for three months or longer, and wishes me to mention the circumstance to you, who are so likely to be consulted, and to take an active interest in the new appointment.

"Mr. Candlish was a fellow-student of mine, and was an excellent and talented writer, and stood high as a scholar in different departments of College studies.

"And he is far from being unpractised or unpopular as a preacher. He was for a considerable time assistant to Dr. Gibb of St. Andrew's; and, when he left that charge about the time of Dr. Gibb's death, he entered upon his present office, which he has since continued to occupy with such acceptance that a scattered congregation has been collected, the church is filled, or nearly so, and the parishioners applied for his appointment as successor to the present incumbent.

"I have not heard Mr. Candlish preach, so that I do not personally know his style or sentiments; but Mr. Urquhart, whom you have seen as tutor to my cousins, and in whose evangelical sentiments you have, I daresay, confidence, was so fond of him as a preacher, that while he was in St. Andrew's he used to sit under his ministry; and I have repeatedly heard that he is a forcible and eloquent preacher.

"On all these points he refers to Dr. Welsh, who knows him intimately, and who can give a full account of his character and acquirements.

"If the vacancy is still open, I should think—from all I know of Mr. Candlish—that the congregation would do well to take a hearing of him. And he will be ready to go in to Edinburgh for this purpose, or to give any satisfaction that may be desired from a personal interview.

It is probable that Mr. Urquhart will write to Mr. Martin on the subject; but from your connection with the congregation Mr. Candlish wishes me to bring the matter before you. I have no liking to interfere between a congregation and their pastor, but it is only just to state the above facts when asked to do so, and this I do with perfect confidence and candour."

To this letter Mr. More replied on the 17th October:—

"I received your letter of the 16th this morning. Mr. Roxburgh, who was engaged as assistant at St. George's for three months after last Sabbath, is to fulfil his engagement, notwithstanding his call to Dundee, so that no assistant will be required till the middle of January at the earliest.

"From what you say of Mr. Candlish, he seems a very desirable person for such a situation, and your favourable account of him was confirmed by Dr. C., who happened to call upon me, in reference to another young preacher he was recommending with the same view, a short time after I received your letter. If Mr. Candlish were to be in Edinburgh at any rate, I wish you would let me know, and I should secure him a diet in St. George's, so that he might be heard, and the feelings of the people ascertained with regard to him. One of the city clergy will frequently, perhaps generally, preach one half of the day, and if you would let me know when Mr. Candlish may probably be in Edinburgh it would be desirable. I may mention that till the middle of November all the diets are filled up, so that it must be after that before he could be heard. But as it is probable that several young men will be proposed to succeed Mr. Roxburgh, the sooner Mr. Candlish is heard the better.

"I am much obliged to you for suggesting any good preacher of whom you may hear, and I have no doubt, from what you say, Mr. Candlish will give satisfaction."

The result was, as we have seen, that Mr. Candlish preached in St. George's on the 24th November. When the matter of the assistantship was finally settled, he again wrote to his friend Mr. Urquhart on the 3d February 1834:—

"You must have thought me very negligent in not writing sooner, and yet I plead guilty to the delay only of a very few days. My appointment as assistant in St. George's took place just three weeks ago. It was settled at last most harmoniously and handsomely. Dr. Chalmers acted admirably, and interested himself warmly in my favour. The Mores were even enthusiastic in the matter. No other preacher was heard as a candidate. But some difficulties were started. The vile report of *Moderation* was revived. Some great folks had private ends to serve, and the students and preachers here made a fuss and outcry about the unfairness of passing them over and bringing a man from the west. Mr. More, indeed, tells me that I have a very considerable prejudice to overcome, and more pains were taken to defeat me than the thing altogether seemed worth. However, ultimately, Lord Moncreiff being quite satisfied, the Session were unanimous and cordial. I hope I have gained a step towards a settlement. I have gained, if I can keep, some good and influential friends. I almost wonder now at my presumption and my success. I am surprised to find myself here, and feel considerable diffidence as to my being able to assume a proper tone and preserve a right line of conduct. For the pulpit duties, health being supposed, I am not much afraid, having a tolerable stock in trade; but for the private intercourse, etc., it is difficult and delicate for a mere assistant in so important and prominent a charge to know and keep his place. My hope is that I shall not be long here. I would fain retreat, at least for ten or twelve years to come, to a country charge, provided it were my own. Had our old friend at Bonhill not been a fool I should not have thought of leaving it. But these matters and speculations are beyond us. About a month ago I preached as a candidate in Roxburgh Place Chapel—the Chapel received into the Establishment last Assembly. The managers invited me chiefly upon the recommendation of Mr. More, whose extraordinary friendship I can never sufficiently value or repay. At present I understand the impression is pretty much in my favour, at least it lies between another and myself. They mean to elect, I am told, in March. I wish they may elect *judiciously*.[1] The Chapel is much in debt. The stipend would be very small; but I would be most thankful for a permanent footing and full orders anywhere. These assistantships are not good. They give too much duty with too little *weight*. A man cannot tell what he is—he is neither fish nor flesh. He cannot assume the status of a minister, and yet he is in the situation of one.

assistant minister

"For public matters. The Church here is truly in danger. A radical magistracy, and an infidel or semi-infidel population, urged on by our political dissenters, who seem to have merged their spiritual calling and their religious duties in the work of revolutionary agitation, and to have lost the Christian in the Demagogue — these are formidable adversaries. Dr. Chalmers made a noble speech, as you would see, in the Presbytery, characterising the littleness of the times, and the men, and the measures. The speech, *i.e.* the exertion of making it, laid him up for some days. He has been seriously unwell, but is convalescent. Notwithstanding his remonstrance the council are going on in their reckless career. They are determined, it seems, both to agitate the city in detail in the several wards and to go to Parliament on their most infamous scheme of suppressing ministerial charges. One almost wishes them to go on, just to display their temper, and to afford the Church an opportunity of a splendid and glorious effort. Suppose, as is hinted, a commission of Presbytery or Assembly sent to London, claiming or petitioning to be heard at the bar of the Commons against the measure—Dr. Chalmers addressing to such an assembly one of his vivid appeals on his favourite theme of parochial work—who shall say what the moral effect might be of such a display? What a magnificent situation for the Doctor! What an impression on the public mind might be made! What a stimulus given to the good cause! What a grand assertion of the great principle of a National Church! Could such a result of the present infatuation be anticipated, it would indeed be bringing good out of evil. But I fear it is a result too favourable for these dark times. Men's minds are not open to large and liberal views—a certain low and feeble and miserably short-sighted policy rather suits them. Everything like high principle and honest zeal seems out of place. All is cold and calculating prudence. Does it not seem to you that the governments and legislatures of the great civilised nations are manifesting an infatuated blindness to the progress of things towards a crisis? that the events of the day are too great for the little men who, instead of guiding them, are involved helplessly in their course? that the stream of affairs everywhere is tending to a cataract or torrent? that the several lines of history in all parts of the world are rapidly converging to one awful point—a general convulsive movement? In the west, Spain and Portugal already unsettled, France and England at least not settled; in the East, the Turkish power vanishing, and the way preparing for Palestine emerging from its long obscurity to its destined and predicted pre-eminence. Do not appearances marvellously correspond with the expectations of Christian students of prophecy, and betoken the drawing near of the final consummation and catastrophe of the drama? Do you ever study prophecy?—Faber or Keith on the Signs of the Times? It is a fascinating study, but I feel is very apt to lead to unprofitable speculations, or wild vagaries, and draw attention from the more important concerns of private and personal religion. But at such a time as the present, so fruitful of change and so ominous of wars, one cannot but be somewhat on the watch to observe.

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[1] The preacher chosen in preference to Mr. Candlish was Mr. Fowler, afterwards minister at Ratho.

"I have taken lodgings in the house of Mr. Ferguson, 3 Hope Street. My mother and sister remain at Bonhill for the present, the house there being taken till Whitsunday. Before that time I would fain hope we shall be able to see our way more clearly than at present to a settled resting-place. If I continue in Edinburgh in any capacity, I fancy they will join me here. Our family now is so small that it is not worth while to separate.[1] Small as it is, we dare not reckon upon the circle continuing long unbroken. The anxiety is natural to make the most of the allotted time of union. On this, as well as on other accounts, I regret much leaving Bonhill at present, where I met with much friendship, and where I was beginning to feel that I could be acceptable, and useful, and happy. I have left a people as attached to me as I can well hope to find elsewhere. It is painful to form connections so precarious, and be obliged to abandon a field which one would like well to cultivate. Yet, in the circumstances, I think I have done right. I hope it may turn out well. Excuse my excessive egotism. I confess I am becoming not a little anxious."

At the beginning of the above letter Mr. Candlish refers to some difficulties which lay in the way of his election as assistant in St. George's, and particularly to the revival of the report as to his being a Moderate. There was, in fact, as I remember, a keen conflict of opinion on that subject, as appears also from the statement given in the *Life of Principal Cunningham,* that the name of Mr. Candlish having been mentioned in connection with the vacancy in Old Kilpatrick, Mr. Cunningham expressed a desire to get that parish himself, in order to keep out a Moderate of the name of Candlish. The difficulty was overcome very much by the assurance of Mr. James Buchanan, then minister of North Leith parish, that the suspicion was wholly groundless.

The reference towards the close of the letter is to a controversy of great keenness between the Town Council and the Presbytery of Edinburgh as to ecclesiastical matters, and in which Dr. Chalmers took a leading part. I content myself with stating merely what the subject matter of it was. Those who desire fuller information regarding it will find it detailed in Dr.

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[1] His elder sister had died 23d May 1827, when he was at Eton.

Hannah's *Life of Dr. Chalmers.* The matter in itself was not one of great magnitude, but was regarded by Dr. Chalmers as involving great principles, the carrying out of which was of vital importance to the wellbeing of the community. The plan recommended to the Town Council in regard to the city Churches in Edinburgh was, that the annuity tax, by which the stipends of the city ministers was provided, should be abolished; that the number of city ministers should be reduced from eighteen to thirteen; and that the stipends should be paid from the pew rents, any deficiency being made up by a tax on all heritable property, one-half levied from the proprietor and one-half from the tenant. This proposal was resisted by Dr. Chalmers with all the vehemence and eloquence and force of argument of which he was master, and his views were warmly sympathised with by ministers of the Established Church generally, and especially by the evangelical party.

CHAPTER III.

Appointed Assistant Minister of St. George's—Call to Regent Square, London—Call declined—Movement for his settlement in St. George's—My first acquaintance with him—Presentation to St. George's—Public sermons and lectures—His marriage—Home life—Proposal for a new church in Young Street—Church erected; Mr. Moody-Stuart, minister—Provision for educational wants—Proposal to translate him to Greenside—How he entertained it—Induced to remain in St. George's, missionary assistants being employed—Mr. A. A. Bonar—Missionary Association—Labours outside his own parish and congregation—Letter of consolation.

It was in January 1834 that Mr. Candlish entered the sphere of his future labours. His position, indeed, was not at first intended to be permanent, nor had he any expectation that it was to assume such a character. His ambition did not soar so high as to anticipate his becoming minister of St. George's, Edinburgh. He was there merely as temporary assistant to Mr. Martin, whose health, after a very brief service in that charge, had become impaired, and who had betaken himself to the warmer climate of Italy for the winter. It very soon became apparent, however, that the time had now come for fulfilling his desire of finding a "settled resting-place"—not such a place as he longed for, but one of far greater prominence. The congregation of St. George's found that if they were to retain him at all they must take steps to secure his permanent residence among them. People elsewhere were seeking to obtain the benefit of his services. He had preached for four Sabbaths in the summer of 1833 in Regent Square Church, London, which was at that time vacant by the removal of Edward Irving, but not with any view to his settlement in that charge. Such, however, was the impression created regarding his gifts and character, that in the spring of the following year he received an invitation from the congregation to become their pastor, for it was only then that they were in a position to call a minister.

In this connection it is interesting to read the following letter of Mr. Cunningham, then minister of the College Church, Edinburgh, addressed to James Nisbet, Esq., one of the elders in Regent Square Church. The letter is evidently in answer to inquiries by Mr. Nisbet:—

> "My dear Sir—You are aware that I was a good deal prejudiced against Candlish, and I don't think that my prejudices were at all unreasonable considering his long and close connection with Moderate men. I have not yet any personal acquaintance with him, but I must say that all I have heard since I came to Edinburgh has tended to remove prejudice and to make me confide in his sincerity. He has been preaching with great acceptance in St. George's, and is at present spoken of as not very unlikely to succeed Dr. Inglis in the Greyfriars. I should think him exceedingly well qualified for Regent Square, and likely to be a decidedly acceptable and successful minister there.
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> "I am glad to think that you have now the near prospect of getting a minister of your own, and I trust that God will send you one after His own heart. I don't expect much from next Assembly. I am somewhat afraid, notwithstanding the Burgh Reform Bill, which will greatly improve the burgh towns—for most of them will send up anti-Patronage men—that still the Assembly may be pretty Moderate."

While matters were ripening in Regent Square, however, early in May 1834 the Kirk-Session of St. George's had come to the resolution of applying to the Town Council of Edinburgh to have him appointed as assistant and successor to Mr. Martin. He therefore declined the call to London, although his kindly relations with Regent Square Church, strengthened as they afterwards were by the fact of his beloved friend James Hamilton becoming its minister, were never broken. When, in his decaying years, he preached his friend's funeral sermon, recalling that former time, he said—

"It is now some four-and-thirty years since I first made the acquaintance of the Regent Square congregation, and narrowly missed being their pastor."

It was in the spring of 1834, when he had only been for a few weeks assistant in St. George's, that I first saw and heard Mr. Candlish. It was at a meeting of probationers and students of Divinity in Dr. Chalmers' class-room in the University, held for the purpose of getting a marble bust of Dr. Andrew Thomson executed, to be placed as a permanent memorial of him in the Hall of the Edinburgh Presbytery. Mr. Candlish attended, and spoke at the meeting, proposing, if I remember rightly, the appointment of a committee to raise subscriptions among the probationers and students of Divinity, to procure the bust. The subscriptions were limited to these classes, for it was designed as a testimonial on their part of their high appreciation of the eminent services rendered by Dr. Thomson to the Church of Scotland and to the country. There was nothing in the brief speech to indicate Mr. Candlish's power as an orator, but it served to indicate his thorough sympathy with Dr. Thomson's sentiments and labours. Shortly afterwards I met Mr. Candlish in the apartments of my friend and fellow-student Thomas Duncan, who was afterwards minister, first at Kirkintilloch, and afterwards at Newcastle. It was a students' supper-party. The interlocutors were our host, Mr. John Anderson—who two years later went to Madras as the first missionary of the Church of Scotland there—Mr. Candlish, and myself. As the manner of students was, and I suppose still is, we got somehow into a discussion. The subject of it that evening was conscience, and it was chiefly maintained between Mr. Candlish and myself, and continued till a very late hour. I received then a very profound impression of his singular and versatile gifts, of his acuteness and power; and all who were present on that evening were firmly persuaded that he would soon rise to a foremost place in the Church.

In his interesting history of St. George's Church, Mr. David Maclagan says :—

> "I find, on referring to the Municipal Records of Edinburgh, that on the 18th March 1834 Lord Moncreiff and Mr. Learmonth of Dean applied, on behalf of the congregation of St. George's, that Mr. Candlish be appointed colleague (assistant ?) and successor of Mr. Martin, there being then a probability of Mr. Candlish leaving Edinburgh altogether. Whether this contemplated movement was still the colonial plan already referred to, or the Regent Square one, I cannot trace ; but on the 13th May 1834, a letter, in name of the elders, signed by Lord Moncreiff, Mr. Learmonth, and Mr. John Thomson, was addressed to the Town Council, stating that Mr. Martin had no hope of resuming his duties, and requesting that Mr. Candlish, who had for three months officiated as assistant, be appointed colleague (assistant ?) and successor, adding, 'who is most acceptable to us, and whom we know to be highly acceptable to the congregation.' They further stated that the proposal had the approval of Dr. Chalmers.
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> "On the 20th May 1834, accordingly, a presentation was made out in favour of Mr. Candlish as assistant and successor to Mr. Martin,—the Lord Provost (Spittal), Dean of Guild (Macfeat), and Convener (Banks), 'to prosecute the matter before the Presbytery.'
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> "The death of Mr. Martin, a week afterwards, arrested proceedings in this form. On the 1st of July the Town Council, on the motion of the Lord Provost, agreed to make a supplementary presentation in consequence of doubts as to the validity of the preceding one. The supplementary presentation bears that it is 'without hurt or prejudice to the said presentation, but in confirmation and corroboration thereof, and in supplement thereto.'
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> "Mr. Candlish was not ordained minister of St. George's until August 1834, on the 17th of which month he preached his first sermon as minister of the congregation from the words, 'One soweth and another reapeth,'—a sermon which he recast and rewrote during the last year of his life."[1]

As usually happens on the first settlement of a minister in a city charge, demands were soon made upon Mr. Candlish to preach sermons on public occasions and for benevolent societies. These demands were more than usually frequent upon him, partly from the unprecedented fact of a young and unknown probationer having been ordained as minister of St. George's, and partly because it soon became widely enough known that his preaching was of almost unrivalled excellence, and that his name was sure to draw a large audience. In September 1834, a month after his ordination, he preached a sermon on behalf of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Gaelic School Society, on the text, Acts xvii. 23, which was printed by request, and forms the author's earliest publication. This sermon made the merits of his preaching more widely known, and increased the demands upon him for similar services. A sermon preached in 1835, entitled, "Remarks on the Christian principle of Benevolence," which was also published at the request of the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick, tended in the same direction. This sermon forms the last piece in the volume afterwards published, entitled, *Scripture Characters and Miscellanies.*

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[1] This sermon has been published in a memorial volume, issued shortly after his death.

Nor was it merely in the way of preaching public sermons that demands were made upon his energies. About the time of his ordination it had become an established institution, both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, that courses of lectures should be delivered on the leading topics which were interesting the religious community. These lectures were almost wholly delivered by ministers, and the two subjects embraced in two separate courses of lectures were Voluntaryism and Popery. Mr. Candlish could not escape being called on to take part in these courses of lectures, which he did with singular power and effect. In his reminiscences of Mr. Candlish Mr. Bell says—

> "Besides the proper duties of his office as minister of St. George's, Mr. Candlish took his share from an early period in various courses of lectures which were deemed necessary in those days for educating the public mind on several important subjects. Most of these lectures

were published after they had been delivered, and I believe even yet it will be seen that Mr. Candlish invariably raised the question under discussion to a platform unwontedly high, and cast around it a glow of genius and spirituality quite new and unlooked for. I remember being always impressed with this feeling. It was the same with his platform speeches. He never forgot himself,—never lost sight of the fact that he was a minister of the gospel,—never took advantage of an opponent, however sorely tempted,—but always seemed to ask himself, How will my sayings here bear comparison with the tone of my Sabbath ministrations? He seemed always to be less intent on personal credit than on securing the advancement of the good cause, and the welfare of the Church and State. His great aim seemed to be, in his youth, his mature manhood, and his green old age—'*Ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.*'"

Mr. Candlish married at Renfrew, on the 6th January 1835, Janet, daughter of Walter Brock, who still survives, and of whom it is not meet to say more than that she had and has "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which, in the sight of God is of great price;" and, having such a spirit, apart from other graces and excellences, was of unspeakable value to her husband. This event made no interruption in his manifold labours any more than the variety and extent of them interfered with the discharge of his duties to his congregation and parish. On the day preceding his marriage he issued a circular to his congregation explanatory of a proposal for a new church in Young Street. It would be an utter mistake to assume that this arose from any indifference to domestic ties. No man had warmer family affections or deeper enjoyment of the felicities of the home circle. It was a constant source of strength and refreshment to him to be in the bosom of his family, in the society of his wife and children. His spirits always rose in the society of young people, and he rioted in their hilarity. His children had a very keen appreciation of this characteristic of his nature, which helped so much to make his fireside joyful. His old familiar friend, Mr. Robert Wilson, says that when his children were anticipating and planning some amusement, and found that at the time their father was to be from home, they gladly postponed the time of their expected enjoyment for the sake of his companionship in it. "We will wait," they said, "till he comes back, that *we may have* some fun." The enjoyments of his home life and his assiduous public labours trode very close upon each other, and were no doubt mutually helpful. He wrought all the harder and more efficiently because of the zest with which he entered into the pleasures of the domestic circle, and the exhaustion of his public labours rendered these pleasures far more refreshing and enjoyable.

Mr. Candlish entered upon his ministry just at the time when the work of Church Extension had received such a wondrous impulse from the legislation of the Church, and the indomitable zeal and stirring eloquence of Dr. Chalmers. The General Assembly of 1834 removed the restrictions which had been hitherto imposed upon ministers of Chapels of Ease, as they were called. Up to that time the ministers of such chapels, although ordained, were merely preachers. They had no kirk-session for the exercise of discipline and the government of the congregation, and they were not allowed to be members of any Church Court. They exercised the function of teaching, but were excluded from the function of ruling. The Assembly, 1834, rectified this unpresbyterial anomaly. It admitted them to the full functions of the ministerial office, and appointed districts to be allocated to their churches as parishes *quoad sacra*. This originated a vast movement for church extension, which was prosecuted with singular energy and success. It was peculiarly fortunate that such a man as Dr. Chalmers was placed at the head of it; and by the liberality evoked from all classes by his resistless appeals, in the course of a very few years about two hundred new congregations were organised.

We may be sure that Mr. Candlish was not insensible to the value and importance of such a movement, nor slow to give practical effect to it within his own domain. The parish of St. George's, of which he had recently been ordained the minister, afforded scope enough for subdivision, and for reclaiming many who had lapsed from Church ordinances. In a circular issued by the trustees of the proposed new church, while the movement for its erection was in progress, I find the following statement :—" They (the trustees) refer also to the ascertained destitution in respect of spiritual privileges, of a large portion of the parish of St. George's. The parish has a population of nearly 8000; and in three of the poorer streets, out of a population of 3000, there are upwards of 2000 persons in 419 families who have not more than 343 sittings taken in any place of worship, and of these there are 266 families known to be wholly unprovided." Mr. Candlish, as has been stated, issued his first proposals for the erection of the church early in January 1835. For an account of the full development of the scheme I gladly avail myself of what Mr. Maclagan has so well stated in his History of St. George's :—

" In the close of that year (1834) the new minister gave unmistakable evidence of the spirit in which he entered upon his work by taking action in regard to a preaching station in St. George's parish, this being the first of those church extension and territorial efforts in connection with our congregation which were a grand feature of Mr. Candlish's ministry. The building he had in view for the purpose was in Young Street, and belonged to the " Unitarian Society," from which, in due time, it was purchased.

" Mr. Alexander Moody—now Dr. Moody-Stuart—had been acting as a missionary in Holy Island, near the coast of Northumberland, a lonely and primitive spot, where fruits of his labours forty years ago are still to be found. Mr. Candlish had heard him preach, and having secured the building in Young Street, secured the man to occupy it as preacher. Mr. Moody-Stuart came to Edinburgh in January 1835, preached for about two months on Sabbath evenings in St. George's, and subsequently entered upon his duties in Young Street, which, in its origin, was not intended to be more than a parochial preaching station. He had not been long in harness before an event occurred which seemed to be about to bring his work there to a close.

"Mr. Alexander Dunlop, and others interested in Stockbridge as a field of labour, had contracted to purchase a church there from the United Presbyterian congregation, who contemplated leaving it. The arrangement was understood by Mr. Dunlop to be practically concluded, and he offered the appointment as minister to Mr. Moody-Stuart. It was accepted by him.

"He mentioned to a very admirable and excellent lady, Mrs. Buchanan, widow of the well-known minister of the Canongate, who worshipped in the Young Street Church, the step he had taken.

"She met him with the inquiry, 'Why cannot we have a church of our own on a similar footing with the contemplated Stockbridge one?' Mr. Moody-Stuart replied it was out of the question; many difficulties stood in the way, and not the least of these was that it would cost £2000 to make the Young Street building suitable for a permanent place of worship. Mrs. Buchanan's answer was, 'Call upon me to-morrow about this matter.' Mr. Moody-Stuart did so, and Mrs. Buchanan, exacting a promise of strict secrecy, handed to him the needed sum. The secret was well kept, and I suppose was known to no one else (Mr. Candlish, possibly excepted) until after Mrs. Buchanan's death.

"Meanwhile a difficulty had occurred about the Stockbridge building, which the United Presbyterians resolved, after all, to retain, and which is known as Dean Street Church to this day. Mr. Moody-Stuart remained in connection with St. George's Church — went with his people temporarily to the Straiton Gallery or Bazaar in Wemyss Place, on the site of which now stands St. Stephen's Free Church; the church in Young Street was built: and this is the history of St. Luke's.

"Still, it was only a preaching station, and it was not without much difficulty in the Presbytery, and even in the Kirk-Session of St. George's, that it was created a *quoad sacra* parish, and Mr. Moody-Stuart was ordained its minister in 1837. The church had one thousand sittings, and in letting them a preference was given to those resident in St. George's parish, and chiefly to those in the eastern portion of it. To the great delight of Mr. Candlish and Mr. Moody-Stuart, about seven hundred of the sittings were taken by parishioners, and the whole movement was crowned with complete success. The church was really built through the efforts of Mr. Candlish, the liberality of Mrs. Buchanan, and the influence of those attached to the evangelical party in the Church; and at the Disruption no attempt was made to interfere with Mr. Moody-Stuart or his congregation."

It may be interesting to record that in this church the Protest of 1843 was produced and read, and agreed to and subscribed, just previous to the meeting of the General Assembly that year. The building was claimed and appropriated by the Established Church in 1847, and continued unused and unoccupied for some years.

The fostering of this new charge was not the only thing devised and carried through by the young minister for the benefit of his parish. In its educational interests Dr. Andrew Thomson had some years before established a school in Queensferry Street, which was one of the most numerously-attended and prosperous schools in Edinburgh for many years, and known under the name of Andrew Thomson's School. Following out the beneficent design of his predecessor, Mr. Candlish, in further extension of the educational equipment of St. George's, in 1836 intimated to his Kirk-Session that arrangements had been made by him for opening a female school in William Street, and that the expenses had been already provided for.

As the minister of such a populous parish, and zealous to supply all its wants, we may well believe that his hands were full of work; so full, indeed, that he felt it to be overwhelming, and entertained very favourably a proposal to transfer him to a new charge which was being erected in that same year, and which had attached to it a parish of more manageable dimensions. It will be remembered with what extreme disfavour, while yet a probationer, he contemplated the proposal made to the Town Council to reduce the number of city ministers. Through the zeal and energy of the friends of the Established Church in Edinburgh an entirely new form was given to the proposal, which could not fail to meet the warm approval of Mr. Candlish. Instead of allowing the number of ministers to be reduced by abstaining from filling up the place of a collegiate minister when he died, and leaving the parish under the superintendence of a single minister, the enterprise now begun was to increase the number of parishes by uncollegiating some of them when a vacancy arose. In this way two new parishes were erected almost contemporaneously, Greenside and St. John's, by uncollegiating the charges of Old and New Greyfriars. Greenside was the first in order, and some difficulty having arisen in the Town Council regarding the selection of a suitable minister, they solved it by issuing a presentation on the 19th July 1836 in favour of Mr. Candlish. There could be no doubt that in his hands the new charge would be a conspicuous success. The Kirk-session of St. George's immediately took alarm, and resolved to "represent to the Presbytery the serious evils likely to result from the proposed translation, and the importance of retaining Mr. Candlish's services in his present charge." How Mr. Candlish himself at first regarded the proposal will be best seen from the following letter addressed to Mr. Alexander Dunlop when it was first mooted, and from a subsequent letter addressed to Mr. Shank More on 24th July 1836:—

"My dear Sir — On considering a suggestion so suddenly and abruptly made, I feel much at a loss. I have no hesitation in thinking that the change from a very large congregation and parish to a more defined field of labour would be a relief to me, and I certainly do feel that the constant exhaustion of strength and spirits required in so prominent a charge as I now occupy, and where the services rendered ought to be of a peculiarly high order, is more than I can reckon on long standing without injury to health and wearing out of mind.

"My predilections would certainly lead me to embark on the enterprise and experiment of Greenside with all my heart. At the same time, considering my ties to my present people and the state of various arrangements in this parish, I do feel difficulty in regard to the footing on which I could put my removal, or justify and explain it so as to be satisfactory.

"Had the relief held out been greater and more palpable than merely to another city charge, the case would have been more simple. I do strongly feel, however, that it would be a relief; and there are good precedents for it. I cannot bring myself positively to say that I would *solicit* the change, or even irrevocably to pledge myself, on so short notice, that I might not be made to see my duty more clearly than I see it now. I cannot expressly promise to accept. But any spontaneous request to me to undertake the conduct of an experiment, on the success of which much depends for the cause of the Church and religion in Edinburgh, would be to me a very urgent call, and also a very satisfactory plea.—I am, yours very truly, ROBT. S. CANDLISH.

"9 CASTLE STREET, *Monday*."

"On the whole, I do not see my way at all so clearly in this matter as to warrant you in resting much on me, provided you can make any other satisfactory arrangement. I would be far more clear were I asked to go to a place of *greater retirement* still."

"My dear Mr. More—I owe to you an explanation of what has taken place within the last few days, to me most unexpectedly. I regretted exceedingly your absence from town—with you whom I regard as my very best friend I longed to take counsel—and among many causes of regret to me in my present most embarrassing circumstances, one of the principal is my reserve in intercourse with you on a subject which has been pressing with growing weight on my mind—the conscious failure of my strength, and its insufficiency for a charge like my present one. I have often been on the point of speaking to you, and expressing to you the conviction I had formed, that it would be my duty, if a charge less extensive were put before me, to consider it. The present arrangement has brought the matter most suddenly to a crisis.

"I enclose for your perusal, if you will do me that favour, a statement which I gave to the Kirk-session. I do not know that I can add anything more in the way of explanation. I dare not hope that it will be altogether satisfactory to your mind. I entreat you to put a candid, an indulgent interpretation on it. I have had one meeting with the Kirk-session, and on Saturday next we are to hold another. The kindness—the affectionate regard expressed by all the members—is more than I can ever return adequately. I know and feel that I have to ask their forgiveness. I deserved not to receive their assurance of unabated confidence and attachment. The strongest representations were given to me of the importance of my present services, and the certainty of any relief or aid that I might think necessary being willingly accorded to me. I was well aware beforehand that the slightest hint from me, regarding my need of assistance, would be at once attended to by my friends. I do, however, shrink from any such arrangement, as in itself perhaps the very greatest evil that such a people as St. George's could have to suffer, and as in the circumstances very undesirable,—nay, unjustifiable. There is no branch of the duties that can at all well be delegated or divided more than at present, and I confess I look on the present call to a charge for which I am certainly more fully competent, as relieving me and my people from one of two serious inconveniences,—either my being obliged to content myself with a very imperfect routine of duty among them, or my declaring myself insufficient for some of its most essential parts. I am not in point of strength at all incompetent, as I think, for the superintendence of a small parish, to which exclusively my ministrations are to be confined. With a church not so large and a congregation consequently less numerous, and gathered, as by the constitution of the new erection, they must be from a definite and not extensive locality, I can, as I trust, by the divine blessing, do the work of a minister. Am I not called rather to go to a field of labour which I feel confident I can in some measure adequately cultivate, than continue in one where my strength is failing me, and I can regard myself as sufficient, even humanly speaking, only for a very little of what is required?

"Let me hear from you, my dear Mr. More, at your convenience, and give me at least the assurance that however you may disapprove of my conduct I shall not lose your personal regard. Should the step, as is but too probable, be irrevocable, I do hope it will not seem to you to savour of ingratitude. I owe much to you, more than I can ever repay; and, however I may err in judgment, I would not willingly fail in showing my sense of your remarkable kindness. I believe in my heart that I best show it now by taking the opportunity presented to me of retiring from a situation too important and too arduous, in which I should have, I fear, still more to task your indulgence of my partial and inadequate services. Whatever place I may occupy in the Church, I am indebted for it, under God, mainly to you. My desire is to continue worthy of the confidence which you at first put in me. Shall I not better do so by cultivating more fully a smaller field, than by failing in a larger? You should be informed that in Greenside two-thirds of the sittings can be let *only* to parishioners. To the rest parishioners have a preference, and after them subscribers. So that, unquestionably, the labour will be more definite and distinct, and such as I can better overtake.

"I beg my best regards to Mrs. More, if she will accept them. I need your united sympathy and prayers. In this step I may be very wrong. I desire, however, to do right.

"I trust you are all benefiting by your excursion, and pray the Lord may sustain and comfort you all.—Believe me ever, my dear Mr. More, yours most affectionately,

ROBERT S. CANDLISH."

His views in favour of removal to the new and small parish were ultimately overcome, and he was induced to remain in St. George's, with characteristic self-devotion yielding up his declared preference to what, as advised by such friends as Dr. Cunningham and Dr. R. Buchanan, seemed to be the greater good of the Church. Doubtless he was helped to such a conclusion by an arrangement then entered into of engaging missionary assistants to lighten, to some extent, the burden which he felt to be too heavy for him to bear. This arrangement subsisted till 1843, and a succession of young probationers, more or less distinguished in after years, filled the office. The first of them, appointed in the autumn of 1836, was Mr. Andrew A. Bonar, in 1878 Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church, and greatly distinguished by many gifts and graces. As illustrative of the character and ways of Mr. Candlish, I gladly avail myself of a letter addressed by Dr. Bonar to Mr. D. Maclagan in 1874, and inserted in Mr. Maclagan's *History of St. George's*. Dr. Bonar says (5th March 1874)—

"It was November 1836 that I came from Jedburgh (where I had been for eighteen months partly as a friend and partly as a missionary with Mr. Purves) to be missionary in St. George's parish. So far as I can remember I was the first missionary. Rose Street and William Street (the schoolroom in each of these streets furnished a place of meeting) were the backbone of my mission district. The hostlers in these streets formed part of my charge; there was service for them at four o'clock on Sabbath afternoon, and sometimes there might be four, sometimes twelve, sometimes twenty, or even more, who came. Occasionally Dr. Candlish preached in the schoolrooms referred to. When about to begin my work I asked him, 'Will you tell me how I shall go about visiting here, and what meetings I should hold on week day and Sabbath?' In his own way he replied, 'I'll tell you nothing. Find out for yourself what may be best. Your way will be opened up for you.' And so I was left entirely free to do less or more, and to take any way I pleased. He liked me to call in upon him in a morning now and then (he was not so busy then) to report anything going on in the district. If I had a case of sickness that seemed to fall to his hand more than mine (*e.g.* some member of the congregation) I was welcome to call even on Saturday; and sometimes he most kindly told me what his lecture was to be, and would say, 'Now, does this look fanciful?' or something to that effect.

"As to incidents, it would require a little more time than I can get, I fear, to recall anything of real interest to you. He introduced me to my charge at Collace, preaching on 2 Cor. v. 11: 'Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.' That day his sermon shook the self-confidence of an old lady who came to hear, and filled her with concern. In those days his love for Robert M'Cheyne was very interesting. You know how it was his anxiety for Robert M'Cheyne's health that led to the idea of the mission to the Jews, and the visit to Palestine. I have the first draft of the petition to the Assembly to undertake a mission to the Jews in Dr. Candlish's handwriting."

Before the matter had been finally settled as to Greenside, Mr. Candlish wrote, 18th August 1836, to his old friend Mr. Urquhart, saying—

"In regard to my own arrangements, you judged rightly that I would find myself in a very embarrassing and painful state of indecision. I am not yet quite clear how it may, or even how I should wish it to end. Very urgent reasons and representations have been submitted to me against occasioning another vacancy in St. George's at present. It is not quite correctly stated in the newspapers that arrangements regarding assistance had been made. I could not at all consent to entertain any definite proposal on the subject. It is not a case for a regular assistant, at least in the public duties; and if I do remain, all the relief I can look for is, that in the event of my parish being divided by Mr. Moody receiving a district of it as his own, I may procure the appointment of another missionary to help in the superintendence of the remaining portion. I still think that I could better manage a smaller and less prominent charge; but I must be guided in part by the opinion of my brethren in the Presbytery, who mostly seem to regard the translation as an evil, and are averse to expose St. George's congregation, after so many trials, to another and a needless change. My Kirk-session and people generally have acted on this occasion in the kindest manner. I look to the next meeting of Presbytery on Wednesday week with some little anxiety. I should be very glad to leave the decision of the matter, after a statement of my views, to them. I have expressed my willingness, if it be thought most expedient, to remain in my present charge; and should the brethren so advise, and parties be satisfied, it may possibly end in my withdrawing my acceptance, which, however, in the present stage, I have not done."

Remaining minister of St. George's, as it was determined he should do, he was not contented with the appointment of a missionary to labour in a district in the person of Mr. Bonar; but organised a "Parochial and Congregational Association," whose objects were twofold,—To ascertain and supply the wants of the parish, in respect of church and school provision; and to act as an auxiliary to the General Assembly's Committees on the four Schemes of the Church. I have before me a Report of the Association, evidently prepared by Mr. Candlish, and I give some extracts from it as illustrative of his views of parochial management and obligation. The Report states:—

"In regard to the parish and its local wants, what has been done or is in progress, may be stated under three heads.

"I. *Church Accommodation.* [A succinct statement under this head is first given regarding the formation and constitution of St. Luke's parish and then the Report proceeds] There is still in the parish of St George's a large population, among whom are upwards of 2800 (exclusive of domestic servants) of the poor and working classes. For these no adequate provision is made in the parish church, and many families are destitute of sittings in any place of worship. A missionary assists the minister in labouring among them, and in conducting Divine service at preaching stations on the Sabbath and week day evenings. It is obvious, however, that the seat-rents in the parish church must be very greatly reduced, and additional means of instruction and superintendence must be provided, before the wants of the parish can be regarded as at all fully supplied.

"II. *Schools.* [St. George's parish was already more than usually well provided in this respect. Dr. Andrew Thomson had succeeded in establishing in Queensferry Street one of the best and most largely attended educational institutions in Edinburgh, which was under the superintendence of his Kirk-session. Dr. T. took a warm interest in this school, and undertook the labour of preparing for it a superior set of school-books. What remained to be done for education in the parish, therefore, was somewhat of a secondary and supplemental character. It appears from the Report that Mr. Candlish's first effort in this direction was to establish a school in Young Street in connection with Mr. Moody's sphere of labour.] It was found that the admirable local school in Young Street, though in the most flourishing condition, was not adequate to meet the wants of the parish, many of the inhabitants being out of the immediate vicinity, and some of them requiring that instruction should be given at a very cheap rate. District schools, on nearly the same plan with the local school, have accordingly been tried with great success, and without any injury to the original school, which is fully as well attended as before. The effect of their establishment is to supply to the people better and cheaper education than the small independent schools could previously afford, and to bring out many children who did not attend any school at all.

"In Rose Street a district school was begun nearly two years ago. Last winter it was removed to a more commodious house than that formerly occupied. The house is rented on a lease of ten years, at £25 a year. The expense of fitting it up as a school was £91, which sum was defrayed by a subscription, chiefly raised by the members of the Kirk-session of St. George's. There are two apartments. The lower one is occupied as an infant school, under a female teacher, and has been attended by about 40 or 60 children on an average. Such a school in a street like Rose Street, where very young children are left very often on the street without care all the day, is very necessary, and as the principle of it comes to be better understood promises to be very successful. The upper apartment is occupied as a common day-school, and has been attended by about 90 or 100 scholars. The salaries of the teachers in these schools are not wholly defrayed by the fees, as these are very small. The rent of the schoolhouse also must be paid, independently of the fees.

"2. In William Street a school for girls has been established under a female teacher. Boys below six years of age are also admitted. This school is taught in a room, rented on a lease of ten years, at £10 a year. The expense of fitting it up, amounting to £25, was defrayed by a special subscription. The numbers in attendance have been about 70 or 80. The girls are instructed in sewing as well as reading and the other ordinary branches. The younger girls and the boys are taught and trained in the elementary parts of education. This school also is dependent upon some support besides the fees.

"3. In Thistle Street, in the new parish of St. Luke's, a school has for some time been taught under the care of the minister. The numbers in attendance have been about 50, and the expense of it is defrayed by a separate subscription.

"4. In the local school, Young Street, the class for teaching sewing, which had been for some time discontinued, has been resumed, and a female teacher appointed. . . . The school and parochial library have been increased.

"III. *Sabbath Schools.* In this department the local system has been adopted. Besides meeting the children in the several week-day schoolrooms, other rooms have been got for the purpose in different parts of the parish. The intention is that among the poor and working classes, for whom chiefly these schools are needed, there shall be, if possible, a Sabbath school for each little district, consisting of a small number of neighbouring families. The children of these families are under the special care of the teachers of the district Sabbath school, who visit them during the week, and take an interest in their welfare. There are now nine such schools, including the large school in Young Street, attended by upwards of 270 children. A small allowance is made to the persons who give the use of these rooms, and for that purpose, as well as for lighting and heating the rooms, a fund is needed. There are little libraries now attached to these Sabbath schools, which circulate periodically among them. They are kept up at a trifling expense.

"In regard to the second general object of this Association, it is proposed that it shall act as an auxiliary to the Committees of the General Assembly, in collecting and transmitting subscriptions and donations for the four Schemes which the Assembly is prosecuting." [These schemes at the time were Church Extension, Foreign Missions, Colonial Churches, and Education.]

It may be interesting to give the names of the office-bearers of the Association. They were—*Presidents,* Rev. Mr. Candlish, Rev. Mr. Moody. *Committee*—The members of the Kirk-session *ex officiis,* Rev. Dr. Welsh; H. D. Hill, Esq.; James

Crawford, Esq.; James Moncreiff, Esq.; Sir William Seton, Bart. *Secretaries*—Allan Menzies, Esq.; Rev. Mr. Bonar. *Treasurer*—John Cadell, Esq.

I have preferred citing the above extracts rather than giving them from the more elaborate and lengthened first Report of the Association, because the latter deals rather with what is proposed to be done, while the former states what was actually being accomplished. It may be stated, however, as appears from the first Report, that, as a foundation for future action, the parish was divided into sixteen districts, with several visitors assigned to each, principally for the purpose of ascertaining the attendance on the means of grace, together with the state of education throughout the bounds.

The carrying on of these various agencies required a considerable annual expenditure, and in those days it was more difficult to provide for this than it is now. The most facile means of raising the necessary funds was by a collection at the church door from Sabbath to Sabbath, supplemented, if required, by special subscriptions. But the collections made at the doors of St. George's Parish Church were by law the property of the managers of the Charity Workhouse. It became very important, therefore, to come to some arrangement with these parties, whereby the facilities of a church-door collection might be available for some other purpose besides the support of the poor; and on the 24th March 1839 the Kirk-session were able to make this announcement to the congregation:—

> "The Kirk-session respectfully inform the congregation that they have entered into an arrangement with the managers of the Charity Workhouse for the purpose of retaining for parochial purposes a portion of the weekly collections made at the church doors. The arrangement is, that instead of paying over the whole of the collections into the funds of the Charity Workhouse, the Kirk-session agree to guarantee for one year the fixed sum of £425, being the average of the last five years immediately preceding this date; and the surplus, if any, is to be

retained by the Kirk-session and administered by them for the good of the parish. In making this arrangement the Kirk-session proceed upon the expectation that the weekly collections will be considerably increased, when it is understood that, instead of the whole being applied to the general purpose of providing for the poor of the city, a part is available, under the superintendence of the minister and elders, for purposes more immediately affecting the welfare of the people under their charge. It is hoped and believed that the congregation will feel more satisfaction in giving their weekly alms as they enter the House of God, and that they will give more freely, when they know that they are thus conferring a direct and positive boon on the inhabitants of the parish. The new arrangement comes into operation on Sabbath next, the 31st inst., and the Kirk-session trust that it may tend to keep up among the families of the congregation the good old habit of contributing 'on the first day of the week as God hath prospered them' (1 Cor. xvi. 2)."

These plans and operations for the benefit of the parish, which were about as complete as anything could well be, and were carried into effect with all the energy and diligence of which the young minister was capable, were not the only objects which occupied his time and mind. So early as 1835 he had begun to take some concern in the affairs of the Church. He had been appointed a member of the Education Committee by the General Assembly of that year, and soon proved himself active in the promotion of a scheme which, ten years later, and in far other circumstances, he employed such gigantic efforts to sustain and extend. I have before me a circular addressed to ministers, subscribed by him, and dated September 1835, urging increased contributions to the Education Scheme in order to enable the Committee to carry out the enlarged operations which were then contemplated.

Nor was it only in matters in which the Church to which he belonged was interesting itself that he lent his willing and efficient aid. He was largely concerned in floating a new publication called the *Scottish Christian Herald*, a serial which began to be published in 1836, and to which he was a frequent contributor. Its aim, as he stated in a circular, dated 8th January 1836, was "under the divine blessing to do something towards infusing a religious leaven into the mass of the people, now so industriously plied with all sorts of influences through the abundance of cheap popular literature." It met with such encouragement that this publication was continued for six years, when it was superseded by others.

Thus early was the aid of the young minister of St. George's solicited and obtained in the promotion of every good cause, and as the years flowed on, his manifold labours, always and in all departments of the most efficient kind, increased to such a degree as would have overwhelmed any man of less quick apprehension and versatility of talent and capacity for labour.

To this period belongs a letter, dated 2d November 1836, addressed to his mother-in-law on the death of a daughter, which I give as a specimen of the way in which he sought to administer consolation to the bereaved and afflicted :—

"My dear Mother—The sad intelligence which we received this morning calls for an expression of our very sincere sympathy. Though not unexpected, such a stroke always comes sharply and suddenly at the last ; and, however we may think ourselves prepared for it, still the reality is startling. I was happy to learn from William that you and our dear sisters were tolerably well, and I cannot doubt that you will be mercifully supported under this trial by the same faithful Saviour who has often hitherto helped you. To you, indeed, dear madam, I feel as if it would be almost like officiousness in me to suggest those Christian consolations which you have yourself so fully, in deep distress, experienced ; but I cannot help bidding you be comforted by the thought of the blessed change which our beloved sister has undergone. To you, indeed, she is lost for a little season, but what gain is it to herself ! For surely you have every reason to entertain most confident hopes of her having gone to be with Christ, which is far better than to remain. Yours has been a very signal privilege in witnessing once and again in your own family the calm peace of a Christian departure ; and, however nature may grieve, yet faith is willing to acquiesce in their departure. You would not desire to detain here those who are ripe for the service and the enjoyment of Christ elsewhere. The flesh indeed is weak, and we may yield to our feelings of sorrow. We have not an high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmity. Jesus wept. But let us not sorrow as though we had no hope. What gracious words are those of our Lord, 'Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you.' And again, 'I will come again to receive you to myself; that where I am, ye may be also.'

"Jessie has been sadly distressed during dear Agnes's illness. It is a terrible aggravation of the trial to her that she has been far away from her sister. I can sympathise with her from experience, remembering well my own feelings in a similar case, when I lost a very valuable and beloved sister, and when I could not see her. Jessie was most anxious to see Agnes once more, but she saw that it could not be. I would not have persuaded her to stay, but from a strong sense of what was her duty; and no other consideration would have made her yield to my reasoning. Her heart is with you. She has suffered much; but she is, I trust, supported. We have indeed much cause for thankfulness in this dispensation. How much of mercy has been mingled with severity. Surely it *is* the chastening of a Father, for the good of a child whom He loved, and for our good who remain. I pray God that His dealings with us may be sanctified and blessed, and may all be made to draw us more nearly to Himself. His Holy Spirit will be your Comforter, and it will be happy for us if we are, by all our bereavements, savingly taught to have a closer walk with God, and to set our hearts on the Creator and not on any creature.

"I hope to see you on Tuesday, as early as I can in the forenoon. I will leave this by the morning coach. But let us hear from some of you before that time, for we are very anxious about you. After so many weeks of constant attendance on so interesting a sufferer, the heart feels desolate and lonely; but think that her removal was very timeous, for her continuance would have been very distressing; and look to the many tokens of God's kindness with which you are still favoured. As our circle of friendly and family affection is contracted by each new loss, let us be knit the more together in love and in hope."

As yet Mr. Candlish had taken no public part in ecclesiastical affairs, and thus, in great measure, escaped from much of the misery caused by one of the sharpest conflicts of the time, in which some very cordial friends became so estranged from one another as to drop even the ordinary courtesies of acquaintanceship. I refer to what was known at the time as the Moderatorship controversy, in which, as Dr. Chalmers thought, was involved what lay nearest to his heart—the cause, namely, of Church extension. Dr. Lee was proposed by several eminent men to be Moderator of the General Assembly 1837. But Dr. Lee had given such evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who had been appointed by Government to inquire into the state of Church accommodation in Scotland, as induced Dr. Chalmers with all his might to oppose the nomination; and he succeeded in securing the appointment of another by the Assembly. But the strife was embittered by such personalities as entirely to break off all intercourse between those engaged in it. Mr. Candlish, who stood in very close relationship with both parties, endeavoured in 1838 to act the part of a peacemaker, unhappily without much success in the first instance, although two years later the breach was entirely healed, and the heroes of the ten years' conflict fought hand to hand.

CHAPTER IV.

First public speech, Assembly 1839—Second speech, Commission of Assembly, August 1839—Dealing with the Legislature—Instruction of people—Hugh Miller—*Witness* newspaper—Mr. Candlish nominated as Professor of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Change of front and appointment not made—Case of Marnoch—Seven Strathbogie ministers — Speech moving their suspension — Lethendy case—Visit to Strathbogie—Dr. Christie's account of the proceedings at Huntly.

It was in the General Assembly 1839 that Mr. Candlish made his first public speech. It was towards the close of a long and keen debate; and when he rose in one of the back benches of the Tron Church, where the Assembly was then held, there were unmistakable indications of an indisposition to hear him. He was then a very young minister, having been ordained less than five years previously, and, except in Edinburgh, was almost entirely unknown in the Church, and it was naturally thought that it would be better to leave the debate in the hands of the seniors. Some of us who knew the gifts that were in him shouted to give him a hearing, and he walked along the passage towards the Moderator's chair, and, passing his hand through his hair, as was his wont when he became excited, began a speech which at once gained him a foremost place among Assembly debaters.

Many years later, in the Assembly 1861, Dr. Robert Buchanan, in proposing that Dr. Candlish should be appointed to succeed him in the Moderator's chair, adverted to this first appearance of his friend, and to what followed upon it, in the following terms :—

"I remember, as if it had been yesterday, though it is nearly a quarter of a century ago, writing an urgent letter to the then comparatively youthful minister of St. George's, entreating him to be prepared to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly of 1839, which it was known was to be an Assembly of vital importance to our cause. Up till that time no fitting opportunity had occurred of bringing into the arena of ecclesiastical discussion those extraordinary powers he subsequently exhibited, and the fact of his possessing which, from the very first, no one doubted but himself. His answer assured me that he was no speaker, and that he could be of no use in a debate, and concluded with these words—*Novus homo et inexpertus, non loquor.* The Assembly met, and it really seemed as if he had been determined to keep his word. At length the grand question of the day came on—the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, and the consequent duty of the Church. One motion had been made, openly betraying the independence of the Church in matters spiritual of the Courts of the Church, and which had been met by the noble counter-motion of Dr. Chalmers. Thereafter a third motion had been made, affecting to uphold that independence, but entirely surrendering both it and the rights of the Christian people along with it. It was that hollow middle motion that first opened the mouth of Dr. Candlish; and the masterly speech in which he tore the mask from it, and scattered to the winds the arguments of its supporters, placed him at once in the first rank of our public men in the great controversy of our Church. If that noble speech has ceased to be as memorable as once it was, it is just as the first speech of a Thomson or a Chalmers, of a Moncreiff or a Jeffrey, of a Canning or a Brougham may have become less memorable amid the blaze of that wonderful and prolific oratory which these great masters of debate subsequently poured forth upon the world. What great question since that period has been agitated in our Church? what great interest of humanity or religion has been under discussion in the community around us, on the settlement of which, by his ready and powerful eloquence, his singular tact and wisdom, and his extraordinary aptitude for business, Dr. Candlish has not brought to bear a commanding influence? For the business-like order and method with which the affairs of the Church, since the eventful year of her disestablishment, have been conducted; for the intelligence and the energy with which our Church's various schemes of Christian usefulness have been prosecuted; in a word, for the high and honourable and well-established position which this Church now holds as one of the great religious institutions of this country, there is no living man to whom we are so much indebted as to Dr. Candlish. *Serus in cœlum redeat*—for till it loses him, the Church will never thoroughly know how much she owes to his unselfish, unwearied, invaluable services in her cause."

Very little, in addition to what Dr. Buchanan has stated, needs to be said in order to render very clearly intelligible the state of things in which this first speech was delivered. The Earl of Kinnoul, patron of the parish of Auchterarder, had issued a presentation to the then vacant charge in favour of Mr. Young, a probationer of the Church. But there was an insuperable obstacle in the way of the Presbytery proceeding to his ordination and induction. The law of the Church, in conformity with a principle which was coeval with the Reformation, namely, that no minister be intruded upon a congregation contrary to their will, prohibited the Presbytery from adopting that course; for it was found that, with the exception of one individual, all the male heads of families in the parish were opposed to his settlement. The Presbytery accordingly set aside the presentation. Lord Kinnoul thereupon raised an action in the Court of Session to have it found that the Presbytery were bound in law to take Mr. Young on trials, with a view to his ordination, notwithstanding the opposition of the people. The patron was successful in this action, and an appeal was taken to the House of Lords, by whom the judgment of the Court of Session was affirmed. It was soon after this event that the Assembly of 1839 met, and they were obliged to consider what was to be done, whether the Church was to consent to intrude ministers, or whether it was to stand by its old principle. There was a powerful party, led by Dr. Cook, who were in favour of acquiescing in the decision of the Courts of law. There was a still more powerful party, headed by Dr. Chalmers, who held that the Church had an independent jurisdiction in a matter of this sort. But at this Assembly a third party made its appearance, whose views were advocated by Dr. Muir, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh. The following are the three principal resolutions moved by Dr. Muir, against which the speech of Mr. Candlish was directed :—

"That the decision of the Supreme Civil Tribunal, in the recent case of Auchterarder, has determined that the consequences of this Act do infringe on civil and patrimonial rights, and that hence it is ascertained to have been incompetent for the General Assembly to enforce the said enactment, without having first obtained the sanction of the Legislature.

"That the Church, however, while giving and inculcating implicit obedience to the decisions of the Civil Courts in all matters relating to a civil right, ought not to forego the steady prosecution of her own high purpose, of securing more effectually the appointment of ministers not only sound in doctrine and morals, but also suitable to the parishes to which they are nominated.

"That the suitableness of presentees for the parishes to which they are nominated, and all circumstances and considerations for ascertaining *that* suitableness in each particular case, whether as to the situation or mind of the people, or as to the special qualifications of the presentees themselves, ought to become the subjects of investigation and judgment to Presbyteries, in the discharge of their solemn duty in the filling up of vacancies, as well as the usual and general qualifications in candidates for the sacred ministry."

Mr. Candlish said :—"I think, Moderator, that the time has now come for making some remarks upon the resolutions proposed by my respected father (Dr. Muir)—to which, especially, the learned gentleman who has just addressed you (Sir Charles Fergusson) has confined himself—as there are features in these resolutions in which it is impossible for me to acquiesce. There are, as I conceive, two fatal objections to the resolutions of the reverend doctor. And, in stating my objections, I trust I shall be understood to speak with the utmost deference. First of all, I find expressions introduced into these resolutions, which, unless carefully explained and strictly guarded, would go far to lay the authority of the Church prostrate at the feet of the civil power, not only in questions relating to the admission of ministers, but in other questions also affecting the most sacred spiritual functions which the Church can be called to exercise. I refer particularly to an expression in the second resolution, which I should have thought had crept in *per incuriam*, were it not that the idea is twice introduced in the course of the motion which I am opposing. It is stated in the second resolution, that 'in passing this act,' *i.e.*, the act commonly called the Veto Act, 'and carrying it into effect, the Church was influenced by the belief that this act being not only in its nature, *but also in its consequences*, strictly and purely spiritual, there was no necessity to obtain previously the concurrence of the Legislature to it.' And again, it is stated in the third resolution, 'that the decision of the supreme civil tribunal has determined that *the consequences* of this act do infringe on civil and patrimonial rights, and *hence* it is ascertained to have been incompetent for the General Assembly to enforce the said enactment, without having first obtained the sanction of the Legislature.' Now such statements seem to give countenance to a very unsound and dangerous principle in regard to the power of the Church to act in matters spiritual. For they seem to admit that, in order to render an act strictly and purely spiritual, and therefore competent, it must be wholly spiritual in its consequences as well as in its nature. It will not then be enough that the act is spiritual in itself, if in any of its consequences it touch civil rights, and hence, in judging of its competency, we must consider not its own proper nature merely, but the results which may follow and flow from it. In point of fact, I doubt if the view here given of the considerations on which the act in question was passed, brings out the real state of the case. I rather think it is not correct to say that, at the time of the passing this act, the Church believed that it was strictly and purely spiritual *in its consequences* as well as in its nature. I suppose that the General Assembly and the several Presbyteries knew very well that the consequences of the act which they passed would inevitably affect, in some degree, the civil interests of individuals. But *they* never admitted, and we now refuse to admit that, because in its *consequences* it may infringe on patrimonial rights, it is hence ascertained to have been incompetent for the General Assembly to enforce it. I must confess that I cannot but look with great alarm on such language, when I remember what has been laid down by high legal authority—that the Church is and must be subject to the civil tribunals of the land, in the performance of every act which, however spiritual in its nature, may be found or held to be civil in its consequences. I fear lest this doctrine may appear, at least, to be in some degree sanctioned by such expressions as those contained in Dr. Muir's resolutions. For, observe to what we may be led. The admission of members to the Lord's table, and their exclusion from it, are undoubtedly in their own nature acts purely spiritual; and yet, will any man say that they may not, in certain circumstances, involve civil consequences,—that they may not operate in such a way as to touch what may be viewed as civil and patrimonial rights? Are we, therefore, to acknowledge that these acts are beyond the competency of the Church, or liable to the review of the Civil Courts? This, indeed, may be in accordance with what has been laid down as law in a certain eminent quarter, in the course of the proceedings which have arisen out of these questions in which we are now involved. It has been broadly and peremptorily said, 'that every individual in the country, who adheres to its doctrines, is *entitled* to be a member of the Established Church.'[1] And this must mean, entitled by a *legal* right, which may be pleaded in a civil process. Otherwise, the assertion is not in point in the argument in which it occurs, and has no meaning. Now, are we to sanction such a principle as this? Are we to sanction anything which may, in the very slightest degree, tend to give it countenance? And yet, as it appears to me, we are virtually asked to do so in the expression to which I am referring. For it is plainly implied in the expression that it is incompetent for the Church to pass an act which may be spiritual in its nature, but by which, in its consequences, civil rights may be touched. And the effect of this, I say, may be to subject the Church to the civil power, even to the extent asserted in the strong opinion which I have quoted. Moderator, I do not charge this opinion upon my reverend father who proposed these resolutions. I feel sure that he does not perceive such an import in the expressions which he has adopted. I yield to none in this house in my respect for him. But I view with great anxiety the admission which I conceive to be involved in his language, and I tremble at the very thought of any proposition being carried through this venerable House, which might even seem to sanction so false and dangerous a sentiment. This is my first objection to the resolutions of Dr. Muir.

"But I have a still graver objection to the motion of my respected father. I have looked, and I do not find, from the beginning to the end of his resolutions, one single word recognising the privileges of the Christian people. The reverend doctor has pleaded for the power of the Church—in its courts, composed of its rulers and office-bearers—but without securing and carrying out, along with that power, the rights of the Christian people. And this, to my mind, is substantial Popery. It is a position which must go far to establish a system of spiritual despotism. In truth, it is only when the rights of the people in the Church of Christ are secured that the power of the ruling courts can be safely pleaded; and it is then, also, that that power can be pleaded to its highest point. By establishing the privileges of that liberty with which Christ has made His people free, we place ourselves on a fine and noble ground of advantage for maintaining the supreme and authoritative jurisdiction of the office-bearers, as exercised over the people, in their use and enjoyment of these privileges. Only let the people once obtain their distinct and definite standing, and I am not afraid of giving too prominent a position to our Ecclesiastical Courts. If the people are once effectually secured in their rights, I hold that their rulers in the Church may exercise a far more energetic superintendence, and a more discretionary jurisdiction than now they do; and may interfere with far more authority in regulating and moderating the proceedings which take place throughout the whole matter of the settlement of ministers. If *we* recognise *their* privileges, we may require and expect them to recognise our prerogative. For it is undoubtedly the right and duty of the rulers in the Church to moderate and control, with a high Scriptural authority, the movements of *all the other parties* who act together in this matter. But when we assert the power of the Church in its ruling courts, while the rights of the Christian people are sunk and merged, we are asserting a power altogether unchecked and arbitrary, to which surely the Lord never intended that those whom He has made free should be subjected.

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[1] By the Dean of Faculty in the Lethendy case.

"This view is confirmed beyond a doubt by what has actually happened in our own Church. For is it not matter of history—and I state it not with any desire to give offence, but simply as a notorious historical fact—is it not matter of history, that the very same period, during the last and the beginning of the present century, which, under the influence of certain principles and a certain line of policy then more dominant in this General Assembly than now, witnessed the abrogation of the privileges of the Christian people—that this same period saw also the right of the Church, in its courts—its power to judge of presentees, and to decide on the expediency of their settlement, practically set aside and trampled under foot? The Church neither acknowledged the liberties of the people nor the authority of the rulers in that matter, but, in the induction of pastors, acted as the mere agents and servants of the patron alone. If this be called in question, I should be glad to have historical evidence against what I say. I should be glad to have one single instance—one solitary case—pointed out, in which this Church in these days, while it did not reject a presentee on the ground of his being unacceptable to the people, ever did reject him on the higher ecclesiastical ground now maintained, of the inexpediency of his settlement, or his unfitness for the particular charge.

I rejoice that matters are now changed in this respect, and that on all hands, and by all parties, as I believe, in this House, this right to judge of qualifications, in the widest sense, is unanimously upheld. But still I cannot but regard it as impossible to place on a sound or secure basis *this* power of the Church, without constantly and strenuously asserting along with it the privileges of the Christian people. And this indeed is one point which, I think, we will gain by the position which the question has now assumed. By our being led to bring again prominently forward this great element in the discussion, we shall engage on our side the warm affections of the people of our country. I have no doubt the people will go along with us, notwithstanding all that has been said about their being against us in this cause ; though, even if they were, it matters not, our duty is the same. The cause is a righteous one, and if we have not the concurrence of the people, we will even plead it in spite of them. But I have no fears on this head—I have no doubt of the hearty support of the people. And one great advantage amid all our difficulties, which I confidently anticipate from our present position, is, that it will bring us back to the real bearing of the question as affecting the Christian people. It has all along been for the immunities of the Christian people that we have been contending, although circumstances have occurred which may have kept this somewhat out of sight. The question has been of late perplexed in the eyes of the people by its being connected and mixed up with the assertion of the spiritual independence of the Church ; and the defence of that great principle, which became, for a time, our urgent duty, may have tended to cast the other element into the shade. But we are now brought back to the real question at issue, and we have simply to submit to our people this plain and palpable alternative : Will you have us to submit without a struggle and without an effort to a system of patronage the most arbitrary and unrestricted—to a system of patronage which, but for the milder temper of the days in which we live, might bring back those melancholy times when not ministers in their robes, but bands of armed men, introduced the pastor to his people ? Will *you* submit, or will you have *us* to submit, to that iron yoke which your fathers were unable to bear—or will you give us your sympathies and your prayers while we stand up for the rightful power of the Church of Christ, and assert at once and together *our* prerogatives as the rulers, and *your* liberties as the people ; while we go respectfully but manfully to the other party in the contract by which we are established, to the State—to the authorities of the nation—testifying to them what is their duty, and soliciting them to the performance of it? I have no doubt whatever that when the question is thus put it will be fully and cordially and unanimously answered throughout all our parishes. But if the trumpet give an uncertain sound—if we merely assert the rights of the rulers in the Church, while we sacrifice or hold in abeyance the people's liberties, it will be no wonder if we have not—we shall not deserve to have—with us the heart or the prayers of one single man who is worthy of the name of Scotsman. I rejoice then, Moderator, amid all our difficulties, in the prominency which must now be given to this great element in our question, the standing which the Christian people have in the settlement of their pastors. We shall rally our countrymen once more, now that the old banner is again broadly displayed—the banner on which we find clearly and fully inscribed—Cæsar's crown indeed—but along with it, and not less clearly or less fully—CHRIST'S CROWN; and underneath Christ's crown, and shielded by it—the purchased liberties of His redeemed people."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August of the same year Mr. Candlish again spoke on the Auchterarder case. In the Court of Session the Lord Ordinary, on the application of Mr. Young, had found that the Presbytery were "bound and astricted" to take him on trials, but not ordering them to do so. It was in this position of the case that Mr. Candlish spoke, and mainly in answer to an argument of the Procurator of the Church that the judgment of the Civil Court was not a positive injunction but a declaratory finding. He said—

"I do not wish it to be understood that, in coming to the resolution which I trust we shall adopt, we take our stand upon what I cannot help regarding, though it comes from so respectable a quarter, as a legal technicality, a refinement which does not at all affect our line of duty. I at once most fully admit that the sentence of the Court of Session, which has led the Presbytery of Auchterarder to refer for advice to this Commission, is substantially, though not in form, an injunction on the Presbytery to proceed to Mr. Young's trials, and is really as binding as an absolute order. I hold that in conscience we are as much compelled, if we could—consistently with the will of Christ and the laws of His Church, follow such a course—we are under as strong an obligation to yield prompt and ample obedience to the expression of the mind of the Court in the shape of a mere hint or intimation as if it bore the character of the most positive and peremptory command. I wish that we should not be understood as taking advantage of any technical distinctions. We have already been constrained before this time to disregard several judgments of the Civil Courts, which were sufficiently direct and explicit; we have proceeded to act in the very face of their express prohibition; we have been compelled to do so by a sense of the duty which we owe to the great Head of the Church. We have not done so willingly, but reluctantly, and from necessity; we have not done so out of any wanton disrespect for civil authority, but because a higher and more sacred authority bound us. And from the same conviction we would be compelled in the present case to disobey a positive order of the courts of law, just as decidedly as we now propose to disregard the simple declaration of their opinion. . . . . .

"Sir, the very fact of the interference of another tribunal in this matter, so far from being an argument why we should change our mode of procedure, while we do not change our judgment in the case, is rather the strongest possible argument why, holding as we still do the opinion that no man should be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people, we should continue to act upon that opinion—it is one of the strongest reasons why we should stedfastly persevere in the very course of conduct which has been challenged and called in question. . . . . .

"Has anything been brought forward with regard to Mr. Young tending to show that if settled there he would be truly the minister of more than the two individuals who alone signed his call? Has anything been brought forward to show that he would now be admitted by the people as in any spiritual sense their pastor during all the days of his incumbency among them? And are we prepared to come back to this point, that we shall be willing to induct a man when we have the fullest conviction, on the plainest grounds—when we have a moral certainty that between that man and the congregation whose minister he should be, there can truly be formed no pastoral relation at all? Are we prepared now to do what we have already solemnly declared that we cannot in conscience and dare not do?—for nothing short of such a conviction could justify us in making the stand which we have already made;—are we now prepared, at the mandate of any civil court, or any authority upon earth, to induct a man as a pastor of the flock of Christ, when that flock conscientiously declare that that man cannot edify their souls?

> "Sir, the Christian people are not to be lightly disparaged, as unfit, it may be, to have a distinct and distinctly recognised standing in the matter of the formation of the pastoral relation. They are 'the Lord's inheritance, the members of the body of Christ.' Such is the language of Scripture. The members of Christ's body are not to be spoken of precisely as children; or if they are children, they are Christ's little ones, the very least of whom it is not safe to offend. But they are not to be spoken of as children under age—over whom, however we may graciously consult their inclinations and take their slightest hints into consideration, we must still, as their tutors, their guardians, assert an arbitrary power; reserving always our right to disregard their voice, and to set over them the very teachers whom they most dislike."

From the time when Mr. Candlish made his first speech in the General Assembly he took his place in the front rank of Scottish ecclesiastics, and at that eventful time such a position implied much anxious labour of various kinds. It is not at all my purpose to detail the history of that period, and to repeat what has been already well and fully told. The task which I have set before me is to tell what Mr. Candlish did and said in the important transactions in which he took a leading part; and to advert to the history only so far as may be necessary to make intelligible his sayings and doings. The position assumed by the General Assembly made it necessary to deal with two parties—the people of Scotland on the one hand, and the Legislature on the other. The Assembly believed that its position was justified by the Acts of Parliament under which the Church had been established, and that the decision of the Civil Courts in the case of Auchterarder was really a violation of her constitution, and an invasion by these Courts upon her recognised liberties; and an appeal had to be made to the Legislature to defend her against such aggression, and by some new enactment enable her to defend her people against the intrusion of unacceptable ministers. This appeal to the Legislature was necessary in order to conserve her position as an Established Church. At the same time she declared emphatically and clearly enough, that whatever the Civil Courts and the Legislature might determine, she must at all hazards vindicate her right to act out the will of Christ as made known in His word, and could not consent, consistently with her obligations to Him, to intrude unacceptable ministers. While thus approaching the Legislature, it was not less necessary to adopt measures for instructing the members of the Church in what was really at stake in the conflict which had begun. She was accused as a law-breaker, and it behoved her at once to show that she was acting within the lines of her constitution as an Established Church, and, besides, that no other course was open to her as under allegiance to Christ. Mr. Candlish was called to take an active and leading part in both these lines of action, and, accordingly, we find him busy in the summer of 1839, organising means for the information of the people, while he was one of a deputation to London early in July to deal with members of Parliament. Towards the end of the same month I find him waiting for an interview with Hugh Miller to take steps towards the establishment of a newspaper of which Miller was to be editor. This issued in starting the *Witness* in 1840, through which Miller did such signal and effective service to the Church.

Meanwhile, with a view to the improvement of theological education in the University of Edinburgh, it was proposed, with concurrence of Lord Melbourne's Government, to institute a Chair of Biblical Criticism, and Mr. Candlish was named as the future professor. On the 14th October he wrote from Bonhill regarding this proposal to Alexander Dunlop, Esq., as follows :—

"My dear Dunlop—I have little time to consider or reply to your very kind letter here. But briefly, I may say that I was on the whole disposed to entertain the proposal favourably. On general grounds I should think it very desirable that, if the experiment of a new Chair is to be tried, it should be fairly ; and certainly an addition to the endowment would be nothing to the Government when they are about it, and much to the Chair. I should like, if I entered on the study necessary for the Chair, to see my way to such a settlement of pecuniary matters as would leave me free to devote my life to it. Certainly, of all the subjects of theological professorships, this is the one I would prefer, as it would compel me to cultivate an intimate familiarity with the Scriptures. And though I have all the work yet to do, I would hope to be enabled to do some service to students in that department. If I am to engage in it I see clearly that it is best to do so at a time when I can hope to make it the business of my life; and in order that it may be so I simply wish that the maintenance secured be competent. In regard to the whole matter I feel very strongly the difficulty of leaving my present charge. You yourself, I think, first broached the idea of the professorship; and Welsh, I think, has referred to such a thing half in jest. I should desire to have the serious judgment of friends as to the likelihood of my being most useful, whether in the Church or as a professor. In some views of it the office of professor is greatly the more important. At the same time, one would like to be quite clear in regard to the warrant for leaving the more immediate work of the ministry. In such questions I am very apt to get embarrassed and undecided, though, on the whole, I conceive that the call to such a professorship, if you and others thought that I could do more good in it, would be to my mind a sufficient reason for leaving an unmanageable charge, and betaking myself to the study of my Bible, and the helping of others to study it. I must repeat that I have the entire work of mastering the science still to do. This is the common predicament of ministers in our country, that, if called to a Chair, it must be on the score of qualifications rather in posse than in esse. Still, if one already qualified can be got, he should be preferred.

"Pray excuse this rambling letter, written in great haste. I hope to see you on Wednesday. I rejoice most heartily in seeing Dr. Welsh's appointment confirmed.[1] What does he say to the proposal? and how would he advise me to act? Do not, I beseech you, think at all of what I one day said to you about another appointment. But for your having spoken to me on a similar subject before, it would not have occurred to me to give a hint in regard to it. I have no wish to leave my present charge. I fear the prospect of separation from my congregation; but if I can do good to students by devoting myself to this new branch of their studies, I am willing to listen to the call that may be made on me. Keep this letter private, and believe me ever, yours very affectionately,

ROBT. S. CANDLISH.

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[1] As Secretary of the Bible Board.

"Dr. Welsh knows very particularly all the circumstances connected with my relations to my people. He can sympathise with me in regard to their claims on me and my obligations to them. What does he say in regard to my leaving them?"

It serves to show the importance that was attached to the institution of a Chair of Biblical Criticism, and the sense entertained of the peculiar suitableness of Mr. Candlish for the office, that several parties subscribed an obligation for a term of seven years to give £250 annually in supplement of the salary proposed to be attached to the Chair by the Government. The provision made by Government was to confer on the professor the salary of one of the deaneries of the Chapel Royal, at that time of little value, but at the end of seven years certain to be greatly increased. On the understanding that it was the purpose of the Government to appoint Mr. Candlish, the obligation for the supplemental salary was subscribed by J. B. Douglas, A. Dunlop, Archibald Bonar, James Russel, G. Buchan, G. M. Torrance, John Abercrombie, H. Morrison, Lieutenant-Colonel James Wood, William Stothert, Thomas Maitland. After all, the proposal came to nothing so far as concerned the appointment of Mr. Candlish to the office. The Chair, indeed, was instituted, and the difficulty as to salary was overcome by the appointment of a pluralist to fill it. As time passed, the breach between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts became wider, and interdicts were issued against preaching the gospel in Strathbogie, which Mr. Candlish, as well as many other ministers, disregarded. In these circumstances, Lord Aberdeen, in his place in the House of Lords, arraigned the Government for proposing to appoint Mr. Candlish, "who," he said, "had very recently committed a flagrant violation of the law." "This reverend gentleman," he added, "this Professor of Biblical Criticism, if dealt with by the Court in the same way as any other person, would be immediately sent to prison, where he would have leisure to compose his first syllabus of lectures." The Government gave way, and cancelled the appointment. Thus, a second time, was frustrated the attempt to remove Mr. Candlish from the charge of St. George's. It seemed to be the will of God that his life-work should be in that charge, and, although his appointment to the Chair in the University might have led to the full equipment, at an earlier date, of the New College, and possibly might have averted some of the bitternesses which afterwards arose in connection with that subject, yet one can hardly doubt that, as minister of St. George's, he rendered more important service to the cause of Christ than he would have done in any other sphere.

Meanwhile, however, far other work than that of preparation for the Chair came pressing upon him; a new case had arisen precisely similar to that of Auchterarder. Mr. Edwards, the presentee to Marnoch, in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, had been rejected by the whole congregation. There was this difference, however, between this case and that of Auchterarder. In the latter case the Presbytery were willing and desirous to carry into effect the law of the Church against intrusion; the Presbytery of Strathbogie, at least seven of them, being a majority, had no scruples about intrusion, and, encouraged by the decision of the Civil Courts in the case of Auchterarder, as well as by a judgment of the Court of Session in the Marnoch case, had indicated their determination to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Edwards in the face of the unanimous opposition of the people, and in defiance of the law of the Church. The Church, therefore, had to maintain a conflict not only against external adversaries, but against mutineers among her own officers. In these circumstances an extraordinary meeting of the Commission of Assembly was summoned, and held on the 11th December 1839, and Mr. Candlish was unexpectedly called to propose and vindicate the course of action adopted. Mr. Bell has this memorandum as to his appearance on the occasion:—"A very able minister of the Church (Dr. Gordon) had been requested to move the suspension of the seven ministers of the Presbytery of Strathbogie; but he felt unequal to the duty as the hour approached, and Mr. Candlish had to undertake it, with little time for preparation. I distinctly recollect the universal feeling when the still youthful minister of St. George's rose in his place, that he was specially ordained and accomplished for a great and critical service. Even yet I see the eyes of Cunningham, Begg, Guthrie, and others of that generation, fixed upon him with mingled wonder, admiration, and triumph, as he went on and on in his masterly oration."

From want of space I do not give the speech entire, but only the more important passages in it:—

"Allow me to recall to your attention certain points connected with the discussion of this forenoon, in order that there be no misunderstanding as to the precise form in which the case comes before you. Our time has been hitherto occupied by pleadings at the bar, of a somewhat confused character, tending to involve in considerable embarrassment the real questions at issue, and the duty of the Commission in regard to them.

"It will be remembered, then, that three distinct questions, or rather three distinct methods of bringing on the same question, were before us in the forenoon. First, there is a petition and complaint on the part of the Moderator of the Presbytery of Strathbogie against the proceedings of that Presbytery, in refusing to him the ordinary and competent channel of redress. The second mode in which the case comes before us, is by a petition and complaint from the Kirk-Session of the parish of Marnoch, regarding the proceedings of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, in refusing to recognise the standing of the parishioners. And the third state in which the case appears is in the form of a report given in to this Commission by the Presbytery of Strathbogie—given in, we must presume, in obedience to the instructions of last General Assembly, to the effect that the Presbytery should report to the Commission any change of circumstances occurring in reference to the settlement of Marnoch. This report, however, intimates, not simply the change of circumstances, but also the resolution of the Presbytery to disregard the deliverance of the General Assembly and the Commission, as applicable to this matter. So far as I recollect, this is the threefold state of the question, as brought out in the discussion of the forenoon.

"As to the first point, we have disposed of the petition and complaint of the Moderator of the Strathbogie Presbytery in regard to the meeting called on the 12th November, so far as to find, by an overwhelming majority, that it is competent for us to entertain it; and we have now to consider it on the merits. It is not my purpose to enter into the whole merits of this case; but allow me to say that, whatever may be our opinion of the conduct of the Moderator in not calling the meeting on the precise day suggested by the members who signed the requisition in July, we can have no difficulty on this other point—that the meeting being called by competent authority, to receive certain documents which the ends of justice required they should receive—I think there can be no difference of opinion among us in holding that the meeting, in refusing to receive these documents, acted most irregularly. I am willing to concede, although I see no grounds for the concession, that the Moderator acted wrongly in not calling the meeting on the day named in the requisition of a majority of the members; but the Moderator having subsequently called the meeting on his own responsibility, which he was entitled to do at any time, and having called it for the express purpose of receiving certain deliverances of the superior judicatories, of which it was necessary that the Presbytery should have legal knowledge—I say that in refusing to receive these deliverances the Presbytery acted in flagrant disrespect of the authority of these judicatories. I cannot for a moment subscribe to the doctrine that the Moderator was the mere instrument or servant of those who chose to send the requisition, in calling this *pro re nata* meeting. I maintain that in the whole matter of calling this *pro re nata* meeting the Moderator acted, and was entitled to act, in so far, independently of the Presbytery. He acted, to be sure, on his own responsibility, and was liable to be called to account by the competent authority—as indeed he would have been, whether he called the meeting on the requisition of others or on his own impulse. I therefore say that we should find that the Moderator exercised a sound discretion in calling the meeting in the way in which he did call it. I beg to recall the circumstances under which the requisition reached him. It must be borne in mind that this Presbytery had already put on their record, with express reference to this case of Marnoch, that in the matter of the settlement of a minister they were bound to regulate their proceedings by the decrees of the Civil Tribunals and not by the injunctions of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Their record, with this deliverance, had come up to the superior Church Courts—to the General Assembly and to the Commission in May last—and the latter, the Commission, gave a deliverance, expressly enjoining the Presbytery not to proceed with the trials of Mr. Edwards. In this state of matters the Moderator received a requisition, signed by certain members of Presbytery, to call a meeting—and to call it—for what? Not to receive the deliverances of the Assembly and the Commission. Of these deliverances they did not wish to have legal knowledge; but they wished the meeting called for the purpose of considering the edict of the Civil Court. Now it may be true that the Presbytery of Strathbogie had not legal knowledge of the decisions of the Assembly and Commission; although, if I am not mistaken, the Presbytery of Strathbogie were formally cited to appear at the bar of the Assembly, and it was because the members were not present that the case was remitted to the Commission. But surely, whether the Presbytery were legally informed of them at first or not, it was plainly the bounden duty of the Moderator, and of every member, to use every competent means to obtain legal knowledge of them. But, to return to the point: the Moderator received a requisition, asking him to call a meeting on the express ground of the decree of the Civil Court. And you must bear in mind that the Presbytery had previously put on their record a declaration to the effect that they were bound to yield obedience to the Civil Court in this matter. Now I say the Moderator exercised a sound discretion, on his own responsibility of course, first of all, in entertaining a natural jealousy of the proceedings of his Presbytery; and, in the second place, in taking care that they should receive all the documents, and receive them, within such an interval of time before our last meeting in November, as would effectually secure that the end for which the Commission issued their deliverance in May should be fulfilled, and not frustrated. I say the Moderator was entitled to entertain a certain suspicion of his Presbytery in these circumstances; and to take care that they should receive extracts of the deliverances of the Ecclesiastical, as well as of the Civil, Courts—as well as that their meeting should be held in such time as would leave it in the power of this Commission to vindicate its undoubted authority, and prevent wrong being done in the case. I admit that the Moderator incurred great responsibility in fixing the time and manner of the meeting; but still, I say that he deserves the thanks of this Church and the gratitude of this Commission. If he had called the meeting at first, according to the requisition, in what position would we have been placed? We have now enough of evidence to satisfy us that the Presbytery were prepared to proceed in terms of the Civil Court's decree, and in defiance of the ecclesiastical injunction. But what would have been the consequences if they had proceeded actually, as in that case they might have done, to the ordaining and inducting of this presentee to the church of Marnoch before this Commission could interpose? I entreat the Commission to look at the difficulties in which we would have been placed. I feel that at present we stand in circumstances of the utmost embarrassment. As the case now stands, we may be compelled to come to a decision of severity—a decision that may call forth the cry of persecution, and raise an idle clamour in certain quarters. But, on the other hand, if the Moderator of this Presbytery had not acted as he did, the Church would have been placed in a situation of tenfold greater and more distressing difficulty: in the situation—either of allowing her acts to be trampled upon by one of her own Presbyteries, or of being compelled to visit with the most extreme pains and penalties the members who should thus have dared to set her injunctions at defiance. We are therefore under the deepest obligations to the Moderator for his conduct; and we are called upon to approve of his conduct. Admitting that he acted on his own responsibility, and admitting that his Presbytery were entitled to censure him (but to censure him under the review of their ecclesiastical superiors), we are now reviewing, on his petition and complaint—just as, if the course of justice had not been interrupted, we would, at our last meeting in November, have been entitled to review it on his dissent and complaint—we are now reviewing the Presbytery's sentence, censuring his conduct in the calling of this *pro re nata* meeting. And I propose that we reverse the sentence. But leaving this matter, I suppose I may presume that, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to whether the Moderator was right or wrong in postponing the meeting—there can be no doubt that when the meeting was regularly called, to receive certain deliverances of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Courts, there are substantial grounds on which we may approve of the conduct of the Moderator in calling it for that purpose; and of course, if we approve of his conduct, we must disapprove of that of the Presbytery in breaking up the meeting without taking these deliverances into consideration.

"As to the petition and complaint of the Kirk-Session, I do not deem it necessary to propose any formal deliverance, as their object will be otherwise attained, and the injury which they dread averted.

"But now comes the report of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and that report intimates—very respectfully, but very decidedly—their extreme regret that they are compelled not to receive the deliverances of the Ecclesiastical Court, but to attend to the deliverances of the Civil Court. Now I beg the Commission to bear in mind—for there can be no doubt that the sentence which I shall propose will be liable to the censure of being a severe and harsh sentence—that the Presbytery of Strathbogie have no strong palliation of their conduct, in the way of any strong force applied to them by the Civil Courts. We might have some sympathy with them if a process of horning and caption were dogging their heels, and if, by a delay of a few months, obtained to a certain extent by departing from the injunctions of the higher Ecclesiastical Courts, and postponing the execution of some *positive* order, they might hope to avert the horrors of imprisonment, actually impending over them. I say, under such circumstances, I could have had some indulgence for their situation, but at present I have none. I might have had some feeling of indulgence for their dread of bodily harm—their fear of being brought into trouble—if *that* had been the state of the case; though even then I could have had no sympathy with such a method of escaping danger. But you will bear in mind that the injunction of the Commission was itself, in fact, one of *delay*, and nothing more. It ordered them to do nothing. It suspended the case till next Assembly; and any lawyer here present will bear me out in saying that their compliance with such an injunction, merely of delay, would not at all have impaired their defence in any action of damages that might be brought against them, or in any proceedings by way of punishment against them in the Civil Court. In truth it was not even a direct sentence, an express decree of the Civil Court, to which they proposed to yield obedience, but a mere declaratory finding. I have formerly maintained indeed, and I still hold, that *in foro conscientiæ*, on conscientious principles, a simple declaration of the law on the part of the Civil Courts is to be regarded by the Church as equally binding with a peremptory order, and equally to be obeyed, where obedience is possible. But this evidently applies only to the Church in her supreme judicatory determining the general question. The case comes to be very different when a presbytery, a subordinate court, about to disregard the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors, plead the dread of civil pains and penalties. There the very ground of such a plea is taken away when the danger is not urgent—when it is seen that, instead of being pressed to execute the civil sentence, they show even unnecessary alacrity in doing so—when all that the Church immediately requires of them is merely delay. At the same time, while I state these sentiments, I have no manner of doubt that those members of Presbytery acted conscientiously, and that they felt themselves, as they say, constrained, as members of an established church, and also as citizens of the land, to act as they did. And further, I admit that in so far as judging of this conduct with a view to judicial censures—with a view to what the Church may think fit to do in the way of penalty—is concerned, I fully admit that we, the Commission, are not imperatively called upon to take up the matter in that light—that I would at once agree to refer their conduct to the General Assembly, if I had the slightest ground to believe that in the meantime they would take no steps in the way of disobedience to the injunctions of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicatories. I would not be for visiting them penally—I would leave the matter, in that view of it, to the General Assembly. And therefore, in regard to the deliverance which I shall propose, I beg it to be understood that it is a deliverance not of a penal but of a prohibitive character. It is designed simply for the purpose of prohibiting and preventing a serious evil which would undoubtedly arise, if the majority of this Presbytery were left at liberty to take such steps as they propose—steps which would nullify the decision of the General Assembly and the Commission, and altogether frustrate the reasons for which this case stands referred to the next Assembly.

"Without wearying this Commission with further prefatory remarks, I would take the liberty of submitting the motion which I mean to propose. I should mention, however, that I may still have occasion to detain the Commission a little further, as the motion is long, and contains various findings; and I may ask leave to submit a few explanatory observations as I go along.

"The first finding which I propose is to this effect :—

"'1*st.* That the breaking up, by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, of their meeting on the 12th of November, without receiving the deliverances of the General Assembly and Commission, which the Moderator, in his circulars calling the meeting, had intimated that he was to lay before them, was an unwarrantable proceeding, in disrespect to, and in evasion of, the authority of the General Assembly and Commission; and that the refusal to record a dissent and complaint against the resolution come to by them, was an obstruction of the course of justice in violation of their duty.'

"The Commission cannot fail to observe, if the views which I have stated are approved of, that this is a very plain declaratory finding—unavoidable in the circumstances.

"The second finding is as follows :—

"'*2d.* That the said Presbytery, in pronouncing a determination upon the decree of the Court of Session, at the instance of Mr. John Edwards, formerly presentee to the parish of Marnoch, and upon his memorial, violated the injunction of last General Assembly, that, in the event of any change of circumstances, the Presbytery should report the matter to the Commission, who alone were empowered to determine thereon.'

"This finding refers to the resolution which the Presbytery have adopted and recorded, to proceed at once to the trials of the presentee with a view to his settlement, in terms of the decision of the Court of Session, though they are required by the special injunction of the last General Assembly not to pronounce any sentence at all on this point, but simply to report any change of circumstances to the Commission. They had no power whatever to determine the matter, for they are understood to act in this case under the orders of the Commission. They have not the power, therefore, to determine, but only to report. I do not anticipate that any member of this Commission will venture upon a vindication of the Presbytery in this part of their conduct.

"The third finding is :—

"'*3d.* That, in resolving to proceed towards the settlement of the said John Edwards in the parish of Marnoch, the said Presbytery acted in opposition to the fundamental principles of this Church and to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly 1835, "Anent the Calling of Ministers ;" in disregard of the sentence of the General Assembly 1838, remitting to them to reject the said John Edwards, and of their own final sentence thereupon, rejecting him accordingly ; in breach of the injunction of last General Assembly above mentioned ; and in violation of the sentence of the Commission of date 28th May, prohibiting the said Presbytery "from taking any steps towards the admission of Mr. Edwards before the next General Assembly in any event."'

"This finding recites the ecclesiastical rules and injunctions which the Presbytery in this case have violated. They have violated, in the first place, that which we hold to be a fundamental principle of this Church, and, in particular, the Act which the Assembly passed in 1834, to give effect to that principle. There may be some in this Commission who will say that the time has come for rescinding that law. There may even be some who will maintain that the time has arrived when individual members of the Church Courts must be held entitled to act upon their own discretion in regard to giving effect to that law ; but I take it for granted that such will not be the mind of this

Commission, or of any considerable portion of this House. After the decision in August in the case of Auchterarder, I may assume the Commission to be of opinion that, whatever may be the duty of the Church in this matter, whether or not she is bound to retire from the position which she has assumed, there can be no right belonging to any individual member, or any Presbytery of the Church, to take upon themselves the responsibility of deciding this point. But this is not all. In this particular instance the General Assembly have already ordered this very presentee to be rejected, and the Presbytery have accordingly rejected him—taking due care, in doing so, to save themselves by taking a protest in regard to all civil liabilities. And a new presentee has been named by the patron. In these circumstances, so far as this vacancy is concerned, this first presentee has been, by the competent Ecclesiastical Courts, finally set aside, and placed wholly out of the field; and the Presbytery could have no right, after these conclusive proceedings, in any shape to recognise him as still before them, or to take him upon trials, as if his case was still undisposed of. It was pleaded, indeed, in some of the discussions this forenoon, that the Presbytery only wished at present to take him upon trials; that this did not imply that they must ultimately settle him; that they might still be willing to admit the objections of the people at a subsequent stage of the proceedings. But I pray the Commission to remember, in reference to this case, that what the whole independent jurisdiction of the Church is now perilled and staked upon is this—the right of the Ecclesiastical Courts to reject a presentee for no other reason but the dissent of a majority of the communicants in a parish. The Church may have been right or wrong in adopting this particular principle. Still her entire jurisdiction, in the settlement of ministers, is involved in maintaining it. For she has asserted her absolute right to reject a presentee in any circumstances whatever, in which she considers the settlement inexpedient; and in the exercise of this right she has declared that she must consider the settlement to be inexpedient in every case in which the people solemnly dissent. If we compromise this point—however we may talk of giving effect otherwise to the popular voice, and listening to every hint of objection which the people may offer—if we give up this precise point now, we give up all. For I hold this, that if we are to preserve our independence at all, we must have the right of saying peremptorily that we will not settle a man where his settlement would, in our judgment, be inexpedient; and, if we judge that it is not for edification to settle a presentee among a people by whom he is, as we think, conscientiously rejected, I hold that we must have the power of carrying that sentence into effect. It may be wrong in us to listen so much to the people as we do—it may be wrong (though I am far from thinking that it is) to reject a presentee merely because the Christian people dissent; but it is not, it cannot be wrong, according to every just view of ecclesiastical authority, to contend for the power of the Church to reject in any circumstances whatever, in which she may find it necessary or proper to do so. And here I cannot but say to those who think that the Church Courts have given too much power to the people—let them satisfy the Church that she has done wrong in this matter, and let the Church herself retrace her steps. Let her resolve not always in such circumstances to reject the presentee. But, at all events, and at all hazards, let the Church still maintain her right to do so, if she think fit—her right, in fact, to reject in any circumstances which may seem to her to call for such a step.

"But this is not all. The finding now before us declares further that this Presbytery have violated the injunctions of last Assembly and of this Commission. They have violated the order of the Assembly, who required them not to proceed themselves with the settlement of the parish of Marnoch, but to report any change of circumstances to the Commission. They have violated the order of the Commission still more expressly; for the Commission, adverting to their recorded resolution as to obeying the Civil Court, strictly prohibited them from taking any steps whatever towards the induction of Mr. Edwards, in any event, as they should be answerable. It is clear, therefore, that they have violated the injunctions not of the Commission alone but also of the General Assembly; and there can be no doubt that what they have done involves contumacy towards both of these Courts.

"But here, I pray you particularly to observe, that though we have pronounced this declaration in our finding, it is not because we have any wish to deal with this grave offence judicially, or with a view to the infliction of punishment upon the Presbytery. Even at this stage, after all these proceedings, I would be quite prepared, and would rejoice to move, that the Commission should simply refer the whole matter to the next General Assembly, if only we could obtain from the members of the Presbytery, or from the counsel whom they have chosen to appear for them, anything like an assurance that they would, in the meantime, submit to the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors. I entreat the Commission to bear this in mind, as most important for vindicating ourselves from the charge of tyranny or oppression which may be brought against us. I should have thought that we might have reckoned upon receiving some such assurance from a Presbytery situated as this Presbytery now is. For that end I would have been most desirous that, instead of appearing by a procurator, although we gave them liberty in the matter of the petition and complaint to do so, they had thought fit, when they had such a report to give in, to appear this day in person. I doubt not they have good and sufficient cause for being otherwise employed. But even now that they have chosen to appear by their procurator, I am sure nothing would have relieved me more, and I am persuaded nothing would have relieved the Commission more, than if, in answer to the question put by Mr. Dunlop, their counsel had given an assurance that they were prepared to obey their ecclesiastical superiors. Or if he will now do so—if he will say in their name that they are prepared to obey, and to abide the meeting of the next General Assembly—if these brethren will give us this night, either by their procurator or otherwise—if they will give us an assurance that, till the meeting of the Assembly, they will take no further steps in this matter, I will at once give up the following findings, and gladly agree to refer the question to the Assembly.

"I think, Moderator, we are entitled to take this ground, and to throw the whole burden of any apparent severity in our proceedings, away from ourselves, on those who have made it unavoidable. It is not till we have been driven to the wall—it is not till, in various instances, we have been bearded and defied by our own licentiates—it is not till intolerable offences have been committed against all ecclesiastical authority by our own ordained ministers; nay more, it is not till, as in this case, it has become absolutely essential to do something for the mere purpose of keeping the question open till the Assembly can dispose of it—it is not till then that we have resorted to anything like penal measures. Often have we been tempted—often have we felt ourselves called upon by our obligations to the Church, to which we are bound by oath, to exercise severity; but hitherto we have abstained. The Church would have violated no duty, perhaps she would only have better fulfilled her duty, if long ere now she had interfered in a more firm and decided manner than she has ever yet done. I hold that the very first instance of an appeal on the part of a probationer from the Ecclesiastical to the Civil Courts, might have been most summarily visited with the severest punishment, with the highest censure, with deprivation of his license itself. And it is notorious that we have since had repeated opportunities, most aggravated cases, for the interposition of our authority. The case of Lethendy, for example, was a strong and urgent call upon us to proceed with severity. In that case the Church of Scotland was not only resisted in the execution of her own laws by one of her own probationers, but, what was more offensive still, she was insulted by that very probationer daring to take steps, which it could not even be pretended were essential for the maintenance of his civil rights—which could have no other end than to subject the Church of his fathers to contumely. When he dragged a presbytery before a civil tribunal—when he compelled a court of the Church of Christ to appear, that they might be rebuked by the civil judges of the land—when he brought a court of this Church into this position—most offensive to all who have any reverence for the authority of the Lord Jesus and the sacred character of His ministers—I say he lost all claim to the forbearance which he so grossly abused, and that there would have been no injustice in depriving him of his ecclesiastical privilege, which the Church conferred and the Church might withdraw, and leaving him to prosecute his civil rights if he chose—but with his civil standing alone. I mention these things merely as proofs of our lenity and indulgence, not as if they were necessary to justify what we may now be compelled to do. Sir, we are upbraided in various quarters with tyranny—with a disposition to deal tyrannically with our probationers. We are upbraided with seeking for ecclesiastical superiority, with a lust for clerical power. If we had a single spark of such ambition, Moderator, we might have wreaked our vengeance on these helpless and defenceless men long ere now. They have given us occasion enough ; and, in dealing bare justice, we might have resorted to measures which, with rather more plausibility, might have called down the generous indignation of those who now so causelessly exclaim against us.

"But now, at last, we have reached the limit of forbearance. The time has come, not for vengeance—not for punishment—but for prevention. We must take strong and decided measures. It is painful to think that we are now, for the first time, called to pass a sentence of severity ; and it is doubly painful to be myself the first publicly to propose it. But I am relieved when I think that, in proposing this sentence, I am not actuated, and, in adopting it, the Commission will not be actuated, by any personal or vindictive feeling, but solely by a desire to prevent irreparable wrong from being perpetrated. We stand on the defensive—simply and exclusively on the defensive. In last General Assembly steps were taken to secure a suspension of hostilities between the Church and the State, while the negotiation for a settlement of the whole question was going on. I care not what may be said in some quarters about our re-enacting the Veto regulations, and transmitting them for the consideration of presbyteries, as if this were inconsistent with such a course. For every one knows that we could not have abstained from doing so without giving up the measure altogether. All due precautions, however, were taken to prevent any new collision with the Civil Courts. It is true we did continue to prosecute the warfare in all competent and legitimate modes, by appeals to public opinion and to the governing and legislative authorities of the land. We never pledged ourselves to silence or inactivity. On the contrary, we avowed our resolution to strain every nerve with a view to bring about a better understanding and a better practical arrangement on the great subject under debate. But most effectual measures were taken to prevent any new collision—to avoid everything that might raise new difficulties in the way of an arrangement or aggravate unpleasant feelings, so far as the mutual clashing of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts might be concerned. Would that we had been met with similar conduct on the part of patrons and probationers. There was no necessity for these hasty proceedings. Every motive of duty—every consideration of expediency—every feeling of a regard to the best interests of the country, and to the authority of the courts of law themselves—dictated the propriety of a suspension of hostilities, and should have led our opponents to meet us in a kindred spirit, and to do nothing to increase the embarrassment while our efforts towards a settlement were going on. Instead of this, what has been the conduct of those on the other side? I do not know by whose advice they are acting, but there does appear to be a systematic design somewhere —a desire shown, not in one instance but in several, that matters should be precipitated prematurely to a crisis. What have they been doing since we in last Assembly resolved to suspend, during the present year, every new case of a disputed settlement? Was it before or after the meeting of last Assembly that the unseemly spectacle was exhibited of a court of Christ's Church being dragged forward to receive a rebuke from the civil tribunal? Was it before or after the meeting of Assembly that they pressed for a new judgment in the case of Auchterarder? And is it not deplorable *now*, that when our object is to hang up the whole matter till next Assembly, we should be driven to the necessity of adopting a measure which it pains my heart to propose, and which it must deeply grieve this Commission to entertain? But there is no help for it; I therefore read the proposition.

"'The Commission therefore,' after these findings, 'reverse, rescind, and make void the whole proceedings of the said Presbytery at their meetings of the 12th November and 4th December; approve of the conduct of the Moderator with reference to the former of these meetings; dismiss the memorial of the said John Edwards, and prohibit him from applying to the said Presbytery, or any of the members thereof, to be taken on trials, or to be admitted to the pastoral charge of the parish of Marnoch, and from presenting himself to the said Presbytery, or any of the members thereof, to be tried or admitted as aforesaid; with certification, that if he violate this prohibition in any part thereof, he shall be holden and dealt with as contumacious; and instructing the said Presbytery, in that event, to cite him to appear and answer for his contumacy before the stated meeting of Commission in March, and before the next General Assembly, failing such meeting of Commission.'

"The Commission will observe that this is the first time the presentee in this case has been directly intermeddled with, and it is clearly right now to warn him."

Mr. Candlish concluded by formally proposing the suspension of the seven ministers.

Although the Commission resolved in terms of Mr. Candlish's proposal, and suspended the seven Strathbogie ministers, the precaution was in vain. They were determined to intrude the presentee to Marnoch, to set at defiance their ecclesiastical superiors, and to disregard their ordination vows, knowing, as they did, that their action would be sustained by the Civil Court, and upheld by the whole party in the Church who were opposed to non-intrusion. Their determined resistance to the injunctions of the Church ended, as it could not but do, in their subsequent deposition from the ministerial office. Meantime the conflict between the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Courts was getting more and more complicated. In the speech I have quoted Mr. Candlish refers to the Lethendy case. The Crown had presented Mr. Clark, a probationer, to the parish of Lethendy, as assistant and successor, and his presentation was set aside on the ground of the opposition of the people. In this case the patron's rights were not pleaded. On the contrary, the Crown issued a new presentation to Mr.

Kessen, and left Mr. Clark to fight his own battle. He sought and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the Presbytery proceeding with the ordination of Mr. Kessen, although the Presbytery declared that in ordaining him they did not pretend to determine any question as to his stipend, which was a matter at the disposal of the Civil Court. The Presbytery, as instructed by the General Assembly, disregarded the interdict, and for this offence were summoned to the bar of the Court, and rebuked and threatened.

The suspension of the Strathbogie ministers made it necessary to supply ordinances for their people, and it was evidently quite as necessary to inform the community on the great principles that were at stake. This double necessity involved a great deal of agitating and exhausting labour, of which Mr. Candlish had his full share. On the 26th December he wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

"Cunningham and I start to-morrow, if all is well, at nine for Perth, where we have a meeting in the evening. The plan which Abercrombie Gordon has devised for us is rather formidable. We are to go on on Saturday to Aberdeen, and so to Huntly and Keith, where we preach on Sabbath. On Monday morning we are to meet the Strathbogie Presbytery at Huntly; then proceed to Elgin and hold a meeting in the evening. On Tuesday we are to go on to Inverness, where there is a meeting on that evening. On Wednesday, Gordon proposes we come back to Strathbogie, and perhaps meet the Keith and Huntly folks, and expound to them. Then on Thursday we hold the Aberdeen meeting."

From Dr. James Christie, Dundee, then practising at Huntly, I have an account of the Sabbath work by Mr. Candlish at Huntly. On the Sabbath preceding, Mr. Simpson, Trinity Church, Aberdeen, had preached to a very small congregation of fifteen or eighteen people in the Gordon Arms Inn. Dr. Christie says—

"At the conclusion of the service it was intimated that next Sabbath the Rev. Mr. Candlish of Edinburgh, the renowned debater and popular preacher, would preach at Huntly. It was at once seen that the limited accommodation of a room in the hotel would be insufficient to accommodate the crowd which was certain to assemble to hear the celebrated preacher, and it became necessary that some arrangement should be made at once, as the time was limited. An arrangement was forthwith entered into with Mr. Beattie, the innkeeper (with some difficulty, as he was quite opposed to the views of the movement party), to have the inn court covered over and seated for the occasion. An understanding was come to that a rent of £15 should be paid for the use of the court for that day, all expenses being paid besides. On Saturday Mr. Candlish arrived by mail coach, and was informed of the arrangements made for him. On the Sabbath, in the midst of a very severe snowstorm, a congregation supposed to number 1500 assembled; and those who could not find accommodation under the roof of the inn, or its court, stood without in the square, the preacher making himself be heard by most, if not all his hearers, by standing as near as possible in the centre. £15 as a rent for such accommodation in such weather was a burden which could not be borne, especially as the purses of those who then adhered to the non-intrusion cause were none of the heaviest. At this juncture, when those who took the lead in Church matters were much difficulted as to future accommodation (there being only two halls in the town for public meetings—one belonging to the Duke of Richmond, who was much opposed to the movement party in the Church, and the other to a worthy elder of the Established Church, but who subsequently joined the Free Church), a friend of mine, Mr. Alexander Stewart, solicitor, gave me the hint that if properly gone about the old Roman Catholic chapel, then unoccupied, might be purchased. I at once told Mr. Candlish, who entered into the matter very cordially. On the Monday morning, before daylight, I called on Mr. Candlish at the hotel, with a lantern in my pocket, to be used when we came to the chapel, and which might not discover our motions prematurely. We waded through the deep snow, and on entering the chapel Mr. Candlish was quite delighted with the place, and at once said, 'Do secure this place at any cost.' Mr. Candlish breakfasted at my mother's house (I consider it due to her memory to say how cordially she entered into the Church's movements, and how highly she valued our increased privileges), and, after seeing him off by the mail coach to the south, I mounted my horse and rode on to Presthome, near Fochabers, the residence of Dr. Ryle, the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese. Fearing any interruption (for so strong was the feeling in the district that had it been known on what errand I had gone, I believe I might have been anticipated and prevented accomplishing my object), I did not draw bridle ere I reached my journey's end, a distance of twenty-two miles in deep snow. I saw the Bishop, who referred me back to Mr. Stewart, and next day I purchased the chapel on behalf of the Church. It was at once enlarged, and for three years a large and interested congregation assembled in it. I cannot remember if Mr. Candlish was again in Strathbogie until he came to open the Free Church there ; but this I know, that many have cause to bless God for the Disruption and its blessed fruits."

Thus, it appears, that in his manifold labours Mr. Candlish raised up ready and zealous coadjutors to forward his movements.

CHAPTER V.

Two non-intrusion meetings in Edinburgh—Speeches of Mr. Candlish—Meeting in Glasgow—Speech on spiritual independence—March meeting of Commission—Speech on interdicts against preaching—Railways and Sabbath observance—Death of two of his children—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Goes to Newcastle—Writes again to Mr. Dunlop—*Liberum arbitrium*—Lord Aberdeen's bill—August Commission—Libel against seven Strathbogie ministers; speech—Speech on government inspection of schools—Vacancy in Glasgow Theological Chair—"Engagement" in defence of the Church—Movement for abolition of Patronage.

On the 14th January 1840 two public meetings on non-intrusion were held in the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, one in the afternoon and the other in the evening. The Marquis of Breadalbane presided at the afternoon meeting, and the Lord Provost at that held in the evening. Mr. Candlish spoke at both meetings, moving a petition to Parliament to defend the liberties of the Church and people of Scotland. At the afternoon meeting, among other things, he said that the object of the Church was "to get effectual assurance that this Church shall never be obliged to settle a minister in a parish whom its communicants cannot welcome in the Lord. I call upon you in heart and hand to support the Church and the Church Committee in prosecuting this noble enterprise, to pledge yourselves by standing forth and showing that you will rally round us, for without your aid and your cordial concurrence, humanly speaking, our cause is gone. There lies a petition at the door; it will be carried to the houses of many of the citizens; and we call on you, as you value the

Church for which your fathers bled, as you reverence the Lord Jesus, the Head of the Church, as you esteem highly your privileges as members of the Christian community; we call upon you to give your hearty influential support to the measures which the Church is now adopting for having this great principle ratified and secured."

At the evening meeting he spoke at greater length, entering more fully into the subject. He said—

"If it rested with us to make our choice whether we would intrude unacceptable ministers, or lose the temporalities of the benefice, we would be prepared to make our choice; we have made it in the case of Auchterarder, and by that choice we are prepared to abide. But that is not the alternative which is submitted to us now. We are now called upon to intrude, or if we do not we must pay large damages, or submit to fine and imprisonment. This is not to be confined to the ministers of the Church, but it reaches to the members of the Church, for the Court of Session, in those rapid strides of intrusion which they have made into our province, have gone so far as to tell the Christian people in one parish that they must relinquish their spiritual right, and cease to discharge their spiritual duty, or they must submit to imprisonment and fines. This makes the necessity of appealing to the Legislature still more urgent. I trust that petitions like this will become general over the country, and that we shall raise—I do not say agitation—but that we shall raise such a constitutional, earnest, and unanimous application to the Legislature, that one session shall not be allowed to pass without something being done to restore peace to the Church and good order to the community.

"It is, I believe, unprecedented in the annals of our city, that in one day two such crowded meetings should have been assembled, as we have this day witnessed, to wish us success. Such an expression of feeling on the part of this great city cannot fail to have an influence directly with the Legislature, and indirectly with the country. I cannot anticipate the issue of this struggle. I know not how short or how long it may please Almighty God to keep us in the furnace of affliction. He may have ends of His own to serve by prolonging this discussion. We did indeed at one time anticipate that the Church was about to enjoy rest from controversy, and that peace was about to be restored to our Zion—a peace more thorough, and, we trusted, more lasting than the Church had witnessed for many a long day. At that time, before this wretched Auchterarder case, this pitiful struggle about the mere stipend, was brought into the Church, all parties were lending heart and hand to advocate Christ's cause at home and abroad. I ask if ever such unanimity of good works had before been witnessed in our land. It seemed as if even those in the Church whom we have been wont to regard as opponents, and of whose policy we were accustomed to speak in no measured terms—it seemed as if even they had been softened by a better spirit than that which prevailed for a long and dreary century. We thought they had come over to unite with us in the prosecution of those schemes of Christian philanthropy which, we confidently say, must be regarded as the real end for which the party to which we belong ever desired an ascendancy in the counsels of the Church. It may be that we interpreted these pleasing symptoms erroneously—that we presumed too hastily that our warfare was accomplished, and our iniquity pardoned—and that the Lord's displeasure for our backslidings was past and gone. It may be that the Lord is now teaching us another and a salutary lesson—that He may often see fit to revisit and bless His Church, not at the end, but at the commencement of her trials. But I cannot help anticipating the blessed effects which might be expected to flow from a speedy settlement of this question in restoring the unity and harmony of the Church: it would bring back the day which we have already seen—the first day when a special meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly was held for no other purpose than to consider the question of a mission to the Jews. These are the objects we desire to see accomplished. We have no love for wrangling. We would much rather provoke each other to love and to good works; and we wish—from the bottom of our hearts we wish—that our brethren who, however they may feel themselves conscientiously bound to obey the law as it stands, could have no such conscientious difficulty in consenting to its alteration—most heartily do I wish that they would give us an opportunity of bringing back these halcyon days. Peace! my lord! We love peace, but we cannot consent to sacrifice principle to peace; and we believe that the maintenance of our principles is the only preparative for a pure, stable, and permanent peace.

"But further, I confess that I anticipate peace not only within the borders of our own Zion, but peace between Ephraim and Judah. Allusion has already been made to our brethren the Dissenters or Seceders. I go along with a great part of what was said by my respected brother respecting their efforts in many a good cause, though I think that surely, in referring to one great public question, the emancipation of the slaves, he did not remember one whom, especially within these walls, an Edinburgh assembly will not soon forget. The meeting has anticipated me—it is not necessary to pronounce the name which was upon my lips ; I need not say I referred to him in regard to whom it cannot but be the earnest, though the vain, wish of every one present, that in this crisis which has come upon us he had been spared to meet it. But the events of man's life, and of the Church's history, are in other hands than ours ; and it may please God to show, by the removal of the mightiest champions in the time of need, that He can make even babes and sucklings bring glory to His name. But in reference to our brethren the Dissenters, I will tell you of a vision which has flitted across my imagination. We have been engaged in controversy respecting two principles for many years. We have contended for the principle of a National Establishment of religion, and on this ground, among others, that the establishment of religion was quite consistent and compatible with the most thorough recognition of the Church's spiritual independence and of the people's spiritual privileges. This was our argument, and in maintaining it we were accustomed to point to our beloved Church as a Church in which might be seen exemplified and embodied a near approach to the ideal of a pure National Establishment. Many conscientious Dissenters opposed us on the ground that they did not see that the National Establishment of religion could be consistent with the spiritual independence of the Church. May it not be part of the purposes of God, by the controversy in which the Church has still more recently been engaged, and of which we hope to see a successful issue, that many of our brethren may be convinced that they may consent to the establishment of religion without giving up the establishment of the independence of the Church as a Church of Christ, and as guardian of the rights of the people whom Christ has bought. It may be—I would to God it were—the result of this discussion, and of the settlement of this question—to satisfy some—I would say many —nay, all of our seceding brethren, that as the worst day the Church ever saw was when she surrendered to the civil power her dear-bought right, so they may now perceive the possibility of the Church having its privileges recognised and yet remaining an Established Church. Might we not hope that then their bowels would yearn towards the Church which their fathers so reluctantly forsook, and that we might once more have a united Church in a united land."

He concluded by saying—

"I trust that this night will witness many hundreds of your signatures to the petition now lying at the door. I trust also you will feel that, by signing this petition, you will only half discharge your conscience and your duty—that every man will feel that the question concerns not his own soul only, but the souls of his neighbours, who, under a cold ministry, may perish for lack of knowledge. I trust that all present will feel it their duty to labour in their respective spheres to diffuse information, and to excite zeal in this cause—the cause of God and truth. I trust that this great meeting—I hope I may add this Christian assembly—having petitioned an earthly Legislature, will feel themselves bound to give the Church the benefit of their appeals to the throne on high. I trust we shall continue to prosecute this enterprise more and more in the spirit of earnest prayer. Would to God that the day were returned when not a man entered into his closet for the day—not a family gathered round the domestic altar—not two or three met in the Lord's name—without, along with their petitions for the prosperity of their own souls, remembering Zion and praying for the peace of Jerusalem."

At a great public meeting held in Glasgow early in February, Mr. Candlish, in supporting a resolution, discussed the spiritual independence of the Church as flowing out of the headship of Christ, and then concluded as follows:—

"Is it to be tolerated that we are to be called on, on the first bidding of a single court in the land, to surrender what we consider our sacred rights, secured to us by that most sacred of all national acts, which united two great countries under a solemn national treaty, on the faith of which each party surrendered part of its power, trusting to the honour of the other? Is it to be tolerated, that at the first whisper of a civil court we are to give up all that was struggled for in days of old—the rights of Christ's people—the power of Christ's office-bearers to govern solely and exclusively His Church? I trust that the Christian people of this land will enter with somewhat more feeling, and a better judgment into the present position of the Church of their fathers. We do not ask them to go with us into all the details of those proceedings our Church has adopted—they may not understand, they may not approve of them all—but this we do expect, that as they value the constitution of their country, as they value the Church of Christ, they may, at all events, rally round us when making our stand now, and seeking to have that constitution recognised in all its integrity, and that Church established again in all its freedom. This is our sole demand. We are willing and ready, whatever interdicts may issue, whatever damages the juries of our country may give, whatever expenses may be heaped upon us, whatever rebukes may be dealt us from the Bench, whatever years of imprisonment may fall to the lot of our ministers and people,—we are ready to take our stand and say we will not abandon the privileges Christ has conferred upon His Church. The State may take away our established privileges, the State may disestablish us to-morrow, let it do so on its own responsibility; but, meantime, we cannot forget our allegiance to our Lord. We will not go and preach in the pulpits from which we are interdicted, but we will go, as I have done already, and preach in the open air."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March, speaking of the interdicts granted by the Judges against preaching in the parishes of the suspended ministers in Strathbogie, Mr. Candlish said—

"The Court of Session did not merely prevent the Presbytery, and ministers sent by them, from going to the Church—they did not want it—but from going within the bounds of the parish and offering to preach the word of God. He begged to say—and he had better reason for saying it, better evidence of the facts of the case than those who ventured on a contrary assertion—he said that in these parishes, where the ministers of the Church of Scotland had been prevented from preaching the gospel, there had been, by the blessing of God, a work in progress, which he believed he was safe in saying, these parishes had not witnessed anything like since the Reformation. There were tangible proofs of the accuracy of his statement which would defy contradiction, and which utterly controverted the statements of those who averred that the preaching of the Word by the ministers appointed by the Committee had turned men away from the truths of the gospel, and created heats and divisions in the parishes. Among the good effects which had followed that agitation, he might mention the conversion of several Roman Catholic families residing in the district. No doubt that would create heats and divisions and excitements; but he could only say that there were many districts in the north, and not far from Aberdeenshire, where it would be no great evil to see such excitements of far more frequent occurrence. If there were any who would say that the ministers who had gone to these districts and laboured diligently in their holy vocation, who had preached the essential truths of the gospel with a fervour and unction not very familiar there; if there were any who would assert that they had created heats and divisions, he would venture to say that they were not competent judges of what the truths of the gospel really were, and preferred coldness and deadness to the living faith which that gospel inspired. It was not for them to boast of what might come out of a movement which was regarded by some as so alarming, nor to exult in offences or troubles, because out of them good might arise. But it was right to bear testimony to the work of the Lord; it was right to bear testimony to those who had been honoured to win souls unto Christ. The ministers who were accused of turning men's minds from the gospel had preached it in season and out of season, in doors and out of doors. They had gone from house to house, from family to family, and opened up the will of God to those who were asking the way of eternal life; and was it for a moment to be endured, that labours such as these were to be stigmatised as attempts on the part of the ministers of the Church to create heats and divisions, and to lead men's minds away from the blessed truths of the gospel? He could speak of some of the effects produced—men thirsting for the word of God—on Sabbaths and on week-days resorting eagerly to sermons and prayer-meetings, seeking private counsel from godly ministers, giving tokens of awakening, of conviction, of deep impressions of a real and saving change; but he would forbear. It was due, however, to the ministers of the Church who had gone into these parishes, it was due to the Church itself, that when so much was said of the difficulties into which the Church was brought, and of the effects of its proceedings in these northern districts, it should be known throughout the Church and the country that, according to the testimony and judgment of men most competent to judge, it were well that such excitement were extended. It was quite plain that in circumstances like the present, when such extraordinary measures were resorted to, many unpleasant consequences must be apprehended and experienced, and far be it from him to say that the proceedings of the Church had not produced any results which he would not have deprecated. But it was according to the plan and purpose of God, and often exemplified in the history of the Church of Christ, that when she was brought into deep waters God had signally blessed her, and honoured her for the conversion of many souls.

"He was not one of those who expected a speedy rescue for the Church from her present difficulties. He saw them thickening on every side. He saw this very day sixty or seventy ministers in the north ready to embarrass them still more, committing themselves to the full extent to an approval of what the suspended ministers had done, ready to go all lengths with them in resisting our authority. He saw on every side misrepresentations and misunderstandings, and he was not confident of a speedy end to these troubles. The Church had sinned far too grievously not to expect that her punishment might be prolonged. But should the Church be destined to suffer still more—should that convulsion be the breaking up of our Establishment, then I am persuaded it must be the first breaking up of all institutions, civil and sacred, in the land. If it should be so, their duty was the same; they could not help it if it should be so, as sometimes they were driven to fear (though God forbid that their fear should be realised); still it was satisfactory to know that while their clear duty was to uphold the Church, as their forefathers had done in former times, they might trust that in the very breaking up of His Church's prosperity, the Lord might be intending to bless her labours in a manner beyond the reach of human foresight, making her in her fall more truly glorious than in her pride.

"We have not abandoned the principle that no man shall be intruded into a congregation against the will of the people. It is by maintaining that principle that we have been brought into all our difficulties. Even the last interdict was granted avowedly for the purpose of preventing that principle from being carried into full effect. It is in this attitude of a Church protecting the liberties of a Christian people that we desire the Legislature to interpose its authority to prevent unacceptable ministers being forced on reclaiming congregations, and to prevent us from being compelled to force them. It is in this attitude that we proceed to make our complaint against these new interferences—to complain of the offence of the Civil Court in the invasion of our religious powers and prerogatives as a Church. This offence against us—this breach of the established law—this invasion of the ecclesiastical province—must in itself be sincerely deprecated by all who think correctly on the limits of sacred and civil things. It must excite the honest indignation of all who are not prepared to establish in a single court a general tyranny—who value the free constitution of their country, as well as the privileges of the Christian Church. And it is doubly to be lamented when it is considered that all this evil arises out of the attempt to overbear the liberties of the Christian people in the exercise of their sacred rights and responsibilities, secured to them by their great Head, and connected with their own and their children's eternal wellbeing."

Mr. Candlish was not so engrossed by the conflict between the Church and the Civil Courts in which he was led to take so prominent a part as to prevent him showing his interest in, and lending his powerful advocacy to, whatever tended to the advancement of the cause of religion. The year 1840 was signalised by the opening of several railways in Scotland, and this gave rise to discussions on the observance of the Sabbath, and in these he took his full share. He spoke at a public meeting held in Edinburgh in March, and pleaded the divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath as the only ground on which to make a stand against all encroachments on the rest of the holy day.

While all this public work was going on during this year, Mr. Candlish experienced severe domestic afflictions in the death of two of his children. His fourth child, Walter, born on 10th August 1839, died on the 21st February 1840. He thus registers the event—"Mortuum, eheu! 21st Feb. 1840; sepultum 24th Feb. 1840. Talium est regnum coelorum. Fiat voluntas tua." His third child, Jane Smith, born 14th June 1838, died on 30th March, and the event is thus registered—"Mortuam 30th March 1840; sepultam 2d April 1840, juxta fratrem. *οἱ αγγελοι αυτων εν ουρανοις δια παντος βλεπουσι το προσωπον του πατρος μου του εν ουρανοις.*"

Writing on the 31st March to Mr. Dunlop, who was in London pressing upon Government the claims of the Church, he says—

> "I was detained in Glasgow from Friday till yesterday by a severe cold, toothache, and general over-fatigue. I wrote, however, giving directions that any letters of yours should be opened, and their contents, so far as necessary, communicated to Shaw Stewart. In this way the Committee got your intelligence, and your first letter received the more favourable explanation of your second and third. The Committee meet again to-morrow. I do fervently hope it may be no new *mirage*, but firm ground we see before us. It has pleased God to take away another of our little children—the youngest that was left. She was long delicate. We thought her rather better last week. When I re-

turned I found she had gone yesterday morning. You may imagine I have little heart to write about public matters. But I shall be anxious to hear to-morrow, and shall attend the committee. I left Mrs. C., who went with me to Glasgow, among her friends. This aggravates our distress. We expect her to-night. These are sore trials. I write mainly to express my earnest hope that you will not come away prematurely. If Government are going to do anything, it is the more necessary to keep at them and other parties. Consider how many of our enemies are now sneaking about high places. Make up your mind to remain a little yet, and rather write for a reinforcement. I think Welsh might be induced to join you; and if a sufficiently rabid Tory were conjoined with him—say Hog, or Simpson, Kirknewton—we might send him. Write about this. I have made up my mind not to go to the Glasgow sacrament as I intended. I have no mind for gadding about just now. Still, if you consider it necessary and right, I will be at Newcastle on Wednesday the 15th, all the rather if you will agree to meet me there, coming down from London on purpose, if necessary. Together we may be able to effect some good. But I would not like to be alone, and there is no other of the deputation I care to consult with, so you must agree to meet me. It will need both of us together to effect any good.

"About your question. Certainly the call is far better than the veto, and if the call be adopted, the range of callers must be enlarged. At the very least it should be all male communicants, not heads of families. I don't see much objection to making it 'members of the church.' By that phrase I would understand all above a certain age who are regular sitters in the church, and admissible to privileges, *i.e.* not under scandal, not ignorant nor immoral. This would include those in Highland parishes who have their children baptized, and are in every proper sense members of the Church, though they do not communicate. I do not see anything very objectionable in principle in this—that all who subject themselves to the discipline of the Church as regular members of a congregation should be entitled to call. Practically it might do good in some instances. It would establish the principle that the Church's discipline ought to extend not merely over those who apply for baptism and the Lord's Supper, but over all who statedly submit to her rules and wait on her ministry. The Church would, of course, be bound to inquire into their principles and conduct. Then it would take away the appearance of tempting men to communicate by holding out a right to be exercised, and at the same time the Church would still be at liberty to deal with members of congregations pertinaciously despising the ordinance of communion—for removing scruples, or visiting an offence, as the case might be. I suppose it is chiefly with a view to Highland parishes that the modification is suggested. Then, something of this kind would very soon have been forced on the Church at any rate, under the existing veto law. Right or wrong, the practice of non-communicating there established cannot be soon or rashly meddled with, and we would have found ourselves obliged to accommodate our regulations to the practice. I fancy there is no warrant in old statutes or history for the distinction between the two sacraments which our law now makes. If men have their children baptized, they are as truly communicants as if they sat at the Lord's Table. Whether they should be admitted to the one ordinance when they do not come to the other is a different question. If their not communicating is from a scruple, it must be tenderly handled. If from contempt, clearly there is a case for discipline. Then young men, not yet communicants, may be worthy members of a congregation, entitled and qualified to call, while they have not yet seen their way clearly to come to the Lord's Table. On the whole, I am not very averse to such a proposal. There are difficulties. The right of the Church to say who are to be held members must be absolute. The privilege of calling and objecting must be a spiritual privilege, or an ecclesiastical one, enjoyed by men at the discretion of the Church Courts, and subject to their superintendence and control. There must be no civil status independently of the decision of the Church, or implying that an individual might claim his privilege against the Church's will. This of course. But why do I inflict a dissertation on you? I am stupid and idle to-day. I sometimes feel as if I were tired of all these public affairs. They are all vanity, as well as our private hopes and joys. But we must not shrink from duty nor relinquish the persuasion that there is something stable."

Mr. Candlish did go to Newcastle, and, as one of the deputies from the General Assembly, addressed the English Presbyterian Synod on the relations between it and the Assembly. On the same day he addressed a meeting on the subject of non-intrusion.

On the 22d April, in a letter to Mr. Dunlop, he expresses his apprehension that the Government might, to get rid of the question, agree to a proposal of Lord Aberdeen, which was, in substance, that which became law subsequent to the Disruption. From London, on 20th June, he wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

> "Things here are bad enough. Lord Aberdeen is very angry and very obstinate. Welsh and I had a long talk to-day with Sir George Clerk. No hope of an opening even for the minimum. We saw Breadalbane yesterday. He is very friendly, but can do little. Great use has been made here of our alleged divisions, and every *politic* turn of our middle men twisted against us. There are, I fear, dangers not a little in the direction of middles and expediency courses. Every conversion is abused. Last night I was in the House of Lords. All the battering of the Strathbogie men by our friends was turned to account artfully against us. It was truly deplorable to see what a sorry figure we cut—nobody to state our case. We will labour hard to find some way of righting ourselves in part, and getting the case rightly put before the public, either in the Commons or in some of the papers, or some way or other. There is a strong feeling that we should apply to be heard by counsel against Lord Aberdeen's bill, if he goes on with it. If we agree in this, you must come up immediately. Mackellar and Hamilton have arrived."

The minimum referred to in this letter was, that Presbyteries should have power to decide absolutely and finally on a view of the whole circumstances, including the dissent of the people, whether a presentee should be admitted to a charge or rejected. The discussion in the House of Lords was on the occasion of Lord Aberdeen moving the second reading of the Bill he had prepared, and which had already been considered and rejected by the General Assembly, which had recently closed its sittings.

On the 23d June Mr. Candlish again wrote to Mr. Dunlop regarding consultations with various parties in London as to petitioning to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Lords, and in the event of this step being resolved upon, he tells Mr. Dunlop to hold himself in readiness for a peremptory summons to come up on this business. "All agree that you must be here, and that you, along with an English barrister, ought to manage the case." Again he wrote to Mr. Dunlop on 29th June, "Our object is chiefly to manifest our opposition, and to get a *good* statement of our case brought formally before the House and the public. It is not likely that Lord Aberdeen will go on to press his bill. We propose that Breadalbane should present our petition to-morrow, and thereafter put a question to Aberdeen, and if he finds the bill is not to be pressed, then waive our being heard." Again, on 2d July, he wrote Mr. Dunlop—

"Lord Aberdeen got his bill through the Committee to-night, fairly jostling and juggling our friend Breadalbane, who, though abundantly hearty, is not very ready, and is rather overborne in that den. After the discussion, which was very short, Aberdeen told Breadalbane he would say positively on Monday or Tuesday whether he was going on with the bill. I suppose he waits his orders from the Dean (Hope, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates). Meantime we can do nothing till then. The motion to hear us by counsel is postponed till then. Our impression is that they will agree to hear, and will allow time. If not, so much the better for us. Let them refuse the petition, or refuse time to prepare, and we are in the best position. Again, we are confidently told that he won't go on to the third reading. Maule says he knows this certainly. At all events he is pledged to tell Breadalbane on Monday. I would fain hope we may get away on Tuesday. Of course if we must appear by counsel, *i.e.* if they go on to the third reading and agree to hear us, we must arrange about counsel, and you *must* come up. I can stay no longer. I am much wanted at home, and am weary of this business. It is of little use working here. Our hope is in Scotland. The Marnoch Petition has come up, signed by 532 in six hours! It will do us some good, I hope. It is to be presented, we expect, in both Houses to-morrow. The spirit of the peers is most horrible. Miller (*Witness*) is not a bit too severe when he speaks of *the boot.* I believe they would gladly persecute us, if they dared.

"I wish I was home again. Anti-patronage now, open and unmitigated, must be our object, and we must gain it. Cooke, of Belfast, has arrived to-day to help us for two days. He will get up some kind of stir among the Irish Presbyterian members, which may tell on Peel and Stanley."

On 7th July he wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

"The bill is abandoned. This we know positively, as far as private information can give us security ; and to-night Lord Aberdeen is to be asked a question, and is to give an answer. We are winding up affairs. The Moderator, Welsh, and I leave this to-night, Hamilton to-morrow morning. You need not fear about our being heard by counsel. We have learned some practical lessons here, which will be very useful when we return home. We must organise, and that immediately."

At the Commission of Assembly in August, Mr. Candlish spoke in support of a motion to appoint a committee to prepare a libel against the seven suspended ministers of Strathbogie as follows :—

"In point of fact, the charge now about to be libelled against the seven suspended ministers has no reference whatever to any act of obedience on their part to the Civil Courts, or any sentence of any civil tribunal. The Procurator's advice must be substantially followed, because we shall not libel them for any act in which they can plead the authority of the Court of Session. They plead a conscientious conviction of their obligation to obey the authority of the Court of Session, as a reason for violating the orders of our Assembly and its Commission in regard to taking Mr. Edwards on trials. I would have given them, I confess, more credit for this conviction, had they consistently continued to act in accordance with it, had they felt themselves as strictly and immediately bound to induct Mr. Edwards, if found qualified, as well as to try his qualifications. For the Civil Courts declared them equally bound to do both. Still, however, their proceedings, previous to this Assembly, in regard to taking Mr. Edwards on trials, are not now before this Court. They were disposed of by the Assembly, and it is not necessary to take any account of them. The precise charges now before the House against them are these—that, in violation of the sentence of the Commission, they nevertheless continued in the discharge of their spiritual functions ; that, after the sentence of the Commission was changed into one of the Assembly, they still continued to discharge these functions ; that they sought the protection of the Civil Court in their discharge, and sought also to overturn the sentence of their ecclesiastical superiors, and to obstruct its execution by a summary proceeding of the Civil Courts.

"These are the actings to be libelled. In regard to them they plead the *sanction* of the Civil Courts ; but are these proceedings in which they can possibly plead any *obligation* lying on them in reference to the Civil Courts ? It has long been a sophism common among our friends opposite, not to distinguish between what the law *ordained* and what it only *permitted* men to do. I have heard Dr. Cook himself, with reference to probationers who went to the Civil Courts in defence of their privileges, say that they obeyed the law, as if they did what the law *required.* But is a Christian man entitled, in the face of his ecclesiastical superiors, to take advantage of all his legal rights to the utmost, and plead *obligation* to do so? These probationers may plead that they did what the law *permitted* them to do; but they cannot come here and say that they were acting under the *compulsion* of the law. They do what the law *permits.* And so also in this case, here is a charge, in regard to which the most they can plead is, that in their minds the Civil Courts *sanction* their procedure. Under what sort of *legal obligation* do they lie to prosecute their spiritual functions in opposition to a sentence of suspension or deposition, and then go to the secular courts to have themselves reponed? Unless it be held that it is the bounden duty of a man to avail himself to the utmost of his legal rights, it cannot be said that these men were under any obligation here. Even did such obligation lie upon them, it would not relieve them from our censures; but this is a different case. They must be libelled for offences which the Civil Courts were in no way binding or asking them to commit.

"And here I have another remark to make regarding the precise nature of the offence charged against them. Much has been said to-day about their contumacy in disobeying their ecclesiastical superiors, and the impression may be made, in some quarters, that our substantial charge against these men is contumacy. Now, I do acknowledge that I would look with jealousy on the Church proceeding to extreme censures on grounds involving only contumacy to her own Courts; at least, I would regret much if the case were of such a nature as to bear this form alone. I should always like that these sentences against ministers of the gospel should involve not only the dignity and personal credit of their ecclesiastical superiors, but matters higher and more serious. I admit to the full the necessity of maintaining our jurisdiction; but in this case it happens that the charges which we bring are not charges that merely involve contumacy to us or to the Assembly. This is not, to my mind, even the gravamen of the charge. They might have been visited with summary deposition for not compearing according to citation; but I rejoice that we are now allowed to lay out the accusation in the formal shape of a libel, and thus to bring before the Church and the country the full weight and import of their offence. And this is their offence:—They are dispensing ordinances without a warrant, usurping the power of the keys, when no power competent to give these keys put them into their hand—doing what I hold to be a desecration of the ordinances of Christ and of the sacraments which He has instituted and ordained to be dispensed by the hands of the ministers of His Word, duly called thereto, and which these men, who for the time are no ministers at all, have dared to touch. This is the main charge ; and another charge is, that these men, under no obligation to do so—not coerced—but in their ambition to retain that office of which their ecclesiastical superiors had deprived them, as they alone bestowed it—are guilty of going to another court, not a court of Christ at all, but a court of Cæsar, and of asking from Cæsar the power of the keys which the Church alone possesses. These are charges which go far beyond the mere charge of contumacy—charges of a far greater and more heinous character—charges which affect immediately the high honour of the Redeemer, and the sacredness of the ordinances of His institution. For, as we believe that Christ has appointed a government in His Church upon earth, and has committed to that government the ministerial office, we do not hold it competent for men who have not received that office, or who have been deprived of it, to go on in discharging its functions. Let no man say then that these proceedings are founded on the mere charge of contumacy, as if we were going on to extremities against these erring brethren because they set aside our authority in any technical or formal matter,—such as disobeying our orders in refusing to appear at our citation. And it is on this account I rejoice that we are not to proceed by a summary act of deposition for contumacy against them, but are called upon to libel them in the face of the country for our own vindication, and in the hope that, by the blessing of God, it may even yet lead to beget within them a conviction of their error."

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at the end of October Mr. Candlish gave his first public utterances on part of a subject which in after years engaged very much of his time and mind, and in connection with which he rendered most important service to his Church and country. It is for this reason I give his short speech in the Presbytery on the subject of school inspection by Government.

"Mr. Candlish brought forward his motion, of which he gave notice last month, that the Presbytery should invite Mr. Gibson, the Government Inspector of Schools for Scotland, to inspect the schools within the bounds of the Presbytery when requested by individual ministers, or by the Committee lately appointed for superintending education within their bounds. It did not appear to him that, in doing so, they would be committing themselves to any approbation of the system in accordance with which he had been appointed inspector. He viewed the matter in this light: they had an inspector appointed by Government—an individual in whom the Church reposed the fullest confidence, and who was, in the estimation of all who were acquainted with him, admirably qualified for the discharge of the duty. Were they not, then, to be at liberty to avail themselves of the services of this individual, and to ask him to devote a portion of his time and his talents to the work in connection with their schools? In doing so they did not ask for the services of the Government Inspector, strictly so called. They did not propose a general resolution, binding themselves in all cases, to approve of the Government Inspector; but they took the special case of an individual being appointed who was approved by the Church, and he did say, that when Government appointed a man in whom they had confidence, they ought thankfully to avail themselves of his help. To that extent, then, he proposed to ask for the assistance of Mr. Gibson; and when they had the power to secure the services of such a man, it would require a strong reason indeed to satisfy him that it was not their duty, out of regard to the schools under their superintendence, to take advantage of his services. He asked the Presbytery to agree to this proposition, not by any means with a view to supersede the labours of the Committees, nor to slacken the diligence of these Committees, or of any individual member of Presbytery: he rejoiced heartily that the Presbytery was discharging its duty by a vigorous and systematic exertion to promote the work of education; but he had the fullest conviction that the co-operation of Mr. Gibson would have the effect of quickening the zeal and diligence of the Presbytery tenfold. He admired as much as any man the system established in Scotland by which the schools were placed under the superintendence of the ministers and Presbyteries of the Church; he should dread as much as any one the scheme by which it was proposed to withdraw the schools of the country from that superintendence, and to separate religious from secular education; but it could not be denied, and it was not to be disguised, that, however high the Church of Scotland rated the importance of education—and she stood pre-eminent among the Churches of the Reformation in a sound regard to the proper training and up-bringing of youth—still the education of her youth was not in a state of such high efficiency, but that means might be used to stimulate them to greater exertions, and to obtain greater success. It was not to be forgotten that the high aim of the Church of Scotland had at all times been, not only the diffusion of elementary instruction, but education in all its branches, secular and religious, up to the highest pitch to which the diligence of the teachers and the capacity of the pupils, under the blessing of God, could raise it. It was the glory of the Church that she had never shown herself sensitive or jealous on the diffusion of education—that, instead of dealing out knowledge with a sparing or fearful hand, as if the increase of knowledge would lead to the increase of crime, she had ever diffused among her people the highest style of education. He trusted that they would not degenerate from their fathers in this respect; and to that end he was desirous that they, as a Presbytery, should avail themselves of the means now within their reach, and that other Presbyteries should do the same, not for the purpose of relieving themselves from their obligations, but that they might better and more faithfully discharge their obligations; for sure he was, that, with the co-operation of Mr. Gibson, their interest in the schools under their superintendence would be increased tenfold, and their skill and ability in discharge of their duty would be increased an hundredfold. He had only to add that he, of course, did not mean by his motion to make it imperative on every member of Presbytery to invite Mr. Gibson contrary to his own conscience;—all he wanted was, that the Presbytery should authorise those members of Presbytery to do so who had no such scruples."

He concluded by a motion in the line he had indicated.

During the summer of this year Dr. M'Gill, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, died, and Mr. Candlish, as appears from his correspondence with Mr. Dunlop, concerned himself much in securing a suitable successor. In a letter dated 27th August he says—"It is pretty well agreed that Buchanan (James) should be the man for the Glasgow Chair, and I believe he would agree to leave the High Church if required by our friends, to allow himself to be proposed. This is clearly the best arrangement. He is far better qualified than any one else, and will have some important advantages in a contest. I wish you would interest the Government people, especially the Advocate and Solicitor." In another letter, dated 9th September, he says—"What think you of Chalmers for the Glasgow Chair? They are to propose him. No other man on our side has the least chance. He is willing to come." The appointment fell to neither. The time, in fact, had passed when any non-intrusionist could expect promotion.

In view of the impending struggle for the liberties of the Church a document was prepared and largely subscribed, entitled "Engagement in defence of the liberties of the Church and people of Scotland;" and at a meeting held in St. Luke's Church, Edinburgh, early in November, Mr. Candlish spoke in explanation of the principles stated in the Engagement, and in advocacy of such a bond or covenant in existing circumstances. At the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale he moved the transmission of an overture for the Abolition of Patronage as contrary to the Word of God and the Constitution of the Church. This was the position which the advocates of the liberties of the Church were, in increasing numbers, led to occupy; and at a public meeting in Edinburgh in December Mr. Candlish proposed a petition to Parliament for the Abolition of Patronage.

CHAPTER VI.

Commencement of Missionary Record—Testimony of Mr. H. Miller—Duke of Argyll's Bill—Irish Presbyterian Church—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Visit to London—Escape from Fire—Letter to his son James—Proposed gift — Assembly 1841 — Spoke on Mission to Jews — Examination of Students—Case of Mr. Wright—Abolition of Patronage—Duke of Argyll's Bill — Case of Daviot — Church Extension — Serving an Interdict on Assembly—Meeting in favour of Duke of Argyll's Bill—Visit to Ireland—Commission of Assembly—Sympathisers with seven Strathbogie Ministers — Speech at great meeting in West Church, Edinburgh — Speech at Glasgow on co-ordinate jurisdiction.

It was not to be expected that a man so indefatigably active as Mr. Candlish was, and taking such a prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs at a time when questions were in agitation in which parties on both sides took so keen an interest, should escape the shafts of malice. It is true, indeed, that, except in so far as the advocacy of what he believed to be truth was concerned, no man ever did less to provoke recrimination. In the hottest conflict, and in the most impassioned pleading, Mr. Candlish never became personal—never uttered a word which he needed to retract, or for which an apology was required. His conflict was not with individual opponents, but for truth which he felt to be deeply important, both as concerned the wellbeing of the Church and the honour of her Head, and this saved him from all personal bitterness. He was not covetous of personal distinction, nor did his indefatigable labours contemplate any earthly reward. His manifold labours were eminently and conspicuously unselfish, and prompted by a burning desire to promote the glory of God and the good of His Church.

But all this could not save him from detraction, and from accusations from various quarters and of various kinds. He did not concern himself alone with the controversy in which the Church was engaged with the Civil Courts, although the part he took in that, in addition to his pastoral labours, was sufficient to occupy the time and exhaust the energies of most men. He took a very lively interest in the propagation of the gospel, and in the missionary enterprises in which the Church was engaged. It was largely due to his agency that a deputation was sent in 1839 to visit the East with the view of organising a Mission to the Jews; and his interest in missions was so recognised that the conducting of a Missionary Record, then newly started, was committed to his hands. It seemed incredible to those who did not know him that such work could be undertaken and done without fee or reward, and accordingly it was asserted that he received a salary of £100 for doing it. Even had this been true there would have been nothing discreditable in it. But it was a pure invention, designed to injure him.

Of course he was denounced as an incendiary, in newspapers, in pamphlets, and in public speeches; and even in the House of Lords he was characterised by Lord Aberdeen as a law-breaker, when speaking in reference to his proposed appointment to the Chair of Biblical Criticism. Not content with depreciating Mr. Candlish's fitness for such an office, his Lordship affirmed of Principal Lee that he was the only suitable man for the Chair.

But if Mr. Candlish had his detractors he had also powerful defenders; and I think it not inappropriate here to quote what Mr. Hugh Miller said of him in the *Witness* in reference to this very matter:—

"What in reality are the respective merits of the two gentlemen thus weighed against each other by his Lordship? The people of Edinburgh are perhaps better qualified to decide the point than the members of the Upper House. It is now too late for even the bitterest enemies of Mr. Candlish to dispute the fact that, for at once versatility and profundity of talent—for that minute acquaintance with the knowledge and opinions of others, in which true learning consists—and that ability of forming new combinations of ideas, which constitutes originality of thought—he stands pre-eminent—second at least to no man in Scotland. Good writing has been defined by Addison as consisting of thoughts, natural and obvious; and such is peculiarly the style of thinking characteristic of the mind of Mr. Candlish. Such is the versatility of his faculties that he never wearies attention; and he ever seems suited to do that best which he chances to be doing at the time. Is the subject a metaphysical one? The hearer is struck by the nicely discriminating and subtle character of his intellect, his skill in clearing entanglements and perplexities of long standing, his singular ability of letting new light into every darker recess of the question, through vistas unopened before. Is the principle discussed one of practical breadth? There is a corresponding breadth in the discussion. Have the ratiocinative faculties been kept on the strain till they required an interval of repose? There is a green spot prepared, an arbour on the Hill Difficulty, and the period of severe thought is succeeded by the sunshiny play of a lively fancy. We question whether in Britain, or in the world, an individual could be found better qualified for a Chair of Biblical Criticism than the minister of St. George's. The researches of our own times in connection with the peculiar manners and customs of Eastern nations, have thrown a flood of light on many of the hitherto imperfectly understood figures and allusions of Scripture. Mr. Candlish, one of the few scholars who keep fully abreast of the march of knowledge, is qualified to avail himself of them all. No one familiar with his discourses can doubt his intimate acquaintance with the theologians of other days. Still less can the force and originality of his own views be questioned; and if such be so unequivocally the character of his mind and the extent of his acquirements, as shown by his compositions as a city minister—of all offices the most incessant in its demands on the time and attention—what might not be expected from him in an academic retirement, with full leisure to pursue, in their inmost recesses, those studies to which nature has so powerfully inclined him?"

I have quoted these sentences not only for the purpose of showing in what estimation Mr. Candlish was held by such a competent judge as Mr. Miller, but also to indicate that, amid his multifarious employments, he was far from being neglectful of his duties as a minister. He had come to be recognised as a preacher second to none in the Church of Scotland, with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Chalmers; and this eminence he won for himself amid distractions which would have disabled most men from excelling in pulpit services.

On the 15th April 1841 he wrote to Mr. Dunlop, then in London watching the progress and aiding in framing a proposed bill to be introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll. It would appear that at this time, as well as afterwards, he was doubtful of the thorough and steadfast support of the leaders of the Irish Presbyterian Church. He says—

"Our Irish friends must be watched, and made to give us more than blarney. The declaration which Cooke extorted from the Conservatives, and with which they seem to be mightily pleased, will never do. It is a mere hum; for it may mean anything, as it means nothing. If Cooke and the rest are going to interfere with elections on our behalf, it must be unequivocally, and so as to leave no room for evasion. Else they had better let it alone. Why not put three categorical questions—1. Will you support a bill for abolishing Patronage? 2. Will you resist any bill of coercion, or any measure to which the General Assembly say they cannot submit? 3. Will you support a bill for securing non-intrusion, and excluding the Civil Courts? If he answer the first, and refuse the other two, he won't do. If he accept the latter two, declining the first, he may, in certain circumstances, pass. What think you of this? The Irishmen should be written to about it. Write you; and, if you like, so will I.

"In regard to your question, I don't think the Assembly ought now to petition for anything short of anti-Patronage. All the length we can well go, in regard to a measure such as Argyll's, is to pass a sort of declaratory resolution, stating in detail what it would effect. Suppose a measure of that kind introduced into Parliament, and our opinion in the Assembly asked or expected, we should, I think, try to get a preamble carried to the effect that we consider patronage in itself a grievance which ought to be abolished. Then we might go on to rehearse briefly the origin of the struggle between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts, and to show that the passing of such a measure would remove the *existing* bone of contention, and enable them to harmonise their decisions, carefully limiting our opinion, so as not to imply that the measure would satisfactorily settle the general question as to the appointment of ministers, or would ever settle *that question* at all, but merely that it would bring the law into a state in which another Auchterarder case would not occur.

"I think I see how a resolution might be framed, not expressing an opinion on the merits of the bill, but simply stating the fact as to the way in which it would work in reference to the courts of law, and leaving statesmen to judge and act for themselves. This seems to me *now* the dignified and safe course for the Church in regard to any proposed plan which does not fully meet her own views. So far she may be called to go—to declare, if required, what would be the consequence, so far as she is concerned, of such a plan being adopted—how she might act under it. And this can be done in a merely narrative resolution, stating facts. Beyond that she should not go, except for a measure of which we can really approve. And even in any resolution of the former kind we should try to embody in the preamble an expression of our mind as to the *right* settlement of the whole question of election of ministers.

"I have not seen Monteith yet. I have seen a letter of Hamilton's (John) to Charles Brown. I fear he is urging our friends a little too much, and I doubt if it is quite safe or right to be getting letters from sundry individuals apart from one another, in which the writers may express themselves incautiously, in a way of which our enemies may take advantage. Suggest this to Hamilton. He is not aware of the danger and even unfairness of such a course. A man getting his letter, and full of the views he presses, writes offhand and by himself an answer, in which he may unwarily commit himself and us. In so delicate a matter we should deal only with those who can consult together. I fear also that Hamilton exaggerates both the probability and the advantage of carrying a *minimum* measure, and overlooks the danger on the other side, if the measure fail, and we are too far involved in it. I deprecate also and above all his getting opinions as to the *conservative* working, and the anti-democratic tendency of a non-intrusion measure. It is all very well as he means it. But his Tory friends will make a party use of it. Our enemies will get hold of it, and turn it against us. We are accused and suspected of politics, and Toryism, and clerical power, and, if this is believed, our hold over the people is gone.

"It is a curious tendency of the London atmosphere to dull one's senses to the consideration of the popular element in our cause, and to awaken a morbid sensibility as to aristocrats, and minimums, and liberum arbitriums. For myself, I expect no good from the attempt to legislate. I despair of actual legislation at present, and I think Hamilton should remember the long struggle that may await us while the case works itself clear in the Civil Courts; and we are gone if the people fancy us insincere. I am truly glad you are now in London. Do not, I implore you, come away in a hurry. I would like you to be in London when I am there. If you say you are to remain till then, I will come to your hotel to be with you. Write to that effect. Tell Hamilton I mean to answer his letter.

"The Assembly can't get a place to meet in. Suppose we erect a pavilion on the Calton Hill."

Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Dunlop got the proposed Non-intrusion Bill adjusted for the Duke of Argyll during the course of April. Mr. Hamilton, corresponding with friends in Edinburgh, expressed great dread lest the bill should be defeated by any movement for the abolition of patronage. Early in May Mr. Candlish was in London, not, so far as I am aware, in connection with the bill, but under an engagement to preach in Regent Square Church, which was then destitute of a pastor. While there, and pending the Sabbath on which he was to preach, the hotel in which he was staying took fire. Providentially this occurred in the evening, and not when the inmates were asleep, else the result would probably have been fatal. As it was, Mr. Candlish was glad to escape with his life, and everything he had with him, including sermons, was consumed. The event was disastrous enough, but it did not prevent his preaching unwritten sermons, one of which was taken down in shorthand, unknown to him, and printed during the same week in a serial consisting of sermons gleaned in this way. He was wont to say that he found it more useful than any sermon he had ever preached with so little expenditure of labour, for he found it so correct in form and substance that, in after years, he frequently preached it from the printed copy in various places.

On this occasion he wrote a letter to his son James, then in his sixth year, in printed characters, of which the following is a copy :—

"LONDON, *May* 11*th*.

"MY DEAR BOY—Is your face quite well? Papa was very sorry to hear that you was not well. I hope you will be able to read this letter yourself. Papa's house was burned here. But papa was not hurt. Who kept papa from being burned? It was God. Is not God very good? If you love Him, He will bless you, and make you good and happy. Papa is very tired of London, and he is coming home to see you, and mamma, and gran, and aunt, and Toity, and baby, and Tom, and all the rest. Do you like the new house?—I am, my dear boy, your loving papa, ROBERT S. CANDLISH.

"What is the difference between aunt and ant?"

Very naturally some friends in the congregation thought it behoved them to make good the loss he had sustained in London, and on his return he found they had provided a gift, which he declined in the following terms :—

"I am very deeply affected by the communication made to me this morning, and most sincerely do I feel humbled as well as gratified in receiving it. In other circumstances I might have considered myself at liberty to accept, in the same spirit of Christian confidence in which it was offered, your munificent gift. But at present, situated as I am, I have great and indeed insuperable difficulty in doing so. I need not enter into particulars. You will easily understand that there are reasons, both personal to myself, and also having reference to the interests of our Church, in whose affairs I have been led to take a part, which require that I should carefully avoid what might be misunderstood or misrepresented, and you will do me the justice to believe that nothing but a sense of duty would lead me to inflict upon you the pain of this declinature. Be assured that this token of your attachment will encourage and stimulate me as your pastor, at least as much as if I had been able to accept your gift. I may add that I heard nothing of what was proposed till yesterday after forenoon service, when I was told of the report mentioned in the newspapers. I had resolved, before receiving your note this morning, to make inquiries, with a view, if possible, to prevent any such plan going forward. I mention this that you may know exactly how I am situated, and how deliberately I had made up my mind.

"I earnestly hope that you will not take it amiss that I should thus decline your very liberal present. I repeat that I must ever regard your kind and considerate attention on this occasion as a valuable pledge of your esteem, and a motive to redoubled diligence and zeal in the discharge of my pastoral duties. I am deeply sensible of my shortcomings and sins in this in time past, and I earnestly solicit your indulgence and your prayers.—Believe me, with every Christian wish for your welfare and prosperity, your faithful servant and pastor,

"ROB. S. CANDLISH."

He returned from London at least in time for the meeting of the General Assembly, of which he was this year a member, and in the proceedings of which he took a very active and prominent part. The Assembly met on the 20th May, and on the day following Mr. Candlish gave in the Report of the Committee for promoting Christianity among the Jews, concluding with the statement, "The Committee, at every step, are more deeply impressed with the persuasion that the whole origin and progress of their proceedings has indeed been of Him whose memorial throughout all generations is, 'I am the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob;' and their gratitude for the past is mingled with lively hope for the future, since the remembrance of Zion by His people is closely connected with the Lord Himself arising to have mercy on her."

On Saturday the 22d Mr. Candlish proposed the appointment of a Committee to report to the next Assembly on the subject of the examination of students, and observed that it was interesting to remark that at the very time when the popular will in the election of ministers was so strongly contended for, measures were being taken to raise the standard of qualifications in entrants to the holy ministry.

On Monday the 24th Mr. Candlish spoke at length in support of a motion for the deposition of Mr. Wright, minister at Borthwick, for heresy, entering into a careful analysis of errors in Mr. Wright's published writings.

On Tuesday the 25th Mr. Candlish spoke at the close of a lengthened debate on a motion by Mr. Cunningham for the abolition of Patronage, "as necessary in order to put the whole matter of the appointment of ministers on a right and permanent basis." There were two parties opposed to the motion, the whole Moderate party, and besides a party of great weight and influence who were content if non-intrusion could be secured, and who dreaded the anti-Patronage movement as likely to be fatal to the success of the bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll on the 6th May. Mr. Candlish replied to the speeches of both parties, objecting to the non-intrusion motion as launching the Church on the ocean of expediency :—

"Its terms," he said, "were merely prospective; it anticipates contingencies, and proposes to regulate the duty of the Church by reference to these contingent evils. We have a simpler and safer direction to follow. We are prepared to take our stand on present duty, without regard to what may be the consequences; we leave all these matters to the disposal of a higher power; we walk in the path of duty; if there is evil in it this is not our doing; we cannot help it. Recent events have emphatically taught us to put no trust in man. One noble Duke, indeed, on whose patriotism he placed the utmost reliance, and whose hereditary reverence for the Church of his fathers he well knew, had come forward with a proposal which might settle present differences. But he stands almost alone. Proofs and tokens have been abundant in time past to teach us that reliance on princes and nobles is vain. It is high time that we should put our trust in the living God, and go forward in His strength alone."

On Wednesday the 26th Mr. Candlish moved a series of four resolutions on the Duke of Argyll's bill. After a statement of the provisions of the bill, and expression of gratitude to the Duke for having introduced it, he proceeded as follows :—

"Undoubtedly the position of the State, on the highest ground of principle, was this—Simply to endow the ministers of Christ's Church, and recognise the creed and constitution of the Church, leaving her in everything else free as the winds of heaven. But he was prepared to acquiesce in what the Duke of Wellington suggested in the discussion of last year, that the Church should say what course of procedure she would adopt in any given case, and then the State would give to that the sanction of the civil law. This was the course pursued in the present bill. On these grounds he held that he was not only at liberty, but that he was imperatively bound to express upon the whole his concurrence with this bill, and his desire that such a measure should become part and parcel of the law of the land. He did so, not because the State would thus perform its whole duty on the appointment of ministers, but because it was a vital part of their duty. He took no notice of the concluding section of the bill regarding the *jus devolutum*, he cared nothing about it; he disliked patronage in every shape, and it mattered not to him in what party it should be lodged."

He then read the following resolutions:—

"The General Assembly having taken into consideration the report of the committee of last General Assembly appointed to watch over the progress of any legislative measure relative to the principle of non-intrusion and the present position of the Church, approve generally of the same, and of the diligence of the Committee; and in reference to the communication made by the Committee of a bill recently introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, the General Assembly resolve—

"'1. That they will continue to maintain inviolate the great and fundamental principle that no minister, etc.; and that no legislative measure can be regarded as satisfactory to the Church, or as a measure in which the Church can acquiesce, which does not enable her to carry that principle into full practical effect, or which interferes with her exclusive jurisdiction in all spiritual matters.

"'2. That the measure proposed in the bill of the Duke of Argyll does substantially provide for the maintenance and practical application of this principle of non-intrusion as asserted by this Church, and is substantially in accordance with one of the plans suggested by the Committee of last General Assembly, and sanctioned by that Assembly, that it is therefore a measure which this Church may receive as consistent with that fundamental principle, and which, if passed into a law, would be received with thankfulness as an important boon to the Church and to the country; and that the Church and country are under deep obligation to his Grace the Duke of Argyll for this new proof of that enlightened patriotism and zeal which of old have distinguished the illustrious family whose name is honourably enrolled among Scotland's martyrs and confessors.'"

He continued—

"Before reading the third resolution, I beg, with all deference, to appeal to my friends on the other side, as also to all within this House, whatever their views may be, who desire to see the peace and prosperity of our Zion; and if means could be found to separate this resolution from the rest, so as to make it consistent with the principles of the party on the other side of the house to support it, I should not be without hope of the most blessed results. I hail with delight the overtures which were made from that side, in the former debate, towards restoring the peace of the Church, and I rejoice in what fell from Mr. Robertson of Ellon, when speaking on another subject (the Colonial Committee), for it seemed to indicate that he at least—and his sagacity is such that I could trust him as a man with something of the second sight—he at least seemed to see that there was some possibility of adopting some mode of extrication from our present difficulties. I give my friend credit in all sincerity for his sincerity, and I rejoice in his remarks. I would then beseech my friends on the other side of the house—setting aside all irritating feelings, putting aside for the present the painfully afflicting case in which we shall be engaged to-morrow, and confining themselves entirely to the point of non-intrusion—I would calmly put it to the house to consider the difference, in respect to principle, between our side and many at least on theirs. They, I believe, will give us full credit for conscientiousness of opinion; and the same credit I give to them. Frankly, I concede to them that as we cannot concur in the soundness of their views so they cannot concur in the soundness of ours, and that they cannot share in the responsibility of having our views carried practically into effect. I admit frankly that our friends are conscientiously disabled from undertaking the responsibility of passing the measures which we propose. But there is a point of difference between us. We have taken up our position, whether right or wrong—we never will abandon the principle of non-intrusion in our sense of the term, we never can abandon the principle that reclaiming congregations shall in all cases be saved from the intrusion of unacceptable ministers. Now, just for once, let me put it to my friends to dismiss from their minds the irritating topic of our having taken up a position as rebels. We say that we are not in that position; and our friends, I am sure, will do us the justice to admit that we are able to urge a plausible defence against the allegation. Be that as it may, if we are rebels in their judgment we are not rebels in intention; we have plausible reasons, to say the least, to show that we are not rebels at all; and anxious as we are conscientiously to escape from such a position, be the difficulties what they may, we cannot do otherwise than we are doing. I entreat my friends to lay aside those irritating topics. They seem to think that we on this side of the house have a sort of liking for the position in which we stand. I entreat them to believe that they are grievously mistaken. We have no wish to covet the honoured glory of martyrdom; and however willing we may be to endure the reproaches that have been heaped upon our heads, let not our friends suppose that this is a position in which we exult and rejoice as if it were a delightful position, and that we delighted in it the more, the more we were abused. No; but the difficulty of our position consists in this, that we can neither get relief by going out of the Church, as is proposed by some, nor can we get relief by submitting to the law, as is proposed by others. These two remedies have been proposed; I say not in what spirit. They have been proposed by the enemies of our Church from without; and, I deeply regret to say, are often proposed by our friends and brethren from within. If the matter were, indeed, personal to myself, I should be grateful and glad for the relief, if I could escape from the difficulties which surround us by either of these two ways. If I were to leave the Church of my fathers and worship God elsewhere; if I were to relinquish my position in the Established Church, I know that I could serve the Lord Jesus elsewhere, and preach the gospel of His grace on any part of the earth. If, again, I were to bring myself to submit to the law, I, even I, rebel as I am, and taunted as such in the high places, is it to be supposed that I am insensible to the evils that I suffer, evils affecting my character and my peace, which no man can endure with calmness and patience; set up as a mark for the press and for peers to aim at, even I might and could submit to it.

"But again, I entreat the House to consider our position. I admit our friends on the other side can have no hand in the responsibilty of passing this measure; but I put it to many of them whether it is not a measure which, if passed into a law, they might acquiesce in, they might submit to, they might act under, in concert, and in harmony with us. When the Veto Act was passed, my brethren did not approve of it; they resisted it, and they afterwards sought its repeal. I admit that in all this they acted right, according to their views of duty. But when it was passed they had no difficulty in acting under it, they had no scruples of conscience in ordering the settlement of ministers according to that law. I ask them, if this were again to become the law of the land, if they will not assist, at least that they will submit to its passing?

They might agitate for the repeal of the veto; they might seek to convince the Church that she had done wrong; but suppose the Church to obtain the permission of the Legislature to act in that way in which she holds it to be her duty to act, I say, would it be inconsistent in them to acquiesce in this settlement of the affairs of our beloved Church? If means could be found to obtain this expression of opinion from our friends opposite, that while they wash their hands of all responsibility in the matter, while they do not think the Church is right to ask it, while they hold to their own objections, yet that, if it is passed into a law, it will not offend their consciences to act under it; by such a statement as this they would prove themselves the most generous, the most disinterested, the most seasonable benefactors the Church ever saw. The time has now come when our friends may be expected to make such a statement. As long as this matter was not involved in its present state—while matters stood as they did a year or two ago—I admit they might stand aloof and say nothing; but now, in the critical position in which the Church is placed, a position so critical that none on our side of the House, however desirous of seeing anti-Patronage carried to-morrow would refuse to take non-intrusion to-day—in such a position our friends are imperatively called upon, for the sake of Zion's peace, to say whether, if this bill were passed into a law, both parties might not act in concert under it.

"I rejoice that I have been the humble instrument, under God, of bringing the House to its present state of mind, which, I say it with all humility, is better than I ever saw it before; and I shall rejoice if the feeling which now pervades the House shall give the key to the whole discussion; and if so, under the blessing of God, we know not what may be the result. I say this in no spirit of argument or controversy. I am speaking under a weight of responsibility deeper than I ever felt before; I am speaking under an apprehension of the impending calamities with which our beloved Church is threatened."

He then read the third resolution, as follows:—

"'3. That the present difficulties of this Church are of so serious and alarming a character, that a measure fitted to put an end to the collision now unhappily subsisting between the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Courts, in reference to the settlement of ministers, ought to unite in its support all who feel that they could conscientiously submit to its operation if passed into a law.

"4. That a Committee be appointed to watch over the progress of the bill of the Duke of Argyll, or of any other bill which may be introduced relative to the subject. And that, while the attention of the Committee is especially directed to the clause in the 2d section of the bill, which seems, apparently from oversight, and inconsistently with the main enactment of the bill, to make it imperative on the Presbytery to inquire whether the communicants, dissenting from the settlement of a presentee, are actuated by factious or malicious motives, although no allegation to that effect nor offer of proof is made by the patron or presentee, the General Assembly direct the Committee to give encouragement and aid, so far as in their power, to the passing of the said bill; and generally, to use all proper efforts for obtaining the settlement of the great question now at issue, on a footing consistent with the principles repeatedly declared and asserted by this Church."

The appeal which Mr. Candlish made to the Assembly was listened to with breathless silence, and evidently impressed and solemnised his opponents. As events proved, however, the effect was only transient, although at the time it seemed as if they had yielded to its power.

On Thursday, 27th May, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers, sentence of deposition was pronounced on the seven Strathbogie ministers.

On Friday, the 28th, Mr. Candlish spoke on the case of Daviot in support of a motion for rejecting the presentee to that parish on the ground of the *veto* law. The interest of the discussion lay in the fact that the number of those entitled to exercise the *veto,* namely the male heads of families being communicants, was so small in comparison with the population, and that the state of things had been attributed by Lord Aberdeen in the House of Lords, and by the *Quarterly Review,* to the prevalence of non-intrusion principles, and the action of the Church in reducing the number of communicants that they might be more easily managed. Mr. Candlish said—"I heard the statement alluded to made in the House of Lords, with this addition, which seemed to be extraordinary, that not only was this state of things, in such a parish as Daviot, the result of the manœvures and proceedings on this side of the House, but that it was a trick on our part to get the power into our own hands—that by diminishing the number of communicants we might the more easily manage them. Is this consistent with the facts—the notorious facts of the case? I can scarcely think any one could attend to the state of things in Scotland, and yet be ignorant of the facts of this case; and I regret that any patriotic nobleman should display such ignorance."

On the following day Mr. Candlish spoke on the subject of Church Extension, strongly advocating the principle that churches should not contain more than 1000 sittings, affording accommodation for a population of 2000, which was abundantly sufficient for the pastoral oversight of one minister.

On the same day, while the Assembly were engaged in a discussion on the eldership, it was intimated that a messenger-at-arms was at the door to serve an interdict on the Assembly, which gave rise to a scene of considerable confusion. It was understood that the interdict was in relation to the deposition of the seven Strathbogie ministers. On Monday, the 31st, Mr. Candlish moved a series of resolutions in reference to the interference, which were adopted without discussion. The concluding resolution was as follows:—"That, in circumstances so peculiar and so critical, the Assembly is solemnly called to protest against the violent intrusion of the secular arm into the ecclesiastical province, and to represent the most alarming state of matters to the rulers and legislators of this great nation, on whom must rest the responsibility of upholding the Established Church in the full possession of all her Scriptural and constitutional privileges; that, with this view, these resolutions ought to be transmitted to her Majesty the Queen in Council, and that the General Assembly resolve accordingly."

On the week on which the Assembly rose a public meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, in favour of the Duke of Argyll's Bill, at which Mr. Candlish spoke, and said—"He could understand how it should be called a sacrifice if, for the sake of obtaining this bill, they were to give up seeking the abolition of Patronage. That, however, was a sacrifice which they could not make, even on the alternative of obtaining peace. But it was no sacrifice to accept of a measure which secures a principle that they had always supported on its own merits, and which they held to be, on clear ground, a great Scriptural doctrine."

At a meeting of the Presbytery held on the last day of June it was agreed to translate Mr. James Hamilton, minister of Roxburgh Church, to Regent Square, London, and Mr. Candlish spoke strongly in favour of the translation.

In July Mr. Candlish attended the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland as a deputy from the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and spoke in support of a Mission to the Jews, pleading that if the Irish Church were not yet ripe for establishing a mission of their own they would at least endeavour to furnish the Church of Scotland with a missionary. He availed himself also of the occasion of his presence in Ireland to address a meeting on the principles contended for in the Church of Scotland.

The meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly was held as usual on the second Wednesday of August, when it was reported that certain ministers, Robertson, John Cook, and others, had assisted the deposed ministers of Strathbogie at the dispensation of the Communion; and Mr. Candlish spoke on the subject, and moved a series of resolutions. After a lengthened argument he said—

"I have to propose that the Commission, having this report from the Presbytery of Strathbogie laid before them, shall transmit it to the several Presbyteries having jurisdiction over the individuals therein named, that they may proceed in the matter as they shall be advised.

I have also to propose that we should at all events discharge our duty by making an attempt—shall I say a last attempt? as a Commission of the General Assembly, to preserve, if possible, the unity and peace of the Church, to avert the sin of schism and the many woeful consequences which must result from that sin, for if a separate Communion comes to be formed the sin of schism will be unquestionably committed. We may quarrel with one another as to which is the guilty party, but that there will be schism no man who understands what the unity of the Church is can possibly deny. We are called upon, when we see our brethren committing sin, in the act of doing what implies a rending asunder of our beloved Church—I say, when we see them taking such a fatal step, we are called upon, as Christian men and Christian brethren, to do what in us lies to open their eyes to the nature of the step they are taking, and, if possible, to draw them from the precipice on which we see them standing. We owe it to ourselves, and to our brethren throughout the country, to be seen in the attitude of men who are taking a deep and solemn view of the dealings of God with His Church, and of the difficulties in which He has seen it right to involve her; to be seen by the eyes of all Christian men, and of all Christian churches, in the attitude of exhausting every effort to maintain the peace of the Church, and prevent her utter disunion and overthrow. And whatever may be the issue, however vain the attempt may be to enlighten our brethren, we shall at all events have delivered our consciences, and shown that we were not wanting in our duty either to the great Head of the Church, or to our brethren who seem to us to be offending. Our duty to the great Head of the Church constrains us to take up their offence in a very solemn manner. By holding communion with men who have been found guilty of disowning the Lord Jesus Christ as the sole King and Head of His Church, and of persevering in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions without authority from the Church—who have been guilty of the grave and heinous offence of practically denying the headship of Christ by admitting another king, even Cæsar, into His Church, and receiving spiritual powers from him—I say that our brethren, by joining in communion with these men, by recognising them as still ministers of the Church of Christ, have placed themselves in the same position, and must be dealt with in the same way."

Mr. Candlish concluded by proposing two resolutions, one of which was—"in the spirit of brotherly confidence and affection, in the name of their common Lord and King, and in humble reliance on the blessing of that great God and our Saviour, who alone can crown their efforts with success, and turn away wrath and restore peace, to address to the said brethren a solemn remonstrance and warning, setting forth the true nature of the offence involved in the conduct complained of, and its disastrous effects, as aiming a fatal blow at the unity of the Church and threatening to rend her asunder."

At the end of August one of the greatest meetings in connection with the Church's conflict was held in the West Church, Edinburgh. It was attended by 1200 office-bearers of the Church, and 2000 people besides, as many as the large building could contain, while the windows and doors were besieged by crowds who could not obtain admission. It was a meeting, the solemnity and impressiveness of which can never be forgotten by those who were present at it. It was an occasion for calling forth all the energies of Mr. Candlish, and I give his speech entire, as it was reported at the time. After various speakers had addressed the meeting—

"Mr. Candlish rose, and was received with loud and enthusiastic applause, which lasted for some minutes. He spoke as follows:—In the spirit of deep solemnity which was impressed on my mind by the opening speech of this evening, I consider myself as addressing my fathers and brethren in the body of the house rather than the audience present, yet not omitting that sympathy with the Christian people which always becomes a meeting of the office-bearers of Christ's Church. In this spirit I desire to address myself as shortly as may be to what seems to me the main point of the present meeting,—the exact question which the minority of the Church has now raised, and the possible issue of that question.

"The question they have raised is in plain terms this, whether we are to maintain the principle for which the Church is now contending, which we hold to be essential to the purity which the Lord Jesus Christ has established in His Church, and to the liberties of His people,—the question is, whether we are to continue the Established Church of this country or no? And it falls to me to contemplate as a possible issue of this question that we shall ultimately, sooner or later, be disestablished. On this they have raised a question that we, from a regard to the interests of this Church, and the welfare of this country, never would have ventured to raise; but where we would have trode, and always have been treading with anxious caution, our opponents have rashly rushed to the issue, and the responsibility be on their heads. In all our movements and proceedings, and I say it in the face of the country, we have studiously and anxiously sought to keep the question as far as possible away from anything that could raise such an issue as this. It is a fearful responsibility which these men take on themselves, especially in days like the present, which are witnessing the breaking up of old institutions—it is a fearful responsibility from which we should have thought that men, Christian men, must have shrunk with alarm and dismay. It is a fearful responsibility, in the present state of this country, to raise a question so grave in itself, so awfully momentous in its issue. But they have raised it. In all our proceedings judicially we have most anxiously sought to avoid the raising of this most awful question; for I must take leave to say, although somewhat painful to introduce even the appearance of an opposition, that in the present circumstances of the country, and the present position of the Church, I do not sympathise in the closing sentiment which my friend Mr. Crichton uttered. I must say that, in the present circumstances of the Church and country, I would view the secession of the Moderate men, however much I detest their principles, I would view their secession as deeply, most deeply, to be deplored; and I will take the liberty of further stating, that, in the present circumstances of the country, I would dread the event as the forerunner of the Church's overthrow as an Establishment. We may be at issue on the point whether we might not get on better as a Church if all were agreed on our principles. It may be the opinion that we might get on better if the Moderates were not united with us in our Assemblies; but I believe we would not get on better as an Establishment. The advantages of not having them in our Assemblies would be overbalanced by the risk of the overthrow of the Establishment.

"I would further venture to add on this point, that much as I dislike the principles of the Moderate party in our Church—much as I think their principles are opposed to the Word of God in many particulars, I am not prepared to say that, if they were holding their principles—but still not acting on them to the overthrowing of the Church's authority—I am not prepared to say but in course of time happy results might be anticipated from the intercourse we might have with our Moderate brethren—from the influence we might even exert on their minds. But this is not the point; the question has been raised whether we are to continue to be recognised as the Church of Scotland.

"Here I am, in the first place, to contemplate this event, our being thrust out of the Establishment, as an event that is possible to happen. If the appeal is at this moment to be made to the Legislature of the country,—if the Legislature are to be compelled, on a short notice, to pronounce a short judgment on the question, I think it possible, though but barely possible, that a decision might be given against us. Therefore it is right that we should contemplate that issue, namely, our being thrust out of the Establishment, as possible; and you, sirs, and those who have spoken this day in the Commission, and I take it all those ministers who are present at this large meeting, have now come to peril their position as ministers in the maintenance of the principles which we now uphold. Now, since we are prepared to consent that the State should cast us off—if we are prepared to do so, and if the State may at this moment be called on by a large and influential party to do so—let us boldly contemplate the thing as possible at least. I am not going to repeat what our fathers and brethren heard this forenoon stated by a reverend father in this church. I merely say that his argument was that we might contemplate such an issue without anxiety or great alarm. In that event, as in the event of persecution in the Church of God, if allowed, it must be the purpose of God's providence to make the event instrumental in quickly extending the preaching of the gospel. The effect of the breaking up of the Establishment might be the effect of the first persecution of the disciples at Jerusalem to scatter them over the earth; and even if such were the issue—if we who are now met together as brethren—if those who have taken sweet counsel with us in the great things God has done for us—if we must be scattered to the four winds of heaven, we must rejoice in this, that by thus diffusing the good seed of the Word, the Lord may be preparing a more abundant harvest in the end. But even this may not be the result. It does not follow that if we are separated from our benefices we are also to be separated from our flocks. Many of our flocks might, in such a case, be subject to a winnowing process; but I venture to predict as the issue that the chaff would be blown away, and that the precious wheat would be left to us. I do not boast on a subject like this—I would not speak boastingly of the hold that ministers of this Church, accustomed to preach the free gospel of the Lord's grace, have on the affections of her people. But can it be doubted that men in this land, who maintained a faithful testimony for the evangelical truth of God, the men who have been raised up in the place of their fathers who have gone, would have a place in the hearts, prayers, and sympathies of those who would remember their visits in many a sick and dying chamber—who would remember their consolations in many an hour of darkness and of sorrow? This is a consolation which may cheer all of us in anticipating the very worst. We might not even be compelled or allowed to scatter ourselves over the world. God might permit us still to dwell among our own people. And we need not distress ourselves greatly, if that event should come, respecting the means of our support; although there is not, as I hold that there is not, in the Voluntary principle, that which can fully and adequately meet the wants of a great population. But I do still believe in the voluntary liberality of those whose hearts God has opened in time of trouble, and will open still more. And here, sir, I say it is well for ourselves, for the country, for our opponents, that we should be seen in the attitude of men fairly calculating the question.

"Let me add that I can conceive of the Voluntary principle being brought into operation in our Church, if such should be the event, in such a way as has not been tried in this country. Even our friends the Voluntaries, who have so strenuously advocated that principle, have not given it a fair trial. My impression is that our Voluntary friends do not know how to work it, and do not make the best of it. They do not adopt the apostolic rule *that all things in this matter should be in common.* I cannot doubt that in the earlier Church the system of ministerial support would not have been analogous with that system which leaves ministers to depend on their congregations, but rather analogous to that which the wiser Methodists have adopted, viz. the system which unites the contributions of the faithful, and out of a common fund supplies the wants of the ministers. This, I am fully persuaded, would be the course which this Church, in such an event, would be led to adopt. We would be led by the providence of God to have recourse to some such plan. No other measure would be at all a reasonable or a capable measure. There are some of us so favourably situated in the larger towns of the country, and in possession of youth and vigorous health, and who might find little difficulty in retaining congregations who would devote their means to the maintaining of the minister among them. But would this be reasonable, should that crisis arise which would affect but little those in larger towns? Would it be reasonable to our fathers, who have spent their days in lonely valleys of our land, to our brethren who have borne the heat and burden of the day, and that in districts where, willing as the people might be to support their beloved pastors, they are straitened from the want of means—would such a course be reasonable? There can be no doubt, I should think, that if God gave the ministers of this Church grace to be so faithful to our principles as to consent to the loss of their benefices rather than surrender this principle for which she is contending—I cannot doubt, I say, that He will give us the further wisdom to provide in some such way as this that the ministry throughout the land should share in common from the free-will offerings of the whole people.

"I am aware that I may be told that it is not wise and prudent to be thus anticipating an event which may not arise, or to show that we are so well prepared for it, and so willing to meet it when it does arise. They may tell us that by pointing out to the country and the Legislature how we would do, we are encouraging our Moderate friends to persevere, and encouraging the Legislature to say, 'Well, then, since you can get on so well out of the Establishment, you had better go.' Sir, I am persuaded that the attitude of calm and deliberate foresight, instead of encouraging, will rather cause our opponents, I do not say to tremble, but to pause; for my belief is that our opponents, both within the Church and without—but I speak rather in reference to our opponents within—may from conviction cease to persevere. Our humble hope is that even they have no wish, and have no intention, to drive things so fast to extremities. They rely on our weakness, our want of counsel, our want of union; they think we shall be driven down man by man, and Presbytery by Presbytery. They do not reckon on the firm front we are ready to present, and what calmly and deliberately, in the strength of God, we are ready to perform.

"Then, again, sir, can any one believe that the statesmen of our day are not open to some consideration? Is it possible to imagine that any statesman, of whatsoever party, who is not prepared for the total overthrow of our institutions, would calmly and deliberately contemplate a Church in the attitude of preparing to sacrifice all rather than sacrifice principle, and preparing to do so in a way which shows not hasty counsel, but that of men who have consulted together in the fear of the Lord, and who put their trust in the faithfulness of their God? I have very little fear that unless God in His displeasure, on account of the sins of the Church and of the nation—unless God visits our rulers with the spirit of infatuation in consequence of the sins of the land—I cannot believe that any rulers would calmly contemplate the Church of Scotland—the ancient and venerable Church of Scotland—collecting her resources and calmly making up her mind—her ministers, man to man, shoulder to shoulder, share and share alike, consenting that they should be thrust out of the Church rather than sacrifice their principles.

"We owe it to one another thus to strengthen one another's hands and encourage one another's hearts. We who live in this large metropolis, who are harrassed and perplexed day by day with various cares, we have enough to trouble us, and almost to make us heartily wish that the matter could be patched up, and that we could be allowed to live in peace. But our temptations are as nothing compared with those of our brethren who live in country districts. I speak it with the deepest feeling of sympathy—our temptations are as nothing compared with those of our brethren, who, in their solitary retirement, with no friend with whom to take counsel, have to brood over the dark prospect of the Church, amid prospects still darker as respects their beloved children. The temptations to which these men may be exposed are such that it is neither the part of brotherly kindness nor Christian wisdom that we should not be prepared to make common cause with them, and to say that every man who adheres to our principles, whatever may be the issue, shall have the fairest play.

"Having thus contemplated the issue as a possible one, I now go on to the second part of what I am to trouble this meeting with, which is to speak of the issue as a most undesirable one. It is an issue we are to contemplate not with complacency, but rather in the spirit of those who deprecate it as a judgment of God. Here, possibly, it might be spoken of as undesirable in itself, as bearing on personal interests. I do not affect any superiority to the care which all men have for their temporal interests. I am not insensible to the loss which we must sustain, the loss of worldly comforts and influence that we must endure. This I feel, but I speak not of it. That was prominently brought before us this forenoon, but I do not state it as one of the grounds on which we should deprecate the event as undesirable. If we be true to God and God's people, God will put it into the hearts of His people to be true to us.

"Neither am I going to dwell on another evil which was anticipated as likely to arise from our being disestablished, viz. that there would be no security for purity of doctrine, that we might be split into sects, and lose our adherence to the standards. I am not a worshipper of the principles of an Establishment. God forbid that I should consider purity of doctrine to be confined to the principle of Establishments! Too well has it been proved that they too are liable, if not to an alteration in the standards, at least to a defection in sound doctrine.

"Neither do I dwell on the statement that, not being an Establishment, we should split into sects, as if that which united us together were our stipends, our manses, and our glebes.

"Yet, sir, I am still prepared to speak of the disadvantages of being disestablished. I will not worship the principle of an Establishment, much as I wish it to be contended for as a principle that tends to the good of nations. Nor will I dishonour the Church of Christ, which in the beginning had no countenance from the State, and which needs none, and which can go on against the State. I will not suppose that the mere fact of being thrust out would so affect our missionary proceedings that it would have the immediate effect of throwing Dr. Duff and his family into beggary. Can it be doubted that if it be but proved that these men continue to adhere to the Church on the missionary field, that they would be provided for as well as we, and that the missionary zeal and liberality of the people, instead of being cooled, must by such persecution be kindled into a tenfold flame.

"Having thus pointed out some of the evils on which I am not going to dwell, I desire to mention some on which I will say a few words.

"I would deprecate being thrust out, in the first place, because it would be a wrong settlement of that controversy which, in the providence of God, this Church of our fathers has from the beginning of its existence been honoured to maintain. It has been the signal glory of our Church that from first to last in the history of our Church the great problem which has been practically in the course of being solved has been this—whether Christ can be acknowledged at the same time as King of the nations and also as King of the Church. This is the problem which the history of our Church has hitherto been solving, and should the question now raised be determined against us, I deprecate the result, because, so far as the eye of man can see, it would almost appear as if the prayers of our fathers had been uttered and breathed—let me not say in vain, but, so far as the world is concerned, without converting the nation to the fear of God. When we consider the absolute identity of the principles for which we are contending with those for which our fathers contended of old, and when we consider the contrast between what they were called on to undergo, and what we may be called on to suffer, have we not reason to be deeply humbled before Him that we should be honoured to contend for that principle? And what should we think of any privation that might come on us in comparison with the blood that our fathers shed of old?

"I should deprecate this issue also as a great, grievous, and national sin. Let us not forget our national responsibility. In this matter we are not merely citizens of Christ's kingdom, but of this great nation, and let us strive that our rulers should be kept from committing the great sin of which they would be guilty if they thrust out of the Establishment those who had committed no crime, except it be a crime to sustain the honour of the great King and Head of the Church. I am not so much afraid of the destitution of the means of grace which might exist in some parts of the land. It is even possible that such an event should be overruled, and that means may arise for carrying the free gospel of the Lord into the dark places of the land, which hitherto have been excluded from its light. But can we contemplate without deep feelings of alarm the issue that must result from the breaking up of the Establishment, especially when taken in connection with the evidently tottering state of the fabrics which exist all around us? And this were a result in which all would have to bear their share. Things are hurrying on, to use a common expression, at railroad speed, even beyond what our friends the Voluntaries could have anticipated, although I cannot but feel persuaded, and sober men are disposed to think so too, that matters are tending too soon, too rapidly, to another revolution.

"And, further, let me add, that if such a disruption in the Church should be the result, it will be the signal for the breaking up, sooner or later, of many, if not all, of the most valued institutions of the land.

"On these grounds we are called on to contemplate this issue with feelings of great alarm; and we are called to bear in mind that, be the issue what it may, let our constitution be better or worse than now, still it is a step which not one of us is at liberty to take, and that not one of us will even think of voluntarily taking. If we are thrust out, the responsibility be on those who drive us out; but we are bound to abide in possession until they come and thrust us from it—until they come and drive us away from it. There is often a temptation to man to shrink from maintaining principles in the precise position in which God has placed them, and to think how much more easily they should have maintained those principles if they had been otherwise situated. I will not hesitate to say that I have sometimes contemplated the Church's difficulties with a feeling that it would be a relief to me to be thrust out of it. I have been compelled by the incessant harassments of the Church's affairs, by the interruptions it gives to all my spiritual offices, by the hindrance which it is in the way of my studies, by the time it occupies which I could wish devoted to other purposes —I have been tempted, I say, to think it would be almost a relief to me to be thrust out of the Establishment ; and not a few of us have felt this, goaded as we are by a kind of persecution, intensely worse to bear than if we were *confined to the jail to write lectures.* But, sir, I have always resisted this feeling as a temptation, as a sin, and felt that if I yielded to it I would be yielding to a feeling of impatience and unwillingness to wait on the Lord in His house. This is the feeling, I know, of many of my fathers and brethren. Some of our opponents have said that nothing would delight them more than if by their taunts they could drive us to relinquish our position and to throw up our emoluments. They hope to work on our feelings of fictitious honour, and compel us to abandon the post that God has given us. We may be driven from it, but it will not be by taunts. It is not by weariness, or temper, or taunts, or despair, that I am to be driven from my post ; it shall only be by the arm of power, and if by the arm of power, it shall then be lawless power. Let our opponents be thoroughly convinced of this, that if they will have us out of the Establishment, it must be by their own act. We did not throw up the benefice of Auchterarder, as they seem to think we did, from any feeling of honour, or because we thought in that way to make compensation for what we were doing in disobeying the law. We threw up the benefice simply because we could not retain it, and we will throw up our own benefices only when we cannot retain them, and not a moment sooner. We did not give up the benefice of Auchterarder because we thought it would be highminded or chivalrous. I hold that at this moment we are morally entitled to the benefice of Auchterarder, to be given to any minister whom we settle there. We threw it up because the law compelled us to throw it up, and that being a civil matter, the law can compel us to give up that which it says we ought to give up ; and we will give up our own emoluments only when power exercised by a summary Act of Parliament, perhaps against law, shall come and say to us, You not only should give them up, but You must give them up ; we have the power and will compel you to do so. Many, perhaps, may say this is mercenary—they are sticking to their benefices for their own sakes. It is painful to think that, as Christian men, we should be so suspected ; but let it be understood that we will not give up our benefices, because they are not ours to give up, they are the people's.

"One other remark I have to make in regard to this issue. I have, first of all, looked it in the face as a possible issue, and then as not desirable, and not to be sought for by any effort of ours ; now I look at it with all boldness as very unlikely to be realised unless a revolution should come, or the commencement of it, and such an issue would be a step to it, because it would be a step to the interference with vested rights, and that is the first step to revolution. Our opponents tell us that they are to go summarily to the Legislature, and say to them—Have the goodness to decide which is the Established Church. We will perpetrate Marnoch settlements; we will not suspend or depose our brethren; we will restore the Strathbogie men to the office of the ministry if you bid us; we will do anything you like, only decide which is the Established Church. We will not do as the majority of the Church has done; we will put the discipline of the Church at the feet of Cæsar; we will do all this upon your deciding that we are the Established ministers. All this might do very well if the question were an open question; but the question is now under trial even as regards the Civil Courts themselves; and we say, if you, the Legislature, interfere to settle that question against us, you are doing so by making against us an *ex post facto* law. Is it, I ask, to be credited or believed for a moment that any Government in its sound senses would listen to our friends the Moderates saying, Oh! do give us a new law, that we may punish the other party for working the old law? Would any Legislature be so absolutely infatuated as to listen to men with such a plea in their mouths as this,—These men are breaking the law,—the law cannot vindicate itself, do come over and help the law to stand! This is an answer which we are entitled to make to any such demand of summary legislation as this. I confess that I did not fear much from this mode of tactics adopted by our opponents. I did fear that they might be wiser in their generation, and that they would try to weary us out by a variety of tortures. I did fear that we were to be worn out by long litigation, as they expected to have the Treasury at their back, if economists such as Joseph Hume would allow them the use of it. I did fear all this, and that they might attempt to wear us out by fines and imprisonments, by summary processes of execution against us. Even in that case I would not have been much afraid, for we would then be in the position which would have fairly enabled us to bring out the constitutional ground on which we stand; and I have great faith in the ancient constitution of this country, however it may be for a time injured by the hostile decisions of one Court of the land. They might have tried by all kinds of ways to diminish our majorities in the Church Courts,—they might have trusted to men in the Church who would be willing to make concessions,—they might have tried to introduce into the Church men who went out from us, because they were not of us,—and such men they have been trying to introduce into our Church; and had matters been allowed to lie asleep, I cannot see but by a great many arts, and by wearing out our patience, they might have succeeded in wearying out our majorities, and in the course of years thus turned the scale. I do rejoice that they have been led by feelings of conscience, as they say, to bring matters to a better issue. It is always better to have opposition above board than to have it working quietly underhand. Now, we know what they are wanting; and even if they draw back, and have recourse to silence and other arts, we have got the warning which is not to be forgot, and which is to us a warrant to go and raise the country on the subject; and it will be our fault if we do not take the hint. And should they propose to remain tranquil now, we may remain tranquil so far as proceedings against them are concerned; but we would be foolish and traitors to our cause if we remained tranquil so far as the people in this country are concerned. Let the struggle be prolonged as it may, we are forewarned—we know the tender mercies of these men towards us, and towards the people of Marnoch; and it will be our own fault if we do not make the country ring, and ask the country—Is it your pleasure that you should be kept subject to the tender mercies of these men? But, sir, I do entertain the hope that when our opponents see that we are in earnest to stand or fall by our principles, and to run all manner of risks, rather than compromise the discipline and honour of Christ in His own house,—when they see this, combined with unanimity on our part, I am not without hope that they may be yet brought by the power of God to agree with us in getting a measure from the Legislature which will do violence to the conscience of no man, but allow the Church peaceably to carry on her own business.

"I now read the resolution which has been placed in my hands, and advert to the end of it. Sir, we refuse to go out of the Church unless we are driven out, and, for another reason besides those I have stated, because the minority would remain behind us. It would be some alleviation of the evil if they came out along with us. Why do I say so? Out of malice? No, but because I hold an Erastian Establishment to be worse than none at all. It is our bounden duty to use every effort that, if we be driven out, they shall be driven out too. It is our bounden duty to bear this testimony, that the Church ought to be established on the principles which we are contending for, or that there should be no establishment in the land at all. We are bound to testify to this in the ears of the rulers of this nation, and to give them fair warning that if they compel us to take up a position out of the Church, by making it so Erastian that we cannot remain in it, they will rouse up a number of new enemies in the ranks of those who are seeking the downfall of religious establishments. If establishments are not based on sound principles they had better not exist at all. It is a fearful result for any calm statesman to contemplate—to drive us into a position, which, however much we would dislike, we could not possibly avoid taking—it is a fearful contemplation that we should be driven to take up a position in opposition to the religious establishments of the land. A statesman will pause before he commits so great an error as this—to send out of the Establishment those men who will, in such an event, be called on to bear themselves contrary to the interests of the Establishment they are forced to leave behind. This meeting, I am sure, will adopt the resolution.

"Sir, we are bound to thank God that this day a spirit of remarkable harmony has prevailed both in the private deliberations of the Commission and in the public actings of the office-bearers in this Church. Of the one or the two that thought fit to dissent from the resolution which the Commission adopted, this meeting will not think it necessary that I should say much. That one or two should be found in the rank of dissentients is not wonderful. That out of such a gathering of ministers and elders there might have been men who professed at one time to be on our side, who have now declared against us, is not to be wondered at; the wonder is that there have not been more. I will not characterise those found in the ranks of dissentients now, who were wont to be with us, further than to say, that if they have any peculiar views of their own upon some minor points of detail, while they profess great unanimity in regard to the principles themselves—if they have such minor points, they take an especially strange time to bring them forward. This is the time when honest and Christian men would sink all their differences—it is a time when, if any man had a crochet in his head, he would at once throw it aside—it is the time when, if any man had a hobby, he would ride it no longer. How God may be pleased to afflict us on account of our sins I know not, but let us thank God for His blessings on us, and take courage. There never was a time of peril or threatening when less distrust prevailed amongst a party who are of one mind as to their principles, there never was a time where less of jealousy and of petty suspicion, and more of cordial union and foresight prevailed. It is a dark spot in some of the brightest periods of our Church's history—I say the brightest periods, not because they were the most prosperous, but because her brightest periods have been those of her persecution. This is a glory, for giving which to our Church, we have reason to thank God; but it is a dark spot in some of the brightest of those periods—it is a dark spot in some of those periods, that amongst the most faithful men of the Church there were certain suspicions, certain distrusts; and can we think that we are worthy to be preserved from the errors of our forefathers? We, let the worst come to the worst in this combat, can scarcely dream of being hunted like wild beasts in the forests. Is it because we are more worthy? No, it is because of the long-suffering patience of God—a token of His goodness towards our Church, which may impart to us hope, that whatever darkness there may be before us there is a gleam of light from the upper sanctuary—the light of love, of mutual brotherly love; and I trust and pray that the proceedings of this meeting, which will go forth throughout the whole parishes of our land, will fill the hearts of God's people with gladness and peacefulness, for we have at this moment more earnest prayers for the Church of our fathers, for Christ's Church, offered up, than for many a long day gone by. Let us be true to ourselves, and we need not fear. Let us but stand together as a band of brothers, and we shall have the sympathy of the people of this country, for the matter is brought now to a single point. The people will no longer be perplexed with a complex question. The question before them now is one which all can understand—the question whether we are to remain ministers of the Establishment, or be driven from it.

"We have now present with us, taking a part in our deliberations, representatives of the sister Church in Ireland, who are ready to carry our proceedings across the Channel—our sister Church which has itself passed through the furnace, and knows how to sympathise with and to succour us when we are in the fiery trial. We might have had more of them on this occasion but for a providential interference, which opens up to us the prospect of a still more remarkable token of the sympathy of that Church. I have a letter from the Moderator of the General Assembly of that Church, intimating the purpose of the brethren there to convene an extraordinary meeting of the Assembly for the express purpose of testifying their sympathy with us, and for using all their efforts to effect our deliverance out of our difficulties. I will not speak of the influence that Church possesses, I need only mention the fact that many members there have gone into the Parliament pledged friends of the Church of Scotland. Our sister Church in Ireland trusts that we will make no surrender; she says to us, 'If you make no surrender, we will stand by you to the very last.' We have the sympathies of other churches in the land. We have the co-operation of our sister Church in England, and another Church, which

I call a sister Church; we have the sympathy and co-operation of the Wesleyan body. I hail these things as tokens that, though God may be heating the furnace, He means to make the furnace instrumental for welding His people closer together. Let our deliverance be near or far off, God intends these trials to be instrumental to make the Christians of this nation understand one another better, and love one another more. When we look at the motely group banded against the Church, some of whom hold one principle, some another, and some no principle at all—when we see them all uniting together with no one bond to cement them, but opposition to the Church of our fathers, it is a profound and encouraging thought that God may be organising a holy alliance of another kind, an alliance of Churches that fear His name, and will abide by the truth as it is in Jesus, an alliance of Churches that will lead men of various principles to unite together, and to maintain their union in the Lord."

Thus early Mr. Candlish was in the habit of regarding as inevitable the Disruption, which was nearly two years later. In a letter to his friend Mr. Urquhart, dated 24th June of this year, written in view of the pending election of a member of Parliament in Wigtownshire, he says, in closing—

"All this political business is very disgusting. But we must do our part, although I much fear, so far as our poor Establishment is concerned, in vain. We must act according to appearances, and to the best of our judgment amid doubtful contingencies. But God is evidently taking the matter into His own hands—frustrating human schemes, and baffling human sagacity. The powers that be are infatuated. I suppose it will be found that so-called Conservatives, blind to religious truth, are really destructives. But the Lord reigneth, and our Church, humbled, tried, temporally ruined, may and will yet be signally blessed."

In a speech delivered at a meeting of friends of the Church held in Glasgow in the middle of September, Mr. Candlish entered fully into the question of co-ordinate jurisdiction in answer to accusations that the Church was claiming a Papal supremacy. Among other things he said—

"It has been said of us that we are asserting a Popish lordship over the Civil Courts. We do assert, certainly, that the Civil Courts have no right to dictate to us in spiritual matters, and we assert also that when the Civil Courts call matters civil, which we hold to be spiritual, it does not take these matters out of our jurisdiction. Were it otherwise we should have no power left us at all. They have called taking a presentee on trial, ordination, and deposition, civil matters ; and if we have not the right of saying what things are spiritual, if we are to take the determination of this point from the Civil Courts, it is plain that the whole spiritual powers invested in the Church are at once destroyed, and the line of demarcation is blotted out between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. But is this anything like a claim of lordship over them ? Do we ask them to take our definition of what is civil ? Do we say, as the Church of Rome says, We pronounce a case of murder by an ecclesiastical person to be a spiritual matter, and we prohibit you from meddling with it ? Do we exempt our persons or properties from their jurisdiction ? No, sir, we allow them the same liberty which we claim for ourselves. We do not presume to prescribe to them what is the law, or to decide what is civil, neither do we allow them to prescribe to us, and decide what is ecclesiastical. The broad distinction between the jurisdiction of the Church and the State is not so much what is the matter for decision itself, as the consequences which it must carry. We are very often asked, Who is to be the judge between us, when the one party pronounces a matter to be civil, and the other to be spiritual ? There is no judge at all. The one may hold it to be civil, and the other to be spiritual ; but the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Courts can alone bring in spiritual results, whereas the decisions of the Civil Courts bring in civil results. And if the sentence of the Church Courts is attempted to carry civil effects by the Church alone, that is an interference with the prerogative of the civil magistrate ; and if, on the other hand, the decision of the Civil Courts is made to carry spiritual consequences, that is an interference with the jurisdiction of the Church. Take this very matter of the settlement of a minister. Suppose the two Courts at issue as to whether the presentee is a suitably qualified person, and that the one regards the question as purely civil, and the other as purely spiritual, we don't find fault with the Civil Court for calling it civil ; but they are only entitled to deal with it according as it carries civil consequences—in other words, to deal with the temporalities ; and they have no right to say we are lording it over them when we deal with it as to spiritual consequences also, namely, to settle the question of admission. This statement we have heard over and over again from the public press, and men in high places continue to charge us with claiming a Popish domination over the State, and coming from these quarters we may have the less reason to be provoked by it; but proceeding from men who ought to have studied the Popish controversy, if they have not, and who have solemnly sworn to oppose Popery—coming from men who ought to know the distinction between Popery and Presbyterianism—it is a thing almost beyond one's patience to bear.

"The question now to be decided is, whether it is the will of the country, the will of the people in this land, that the constitution in Church and State, spite of the law of Patronage, shall continue as settled at the Revolution, and secured by the Treaty of Union? But the settlement of this question involves another question still more serious—the question of religious establishments. We are now called upon not merely to insist that the Establishment shall continue to be what it was held to be at the Revolution Settlement, but to insist that there shall be no Establishment on any other terms. Our warfare then must be not merely to keep in the Establishment ourselves, but our determination must be to take good care, if we are thrust out of the Establishment, and the Establishment remains on Erastian principles, that we will bear our testimony against such an Establishment as anti-Scriptural. This is a very serious issue to which men seem to be precipitating the Church. We are now called to contend for the entire consistency of these two principles—the principle of an Establishment, and the principle of Church independence. But we are also called to bear our testimony to this, that if they are not consistent, if the country will not recognise them as consistent, there must be an end of the Establishment altogether. Far better the Voluntary principle carried out into full effect, than the principle which subjects the Church of Christ to the power of Cæsar. The Voluntary principle—or the Voluntary plan of supporting the ministry—is right and Scriptural so far as it goes. It is, indeed, not the whole truth of Scripture, but it is part of the truth. But the principle of subjection in things spiritual to the civil power is anti-Scriptural. We might tolerate a Voluntary Church, but we can never tolerate an Erastian one."

CHAPTER VII.

Princeton College confers on Mr. Candlish the degree of D.D. — Speech at Perth — Patrons tampering with probationers — Case of Mr. Munro — Sabbath observance — Case of Culsalmond — Presbyterian Church in Ireland — Speech at Leith — Anti-Patronage movement in Presbytery of Edinburgh—Speech in Assembly Rooms—Letter to Mr. Gibson, Belfast—Sabbath observance — Abolition of Patronage — Speech at Edinburgh — Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Letter to Mr. John Hamilton—Movement of the *Forty*—Speech on.

AMID the universal worry and heat of the great controversy in which he was engaged, it could not fail to be gratifying to Mr. Candlish to receive a letter, from which I give the following extracts:—

"ELIZABETHTOWN, NEW JERSEY, *October* 2, 1841.

"Rev. and Dear Sir—Whilst to you personally an entire stranger, I feel myself tolerably well acquainted with your character, and with the decided and noble part you take in the present controversy of *our* mother Church. Our whole Church is awake to the importance of your conflict, nor do I know of a minister, elder, or layman in the length and breadth of this land who does not entirely sympathise with you and the beloved brethren who are so ready to hazard all, that the Lord Jesus Christ may rule as King in His own Church, which He has purchased with His blood. You have the sympathies and the prayers of our whole American Zion, and were it desirable, you would have her contributions also to aid you in building churches, should you be disestablished. With one voice your Moderate Erastian party, led on by Dr. Cook, are condemned as the betrayers of Samson, and as delivering him over to the Philistines. If the unanimous approval of our whole Church can cheer you to continue the conflict, let whatever consequences ensue, be assured that you and your brethren have it.

"Your many excellent pamphlets, and your many speeches made at different meetings, have been extensively read in this country. Many of your speeches have been reprinted in our religious papers, and many extracts from your pamphlets; so that your name is as familiar to us as if you resided among us, and were a pastor of one of our churches. Your speech at the meeting of 1200 ministers and elders at the West Church was republished here last week. You will not therefore wonder at our desire to honour one who is honouring himself in defending the purity of the Church of our fathers.

"With the history and character of Princeton College, New Jersey, over which Wotherspoon and Jonathan Edwards once presided, you may be familiar. It is a purely Presbyterian College, and one of the most noted and venerable and flourishing in this land. Among its trustees are the Governor of New Jersey, Loutherd, the President of the Senate of the United States, and such men as Alexander, Miller, Phillips, of New York. At my suggestion this College, at its annual commencement last week, conferred on you the title of Doctor in Divinity, and by a unanimous vote. And it was conferred, sir, not for the purpose of honouring you, but to show our estimate of your great services in your controversies, and to manifest to the world where, and on what side, are to be found all our sympathies. The conferring of the degree will be communicated to you officially by the President or Secretary of the Trustees, and my fervent wish is that you may not decline to receive it.—Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"NICHOLAS MURRAY."

Curiously enough, and for the reason stated in the following official communication, it was not till several months had elapsed that Dr. Candlish had authoritative information of the degree conferred on him:—

"PRINCETON, N.J., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
March 24, 1842.

"Reverend Sir—I have the honour officially to inform you that, in consideration of your high attainments in theological knowledge, and your distinguished usefulness in the Church of Christ, the Trustees of the College of New Jersey have conferred on you the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

"And I have to beg you will forgive my remissness in not giving you earlier notice of the fact above stated. Through numerous engagements I omitted to write at the time, and afterwards it escaped my notice, until the inquiries of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., reminded

me of the duty which I had omitted.—With sentiments of high respect, I am, Rev. Sir, yours, etc. James Carnahan,
"President of the College of New Jersey."

It was not till the year 1865, twenty-four years later, that the University of Edinburgh conferred on Dr. Candlish the same degree.

At a meeting of friends of the Church held in Perth on the 14th October, and presided over by the Marquis of Breadalbane, Dr. Candlish adverted to various aspects in the existing state of the controversy, both encouraging and discouraging. There had been a change of Ministry. The Whigs were out, and the Conservatives were now at the helm. He counselled circumspection and firmness. He said—

"We have repeatedly told the Government, and we must continue to tell them, that we insist for a full and adequate measure of justice. If they are really earnest in desiring to settle the question, let us press upon them with all respect that it can only be effectually settled by a full measure of non-intrusion; otherwise they might be disposed to put a screw upon us, to see with how little we can live, how little will keep us in the Church. We are under water, and they may raise us up till just one feature is above the surface, and say, Can you breathe now? But if we are to serve even their purpose, or do any real good, they must raise us till we can speak, and speak comfortably and boldly. We must not only have space to breathe, but to speak and act freely, or they had better keep us down, and apply the screw until they drive us out of the Establishment altogether. I for one can conceive a measure which might not form to my conscience an imperative ground of secession from the Church, but which would nevertheless cramp my energies and spirit, impair my powers of usefulness, take away my comfort, and make me feel a degraded man. We must continue to agitate for a measure which will not only satisfy our consciences, but which will preserve the people from intrusions like that of Marnoch.

"We are placed under no obligation at present to surrender our privileges in the Establishment. I myself feel under no obligation to do so as yet. Nay more, my lord, although the claims put forth by the Court of Session were sustained by the highest tribunal in the land, even that would not touch my conscience as to remaining in the Establishment. Even in that event, we would be still enabled to say to the

State, Ours is the right interpretation of the conditions of connection between us. If you do not think so, you may put us out, but we will not go willingly or of our own accord. I have been twitted with the oath of allegiance, and asked, why I do not obey the civil power? But the oath of allegiance does not say that the Sovereign or Civil Courts are supreme in matters ecclesiastical. It no doubt binds me to obey the Sovereign, but only as represented by all the Courts of the kingdom, and the General Assembly is as much one of these as the Court of Session itself. Therefore we will continue to go on as we have done, and if the State shall say we are not the Established Church, the State must cast us out. The rights for which we are contending are guaranteed to the Church by statute. We are members of the commonwealth as well as members of the Church, and we will not give up the constitution which is dear to us; and to surrender our present rights would be to put a stab into the very vitals of liberty and of the constitution of the kingdom. We say to the Legislature, You may do this, but we will not do it by voluntarily leaving the Church. The teinds are the patrimonial inheritance of the people, and therefore, by leaving the Church I am surrendering what is not mine, but what belongs to the people. I will not take such a responsibility upon me. The civil power may subject us to punishment, to fines and imprisonment, and if so harassed we have the power to leave the Church. But it has not come to this yet. We have the power to go out from the Establishment, but this necessity has not yet been imposed on us. If driven out of the Church, we shall be bound to employ our utmost efforts to prevent the uprearing of an Erastian Establishment, and if this should take place, there will be an end to a State Church altogether."

In the course of his speech at Perth Dr. Candlish adverted to a line of action on the part of patrons in disregarding the wishes of the parishioners, and in tampering with probationers, and referred especially to the conduct of the Town-Council of Edinburgh having issued a presentation to Mr. Munro, a teacher in one of the hospitals, in face of a petition from the people in favour of another, and in endeavouring to commit their presentee to a certain course of action on ecclesiastical questions. This statement called forth an indignant rejoinder, in the Town-Council, from Mr. Dunbar, to whom Dr. Candlish had specially adverted. To this

Dr. Candlish replied in a letter to the *Witness,* in which he says—

> "I still think that for a patron, and especially for one who exercises patronage as the representative of the people of Edinburgh, to treat the petition from Fala, and speak of it as Mr. Dunbar did and continues to do, evinces a spirit of tyranny. The unanimous voice of a Christian congregation, recommending a man of acknowledged excellence and high standing, would have more respect paid to it by every private patron in Scotland, than by this member of a corporate and representative body.
>
> "I further repeat, that trafficking on the part of patrons with probationers—extracting letters from them with a view to their appointment, and endeavouring to get them committed to a certain course of conduct in the ecclesiastical courts—is a proceeding altogether discreditable. The form of a simoniacal paction may be carefully avoided, and there may be nothing for the discipline of the Church to lay hold of, but the spirit of simony appears to me to be in such a transaction. And if it refer to the extent and limits of the obedience to be rendered to the authority of the Church, however it may be coloured or disguised, I confess I would shrink from any concern in a correspondence so ensnaring to the conscience of a man who is to be called upon to take a solemn vow on that very head. I say I would shrink from such a commerce, as I would not directly or indirectly have to answer for participation in what might, even by possibility, imply the commission of sin in the matter of such an oath."

I have noticed this incident partly because, at the time, it was understood to be a practice on the part of patrons to come to some understanding with probationers as to the course they would follow in the questions at issue between the Church and the Civil Courts, and partly because the case of Mr. Munro, in which Dr. Candlish was so intimately concerned, became a historical one, the final act of the Church regarding it being that of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in November 1842, when, on the motion of Dr. Cunningham, the Presbytery of Dalkeith were prohibited from proceeding farther with his settlement.

Dr. Candlish always showed a deep interest in the matter of Sabbath observance, and at this time there was much interest taken in it, in consequence of the opening of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, and the earnest desire of the religious portion of the community of all denominations that this railway should not be made available for traffic on the Lord's day. At the end of October Dr. Candlish addressed a public meeting on this subject, "characterised by his usual eloquence and power."

At the stated meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in November, he moved an overture to the General Assembly, the object of which will be sufficiently apparent from the following sentences in the speech by which he supported its transmission. He said—

> "The overture was suggested by the reported proceedings of the Presbytery of Garioch. Of course these proceedings were not properly before them ; they were not entitled to suppose that the report alluded to was perfectly correct and true, and they were not entitled to sit in judgment on the proceedings of the Presbytery of Garioch. But at the same time, he trusted that no member of Synod would stand upon these technical objections, and prevent them discussing the general question which their reported conduct affected. The Church had already seen one fatal example of disobedience to its authority on the part of one of her Presbyteries, leading, too, to consequences which threatened to involve the Church in increased difficulties and embarrassments. And it was not difficult to suppose that other Presbyteries might be found who would follow the example. A report had reached them that this Presbytery of Garioch had given intimation that the example set by the Presbytery of Strathbogie would not only be followed, but improved upon by them. This overture referred to the reported conduct of this Presbytery in proceeding prematurely to the final settlement of the presentee (to Culsalmond) in disregard of the law of the Church, in disregard of the special objections of the parishioners who were communicants, in disregard of a complaint and appeal on the part of members of their own court, and of the parties at their bar.
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> "They had lately been encouraged to believe and hope that the Government of the country were disposed to take the whole question into their serious and favourable consideration. They had something

like an encouragement to believe that if the Government did so, the opposing parties in the Church might more readily come to an understanding. It was now, however, plain that the ground of any hope which they might have entertained was gone, the only ground of hope having been built upon an expectation of forbearance on both sides, and especially on the side of those who must be well aware that if they disregarded the law of the Church there was no alternative but to proceed to extremities against them. On that account he deeply deplored the new difficulties which this case had thrown in the way of a settlement. It was clear that the Presbytery of Garioch contemplated, not only a disregard of the Veto law, but a disregard of all the laws applicable to such a case; it was clear that they contemplated a course which would leave the Church no alternative but to exercise discipline, to the utmost extent, against them. And if the Church was to be thus rent asunder, all hopes of peace might be abandoned. And if they were to be deprived of the privileges of the Establishment—if the Church of their fathers were to fall—he must take the liberty of saying that the responsibility of such an event would lie, in a great degree, with those who had originated measures to which no duty called them, and which they must have foreseen would compel the Church, according to her conscientious views of duty, to proceed to extremities against them in vindication of her own authority, and the honour of her great Head. He could not but hope that the proceedings of which he had been speaking would find no approval, even from those from whom he generally differed in this matter, nay, he rejoiced to think that some of the fathers of the Church, who usually acted with the opposite party, had already addressed remonstrances to the Presbytery of Garioch on the course which they threatened to pursue, and he would fain hope that they might not yet be too late. However, seeing that one Presbytery had already set at defiance the authority of the Church, and had, in consequence, been deposed by last Assembly; seeing that this sentence had created a very serious barrier against a satisfactory adjudication of the Church's affairs, and that another Presbytery was apparently disposed to follow and improve upon the example of the former one, they could not but await the issue with great anxiety and alarm, as it was possible that another deposition might be rendered necessary, which would throw new embarrassments in the way of a settlement."

The conduct of the Presbytery of Garioch was also brought under consideration of the Commission of Assembly, which met in November; and Dr. Bryce, having alluded to the riotous behaviour of the people in the church at Culsalmond on the day when the Presbytery met for the settlement of the minister, Dr. Candlish said—

"He was not disposed to vindicate riotous proceedings in any place—least of all in a place of worship. But if he were to give his opinion which was the greatest act of desecration—that which the people committed in the church, or that which the Presbytery would have committed if they had been allowed, he for one had no hesitation in saying that the desecration committed by the Presbytery was a great deal more sinful in the sight of God, and, according to all just notions of the sanctity of actions or of places, a more heinous desecration than that of which the people were said to be guilty. He believed that riotous behaviour anywhere was sinful; but there were some sins more heinous than riotous behaviour; and he held that ministers of Christ, acting in defiance of the authority of the Church to which they had vowed obedience, trampling under foot the sacred rights and privileges, as well as the dearest interests of the people, and desecrating the solemn act of ordination by performing it without warrant and against law—with no sanction from the great Head of the Church—was an act so serious, that, taken into comparison with it, the riotous behaviour of a few disorderly people—men who had been brought together from a distance by the conduct of the Presbytery itself, was to confound all distinctions between right and wrong, and to level all distinctions of morality in the very dust. He had no intention to defend those who were convened in the Church. He did not know who they were. He had seen it stated that there was present but a small proportion of the people of Culsalmond. But when it was publicly noised abroad that a scene was to be acted such as occurred at Culsalmond, when the news spread through the whole district that such a terrible enormity was to be perpetrated, he must say it would not have been surprising if, instead of the mixed crowd who probably filled the church, a far worse assemblage had convened, if all the offscourings of all the neighbouring parishes had been brought together to witness such a scene, which, if it took place at all, he must say was worthy of taking place in the presence of such a multitude rather than the Christian people of Culsalmond."

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh Dr. Candlish, in compliance with the instructions of the Commission of Assembly, moved the appointment of a committee to deal with Mr. Grant of Leith, one of the ministers who had assisted the deposed ministers of Strathbogie, contending that there was no obligation resting on any one, except, perhaps, that of adherence to a party, to have acted in such a way.

It appears from a letter to Mr. Dunlop that at this time Dr. Candlish was feeling very nervous about a proposed movement to hold a special meeting of the Irish General Assembly to consider the Scottish Church question. He says—"It won't do for us to be advising Dr. Cooke to refuse a requisition from seven Presbyteries, though their Assembly meeting just now would do no good. There would be wrangling and disputing, and no adequate crisis to unite them. The hostility of Government is covert just now, and this general declaration, unmeaning as it is, would hinder a decided movement."

Meanwhile he was busy in doing what he could to prepare the people at home for the apprehended crisis. He moved one of the resolutions at a meeting held in Leith on the 2d December at the formation of a Church Defence Association, indicating the dangers to which the Church was exposed from the minority within the Church, and from the action of the Legislature, and urged his audience to exertion on her behalf.

> "What will the people of Scotland say? Will they have an Established Church composed of men who would look with complacency on scenes like those of Marnoch—men who will receive orders from the Civil Courts to ordain ministers over reclaiming congregations, or men whose whole offence is that they cannot and will not intrude a pastor upon an unwilling people? If they answer it, as I trust they will, in favour of the latter, then let them also consider that as the cause is theirs, they must help us in fighting its battles. We are willing to face obloquy and opposition on its behalf, but we must have the support of the Christian people, and that not merely from time to time in such enthusiastic meetings as I rejoice to see here assembled, but also deliberately and perseveringly they must assist in supplying the means for carrying on the harassing warfare in the

Civil Courts; they must influence their neighbours by all the means in their power, and keep up their zeal in the cause by attending to the subject more closely than ever."

The beginning of the year 1842 was a critical time in the history of the Church of Scotland. A Conservative Government was at the helm of affairs, and their declared purpose was to propose legislation in her affairs with a view to her preservation as an Establishment, and to terminate the conflict between her and the Civil Courts. The question came to be whether the proposed legislation was sufficient to secure the principle of non-intrusion, for which the Church was contending. At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in January an overture to the General Assembly was moved by Dr. Gordon and supported by Dr. Chalmers, one of the sections of which was as follows:—

"That the General Assembly, while they continue to give their earnest and favourable attention to the obtaining of such a measure as shall fully, and by a fixed rule, recognise the continued opposition of the majority of a congregation as a conclusive ground for rejecting a presentee, do also take into their serious consideration, with a view to the deliverance of the Church from her present difficulties, the propriety of seeking the abolition of the law of Patronage, as, especially in the construction now attempted to be put upon it, involving a violation of the constitution of the Church and kingdom secured at the Revolution, and unalterably ratified by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union."

The transmission of the overture was opposed by Dr. Simpson and Dr. Muir, in reply to whom Dr. Candlish spoke. He said—

"The sentiments which we have heard from Dr. Muir do not surprise me, because we are aware that Dr. Muir has always considered the principle for which we contend as inconsistent with the principles of an Establishment, and even inconsistent with the right order of Christ's house. We are fully aware of that, though I am not sure that either now, or on any former occasion, have the grounds of that opinion been clearly stated. It does not, however, surprise me to hear these sentiments from Dr. Muir ; but I confess it does surprise me to hear him say that we are now taking a step in advance, because I do not understand that he agrees with the sentiments, though he may second the motion of Dr. Simpson ; and I think he will be willing to admit that our motion is in strict accordance with our principle, in the sense in which we have ever contended for it.

"I deny that we are in any sense taking a step in advance, except in so far as some of our brethren have been brought to see that the abolition of Patronage is one mode of extricating us from our present embarrassments. We have refused to go down, even by a single step, from the high position which we have always occupied ; but we say that all the recent proceedings of the Committee (non-intrusion) will show that, so far from manifesting any undue haste in taking a step in advance, we have manifested throughout such a regard to the interests of the Establishment, and such a sense of the dangers that surround it, that we were not prepared to refuse or to reject even the lowest measure which would satisfy the demands of our principle.

"With regard to the remark that this motion may be but a step to more serious evils, I agree with Dr. Muir in his apprehension of the probable issue of the present dark aspect of affairs. But if these evils should take place, the motion can in no sense be regarded as a step to such a consummation. The whole previous proceedings of the Church have been taken to maintain the supremacy of her great Head, and the spiritual liberties of the people committed to her care. And, further, I may remind the Presbytery that this is not the first time in the history of the Church of Scotland, when, not through any intention on her part, but the infatuation of those who were opposed to her, her contendings have led to the most disastrous consequences, for which they and not the Church must be held responsible. The Church is now contending, as she did of old, for great principles ; and if the issue of this contest be, as it has been in former times, anarchy and confusion, the blame is not to be laid at the door of the Church. No, sir, it lies at the door of those who would not allow this great National Institution to subsist in her integrity, securing the best interests of the country. A good man—one who fears God—is often compelled to maintain his principles by a course of conduct which, not from its native tendency, but from the obstacles thrown in his way, may lead to results from which he may start back in alarm. But the responsibility is not with him. And so with us. We have a duty to discharge ; and if the issue of our present contendings be the dissemination of infidelity, and a consummation yet more awful, in the anarchy and confusion of the country, may ensue; if the issue be so, yet the blame will not rest with the Church, but with those who thwarted and opposed the Church, who compel her to take an attitude which evil men may abuse for their own purposes; but which the Church has assumed from a sacred regard to the honour of her great Head and the spiritual interests of the people of Scotland.

"I trust that I am as much alive as Dr. Simpson can be to the danger of the overthrow of the Establishment, and to the disastrous consequences which would result from that overthrow; but this I will say, that these considerations can only be addressed to Christian men when they are discussing what they themselves admit to be a question of expediency. To address these considerations to Christian and conscientious men, when they take their stand on the ground of principle, and consequently are not at liberty to be guided by reasons of expediency, is needlessly to afflict them with the prospect of evil which they have no means of remedying, while it neither convinces their understanding nor changes their mind. And, further, I must say, that great as are the dangers which I apprehend to the Establishment, I prefer the downfall of the Establishment infinitely rather than any compromise of principle. Of the two things—the Church existing as a Voluntary Church, or existing as a Church Establishment with even an apparent sacrifice of honour or of principle—I am convinced that her existence as a Voluntary Church is far more likely to promote the glory of God and to win souls to Christ.

"Let us suppose that we acquiesce in Dr. Simpson's motion, it might for a time avert our troubles; it might even restore permanent tranquillity and peace, but it would be purchased at the sacrifice of character, at the sacrifice of the affections of the people; it would leave the Church like a dead log upon the waters, incapable of making any strenuous effort for reclaiming those practical heathens to whom Dr. Simpson so impressively referred. As regards our prospects of overtaking the spiritual destitution that exists among us, I am persuaded that that prospect is utterly hopeless if we are to remain a Church Establishment with the loss of principle, the loss of character, the sacrifice of the confidence and esteem of the people. With these views I am not affected by the appeal which Dr. Simpson has made; and I must say further, in reference to what fell from him, that the Government had no need to assume a hostile attitude, but only to let us alone, and the Church would destroy herself—I must say that I should be exceedingly thankful at this moment if the Church were left to herself. Rather than a settlement that should involve an apparent compromise of principle, rather let the Church struggle on. It is matter deeply to be deplored that Presbytery after Presbytery, and band after band of our brethren, set themselves in an attitude of hostility to the Church; it is matter to be deplored that the Presbytery to which Dr. Simpson referred, and of which I think I have some idea, should have indicated an intention to pursue the same infatuated course; but better, I say, to leave the two parties to fight out their own contests within the Church, to separate, if that must be the result, in consequence of the exercise of civil authority on the one hand, and the exercise of ecclesiastical authority on the other; but, better this than that the interference of the State should involve a national sin, greater than it would be even to leave the Church still in her present embarrassments. To make the terms of Establishment such as would be implied in the measure to which Dr. Simpson has referred—to make such terms for the Church, would be sinful, unlawful, wrong. If the Government are determined either to introduce a bad measure, or to let us alone, I would infinitely rather choose that course which would least involve the country in wrong and in sin.

"The policy uniformly pursued towards the Church has compelled us, against our will, to discuss the lowest possible measure which we could submit to. It is irksome, in our dealings with statesmen, to come down from the high ground of principle, and to consider the miserable question of what measure will enable us to keep our head above water, and not drive us out of the Church. Such a mode of dealing with the Church is unworthy of any Government—unworthy of any statesman. Yet this is the way in which we have been uniformly dealt with by statesmen and the Government. The question has always been, not what is best for the Church—what is best for the interests of religion—what is best for the country—but what will keep you in the Church, what will make you to continue to keep your head above water, even though all the time you may be panting and struggling for breath.

"And here I am quite prepared to say of Dr. Simpson's measure, that it is inadequate to keep us in the Church, that is to say, it is not a measure to which we can submit; it is not one which we can sit under. In short, the position in which Dr. Simpson's motion would place the Church, would be the same as that in which Lord Aberdeen's bill would place her if passed into a law. It would be the same question with which we should be called upon to deal—a question merely as to the time and manner of our separation from the State. Both measures are equally fatal to the Establishment. In that sense, therefore, I meet the proposition by saying, not merely that we do not like it, but I meet it by saying, that it is not a proposition under which we can act—that if it were the law of the land to-morrow, it would not warrant us in repealing the Veto regulations. It could not be obeyed. The whole of this controversy between Dr. Simpson and us turns upon the meaning of the term non-intrusion, and it is strange indeed that at this time of day we should be driven to discuss the meaning of that word. It is not to give effect to that principle, if we reject a presentee for reasons, or adherence to reasons, or for anything else than the continued opposition of the people. Dr. Simpson has spoken of the meaning of the term *will;* let him refine upon that word as he may, it implies that much. He may introduce qualifying epithets, and speak of its being the *reasonable* will of the people. Sir, every man's will is entitled to be assumed as reasonable until you prove the reverse. If it is said that a thing is not to be done against my will, you are not afterwards to restrict my liberty by saying that you did not mean my will, but my reasonable will. So unquestionably it is not the reasons of the people, nor the fact that they have stated their reasons, but it is the simple will or opposition of the people that is to bar the settlement of the presentee. Is it not well known that the uniform mode in which this principle has been defended in the Church and in the country is this, that the pastoral relation could not be formed without consent of parties? I appeal to all who have taken part in this discussion, if the principle was not uniformly based on this argument, that the pastoral relation was a tie so intimate, so lasting, and so sacred, that it could not be formed without the consent of parties. The Veto was defended on this principle, it being assumed that a congregation that did not dissent was consenting. It was on this ground we defended the principle of non-intrusion; and is it not manifest from this that it is not reasons, or adherence to reasons, but the mere opposition of the people, that is effectual to prevent a pastor from being intruded against their will? The Veto law itself makes this manifest. Let all due precaution be taken to ascertain that it is their will in reference to the presentee's settlement among them that they are expressing; that they are expressing their mind upon that question, and not upon some other that may be mixed up with it; let facility be afforded to prove that they are actuated by factious motives; but still, beyond a doubt, it is the meaning of the Veto law, as an exponent of the non-intrusion principle, that it is not the reasons expressed, nor their reasons adhered to, but simply the feeling and conviction in the minds of the people, that is to prevent a man from being minister of that parish. They are deliberately called upon to give a judgment on this question: Ought this man to be appointed minister of the parish, yea, or nay? Other parties have to deliberate on the same question — the Presbytery, for example; and surely it would be absurd to limit the will of the Presbytery in their department. The will of the Presbytery deliberating on that question is not anything else than their free determination and final resolution upon it—quite apart from their grounds or reasons. What else can the will of the people be?

"We could submit to a measure which required the people to state their reasons; but Dr. Simpson has already allowed that we have all along specified the extent to which the people should state their reasons, and the object for which they should be stated. For example, the statement of reasons might lead to explanations which would not only show that these reasons were wrong, but which would induce the people to desire to receive the presentee as their minister. Further, if factious motives were to be inquired into, that again might be facilitated by the statement of reasons; for though I hate the notion of submitting the people to the inquiries of an interested party in every case, yet this would not destroy the non-intrusion principle. But to me the most wonderful of all these statements is that Dr. Simpson says the only consistent course we can follow is to object to the statement of reasons altogether, while, at the same time, he himself specifies the precise extent to which we were prepared to admit them—first, to make the opinion of the people more deliberate and solemn; second, to allow the Presbytery an opportunity, not to deal with them, for that is only another phrase for tyrannising over them, but to offer explanations; and, third, to allow a proof that the people are not actuated by factious and malicious motives. Now, reasons might be taken on either of these three points of view; but are not these specific purposes, which, being secured, the reasons might be set aside as if they had never been? and then there would still remain the opposition of the people. Thus we were willing to admit reasons, at the same time taking care to keep them in their proper place; but Dr. Simpson seems to intimate that he would not admit them at all, without letting them in like a flood. If he will insist upon this, we shall coincide with him, and then what shall we do? Submit to the Government measure or to his? No; but we will take our stand a peg higher, and say we shall not admit the statement of reasons at all. That will be the effect of any argument which shall prove that we are not consistent in the admission of reasons, not for the sake of our consistency, I can vote for that; but if he satisfies me that the admission of reasons leads to the adoption of his measure, I say not that we shall submit to it, but rather that we will not consent to the people assigning reasons at all.

"Even in its original form Lord Aberdeen's bill authorised Presbyteries to judge of the reasons or objections of the people, not merely viewed absolutely by themselves, but considered relatively to the particular state and condition of each parish. It was that idea, and that alone, which was brought out a little more fully by the suggestion of Sir George Sinclair. All the world remembers Lord Aberdeen's famous illustration of his principle by the case of a presentee with red hair. Of course, Lord Aberdeen never imagined that any Presbytery would be so absurd as to think that red hair was really a good objection. Whatever he may think of the intelligence or conscientiousness of Presbyteries, he never went so far as that. But he said, You may, if you think the prejudice against red hair as likely to interfere with a man's usefulness, on your own responsibility homologate the objection and give effect to it ; and, if you do, the Civil Courts shall not touch you. You may reject for red hair, as an objection not good in itself but good in the circumstances. That was the length to which Lord Aberdeen went, to allow effect to be given to reasons not conclusive in themselves but conclusive in the circumstances of the case. But what does Dr. Simpson propose ? A very shadow of difference indeed from that of Lord Aberdeen. He would allow the Presbytery to give effect to the mere fact of the people clinging to their reasons, although the Presbytery might think them in their deliberate opinion too bad to be homologated. . This is a very shadowy distinction indeed. The Government never dreamt of such a measure as that. The negotiations that took place in August or October proceeded on no such idea on our part. I believe now that we were wrong in thinking that the clause was intended to allow us to give effect to the conscientious opposition of the people in every case. But that was our impression. We did not then advert to the nice distinction between the continued opposition of the people and their continued adherence to reasons. The other party put upon the clause the interpretation which I have explained, that it would allow the Church Courts to give effect to the reasons of the people, not absolutely, but relatively to the circumstances of each particular case. This is all that they ever intended it to signify. When that came out we of course had nothing for it but to confess that there had been a great misunderstanding in the matter. But neither party put upon the proposal Dr. Simpson's construction. We have now been able to explain this misunderstanding, unless indeed this middle motion be brought in to hamper us. And we may now leave all these negotiations behind, and proceed at once to a really full measure of non-intrusion or anti-Patronage.

"If I may advert further to the proceedings which took place in August and October, I would say that I look back upon them with regret, except in so far as they tend to show that those in the Church who are considered the most reckless and wild in their views—those who are supposed to be most careless about the overthrow of the Church—even they were willing to conduct these negotiations on the footing of a measure which, it now appears, in their anxiety for a settlement, they were willing to interpret too favourably. Dr. Simpson was careful to tell you that he was not present during these negotiations. I as boldly tell you that I was; and Mr. Cunningham, and many others who go along with us in our alleged extreme views, were there; and however we may subject ourselves to taunts and sarcasm, and however it may be attempted to be turned against us in high quarters, yet I boldly appeal to the Church and to the world, on these facts, whether we of the extreme party are not as alive as our brethren to the dangers that beset us—whether we are not as anxious as our brethren to view in a favourable light, and to accede to, any measure short of a compromise of principle. Further, let it be remembered that we were not hasty in jumping at a settlement, but that we specifically intimated that the opinion of the highest crown lawyers should be taken, whether the clause would secure our views, not only as it stood by itself, but also as considered with reference to the scope and tendency of the bill. Let the Presbytery remember, further, that we proceeded to consider this proposition on the distinct statement by Lord Aberdeen, that he considered this proposition would render the repeal of the Veto Act illusory, and on the further statement by the late Dean of Faculty that this measure would allow us to act on the Veto in every particular instance if we chose. These statements were made; and they led us to believe that we should be allowed, not indeed a general law of non-intrusion, but that we should be allowed to deal with every case, on the principle of non-intrusion, as we saw cause.

"The true question for the Church is not whether this measure of Dr. Simpson's would not protect the people nearly as well as non-intrusion—that is not the question; the question is—Is the measure proposed by Dr. Simpson, or is it not, consistent with the non-intrusion principle? I daresay that a measure might be cunningly contrived which might be shown to be nearly as good for the protection of the people as the principle of the Veto law. But this is not now before us. What the practical working of such a measure might be, we are not able to judge; and if we should consent to, or act under such a measure, which should come short by a hair's-breadth of a full non-intrusion measure, we should tempt Providence—we should offend God. Our business is not to say to the people—Consult with the lawyers, and see if this will not afford you the protection of the Veto. The question is—Is this, or is it not, a non-intrusion measure? In any sense in which we hold non-intrusion,—in the sense in which it was declared in 1834, in the sense in which it was declared in the Act of the Veto, in the sense in which it has since been proclaimed throughout the country,—it means something different from Dr. Simpson's motion,—it means, not that the Presbytery are to reject for reasons either absolutely or relatively, or for adherence to them, but it means that they are to reject the presentee on the mere will of the people,—a will proceeding on a declared conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of themselves or of the congregation. In other words, are we to give up, or are we to retain the principle that the pastoral relation is not to be formed without the consent of parties? Are we to take up a position which implies that we no longer regard the consent of parties to be binding in forming the pastoral relation? I for one cannot consent to this. I take it in the full sense of the words that no pastor ought to be intruded, as implying the full and free consent of all parties. If this drive me, as he says, from the *liberium arbitrium*, I tell Dr. Simpson that no man shall more cordially rejoice than I. If it drive me from the Veto, the lowest form of non-intrusion, I shall equally be glad. I see with pleasure that the course of events tends every day to shut up my friends more and more to anti-Patronage. I cannot imagine how any man that is an honest and sincere non-intrusionist should not be moved from his position by recent events. What! is one violent settlement after another to be perpetrated in spite of the authority of the Church? Are men to rebel and set the Church at defiance? Is this to go on year after year? Are we to be baffled at every turn,—see men set at defiance our authority day by day,—and are we still to stand in the position in which we at first began the struggle? Surely the events of God's providence may teach our non-intrusion friends that they ought to take a step in advance. It is not a matter of boasting for any man that in these circumstances he is standing stock-still. The course of these events has shown that these negotiations are useless,—that they lead to confusion and misunderstanding every day; and is not this an indication of the intention of God to shut up all other doors of escape, that the Church may look to that great and effectual door,—the extinction of the right of Patronage altogether?"

At a great meeting held in the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, on the last day of January, Dr. Candlish again spoke on the question which was more and more stirring the hearts of the people of Scotland. He said—

"You have heard the extent to which those in high places are ready to presume upon the ultimate acquiescence of the Church in even an unsatisfactory and bad arrangement. I believe they have no faith in the existence of high principle at all. I believe especially they have no idea of the effect of religious principle; but that they reckon upon the secular and worldly motives, some of which are connected with the best affections of the heart, and which might incline many of our brethren to acquiesce in an arrangement although against their consciences. I trust they will be disappointed. For myself, it may be that I have no such cause of alarm as many of my brethren throughout the country; although in reference to this, I must say that I am by no means blind to the difference there is between the congregation to whom I now minister, drawn together by various motives, and a congregation of really attached and devoted followers, diminished, it may be, to one-tenth, to whom, in these circumstances, I would far rather minister than to the most crowded audience, if I purchased their attendance by a compromise of principle. But I would tell the Government, and those in high places, if they would believe the word of an honest man,—but they seem to have no faith in men's honesty at all—I would tell them that within the last few weeks, and even within the last few days, we have had undoubted evidence from all parts of the country of a most extreme anxiety existing in the minds of many of our brethren in their retired manses—and upon what point? Lest we should be rashly committing them to leave their manses, and go forth to the wide world on some scruple existing in our minds, but which they don't feel? No, my lord. Lest they should be committed by our extreme views? The extreme anxiety manifested by these men, who have everything to lose, is, lest we, in the simplicity of our hearts and in our anxiety for peace, should compromise by one hair's-breadth the essential principle for which we are contending, and which they will risk their all to maintain.

"I mention this the rather because I am perfectly aware that our opponents, both in London and here, do contrive from time to time to get a few letters addressed to them, and certain speeches reported of some of the weaker brethren who adhere to us, and then exclaim, 'Oh! this clearly shows that the clergy in the provinces are not prepared to go the length of the wild men in the capital.' Let me tell them, however, that these are but the lightest straws, which every wind can raise, and that we, and none but we, can tell the deep and resolute convictions which exist in the breasts of our brethren throughout the country, who are manifestly making up their minds, and preparing their families in their daily family prayers and expositions, for the desolation which may come upon them within a few short months or years. They are a band of men animated by principles which, I believe in heart and conscience, the men in high places cannot even understand. They did not understand the principles which animated the Covenanters of old, and which nerved the arm of the Puritans; and what good resulted from their not understanding them? Why, this want of intelligence and sympathy with these noble men hastened on the anarchy which then ensued, and which some venture to charge us with seeking now. The principle of religious truth, the principle of religious conviction, the principle, above all, of religious liberty, of liberty in the best sense of the word—these are principles which our opponents cannot comprehend, and in the existence of which they do not believe. But their eyes must be opened; only it may be when it is too late for saving the Church of Scotland; it may be when it is too late for saving the institutions of the British empire.

"But supposing they accomplish their object—supposing that the band of whom I have been speaking is smaller in number than I thoroughly believe they are; suppose that they could make the present majority a minority in the Assembly, and that they could get the Church to acquiesce in Lord Aberdeen's bill, or some such bill as that, leaving the Court of Session still in possession of the power to compel Presbyteries to intrude ministers upon reclaiming congregations—I say, even if they accomplished their object, this might leave indeed a Church Establishment, which might possibly stand for a few years, and they might contrive to give it in the large towns of our land something like an air of respectability, although, if they did find another Dr. Hill as a successor to Dr. Chalmers, it might puzzle their respectability to fill all the pulpits in the metropolis—supposing they did this, would their end be gained? They might establish peace and tranquillity for a season, but the Church would subsist with the entire loss of character and influence, and would, moreover, subsist upon such principles, that those who are her most strenuous supporters now would be compelled to become her most strenuous opponents then. I trust that I am as deeply sensible as any man of the truth and value of the principle of religious establishments. I trust that I shall never cease to advocate that principle. I believe it to be a principle of the Word of God—I believe it to be a principle which will be fully realised in the establishment of Christ's kingdom upon earth. But supposing the Church of Scotland to be left, as she will then be left, even if the great majority of her ministers should remain within her, to the sacrifice of their principles and the confidence of the people, the result would be that, in addition to the enemies of establishment, who would, with renewed and redoubled force be banded against her, we also would be compelled to lift up our testimony against her; that the men who think with me, and who advocate the principle of an Establishment, would be compelled to take up the position that an Establishment based upon such principles, if not instantly reformed, ought to be instantly abolished and destroyed.

"There are two ways in which God may deal with us. We may be either blessed with a sure and speedy triumph, which, if God see good, He can grant us by means and ways of His own, thereby bringing at once glory to His name and a testimony on behalf of the great principle for which we contend. Or He may have rescued us out of the pitfalls of our enemies, flung us abroad upon the battlefield, with nothing above us but the clear sky, and no banner but the banner of God's Word, that He may make our failure as blessed as our triumph, and as glorious too. It may be a part of the great providence of God that the Church of our fathers should accomplish the end He has in view by persecution and trial better than by success and triumph. Would the Church of Scotland have been as noble a witness, as faithful a witness, as successful a witness, as effectual a witness, for the great truth that Christ Jesus is the King and Head of His own Church, if during the past period of her history all had been sunshine, and nought but the gentle breath of prosperity had fanned her sails? No; I believe our Church has been, and may yet be found, witnessing in sackcloth, because it is the purpose of God that testimony for the truth should be borne by her sufferings. As the Church of our fathers was called upon in time past to testify for His truth, not in the palaces of the great but in the desert wastes and in the mountain caves, so it may be again. All things are at present in a state of rapid transition and change. I confess I am sometimes tempted to say that I see not how anything can save the Established Church of Scotland. I know that man's extremity is often God's opportunity. I know well that our safety cometh from the hills, even from Him that dwelleth in the heavens, and who made heaven and earth; I know well, although all men forsake the Church—although kings and princes and rulers set themselves against her—although every avenue were shut up, even as the Israelites were hedged in with the Egyptians behind them and the Red Sea before, He can yet make a path for us to pass on, as He did then. Still, when I think of the causes of controversy which the Lord has had with His Church; of her long neglect in times past to testify for great principles; when I also think of the cause of controversy He has still in the feebleness and unsteadfastness with which the Church has testified even in the last days for His great truth; when I call to mind the many errors of which we have been guilty; when I think of the dead sleep of the nations of the world—for I am inclined to believe that nothing will shake them out of their lethargy but the sight of a suffering Church of Christ; when I think of all this, I confess I cannot but anticipate, as at least possible, the destruction of the Church of Scotland as an Establishment. It is indeed a dark prospect, so far as the eye of men can see, to think that the Church, which in the days of old was the instrument of saving so many souls, and never more than when she was driven to the hillside, is again to be driven to the wilderness. But my comfort is that the Lord reigneth; I rest my confidence not in the interposition of Government to give us a good measure, nor on our own success in rejecting a bad measure, nor in the abolition of Patronage itself. I rest on nothing but the assurance that the Lord reigneth."

While thus looking to and trusting in the Lord, Dr. Candlish was not the less active in using every endeavour to save the Government from forcing an unsatisfactory measure upon the Church, and, if possible, to secure for her the liberty for which she was contending. In the impending struggle he, and those who acted with him, looked for effective help from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, which was strong in political influence. Dr. Cooke of Belfast was not only a great Church Reformer, but conspicuous as a politician, and was recognised as a trusted friend of the Conservative Government now in power, and therefore there was great anxiety felt as to his correspondence and intercourse with Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel. This will account for the following letter written by Dr. Candlish on the 8th

February of this year to the Rev. William Gibson, then minister at Belfast, and afterwards Professor of Christian ethics in the Assembly's College:—

EDINBURGH, 8*th February* 1842.

My dear Sir—In ignorance of Dr. Cooke and Mr. Morgan's movements, I apply to you, the rather because I wish you to use your own discretion in the matter. We are very anxious about the result of Dr. Cooke's communications with Government—not as respects the intentions of Government—these are too well ascertained—but as respects the proceedings *now* of Dr. Cooke himself and your body. It appears that Dr. Cooke, after seeing Lord Aberdeen, left London without letting our friends there know anything of what he had learned or of what he intended to do. And I understand from Mr. John Hamilton that Dr. Cooke has not written to any of us here. Now it is essential for us to know immediately what he is thinking, saying, and doing. I would write to himself, but I know not if he is yet at home. You will do us a great service by bestirring yourself. Surely by this time Dr. Cooke must have discovered the game they have been playing upon him. The hostility of the Government to our principles is now open and undisguised. They have proclaimed war to the knife. They are appointing none but Moderates to their churches, with an express condition of obedience to the law, and an intimation that Government will protect the presentee's rights, *i.e.*, will back him in setting at defiance the law and authority of the Church. Then they threaten a bad measure of legislation. And whether they bring in one or not, they are avowedly supporting the Moderates in their schismatical proceedings; and the whole party, ecclesiastical and political (with very few exceptions among the Conservatives), are furious against us. What is Dr. Cooke now to do? He has been misled; and, as I have all along said, he has been unintentionally misleading others, and doing us great harm. His reiterated assurances of confidence in Sir R. Peel thwarted all our efforts here to make our friends alive to the danger. The crisis, surely, is now come. I trust Dr. Cooke, and your body generally, will now sound the alarm.

We are most anxious to know how Dr. Cooke feels, and what course he is likely to follow. In consistency, and for his own sake as well as ours, he ought to speak out, and that loudly, against the Government, who have been evidently playing fast and loose with him and with us. Their game was to keep things smooth and quiet, to put our friends off their guard, and to prevent agitation during the recess, when it might have told. Now when Parliament is met, and men's minds are engrossed with various matters, there is no time or opportunity to rouse the country. The Government *ruse* has partially succeeded. We are not in a right state of preparation and excitement, and you are still quiescent. I will tell you the plain truth. Sir Robert Peel might pass Aberdeen's bill, amended or not, through Parliament, in three weeks, and there would be no great stir about it; some hundreds of us may be ousted in a few months, and it will all pass quietly. This is no exaggeration. Even if there is no hostile measure they have means of destroying us. You can form no conception of the dirty, underhand, corrupt practices by which they are trying to work upon doubtful men, and bribe them to acquiescence. I believe in God the great majority of our party would just now stand firm, and go out if necessary. But there are a few trimmers. And the most abominable arts are employed to undermine us. If this system goes on I do not see how it is possible to avoid an open schism or secession next May. Things must be brought to a crisis. The Church must be rent in two. Which party will remain the Establishment it is not difficult to foresee, nor what kind of Establishment it will be.

These are the plain facts of the case. It is needless to disguise the matter, or to vaunt of our confidence and resources. Unless something more than we can do in Scotland be instantly done, and in a way which the Government dare not set at nought, we are gone. I fear much that but few are alive to what is coming, and is even at the door. I all along deprecated and deplored Dr. Cooke's trust in Sir Robert Peel, even while I thought he might postpone for a little the meeting of your Assembly. At the same time, I urged that the meeting should be announced, that the Assembly should stand convened, leaving merely the precise day to be fixed on the emergency becoming obvious. This would have done us infinite good, to have your Assembly actually summoned in apprehension of danger, and ready to meet on the first hint of a crisis. This, however, is passed. What is to be done now? Dr. Cooke, I fear, is somewhat irritated and vexed. And I dare say he may still be inclined to put the best construction on the Government's doings. I do trust and pray that he may speak out loudly and unequivocally, as he ought, and make a decided onset on the Government. Surely you are bound to unite not merely in a remonstrance, or petition, or deputation, but in some far more vigorous and palpable assault upon a Government whose rancorous hostility to evangelical principles and men is precipitating the ruin of the best Establishment on earth.

"Amid all this darkness I desire that our Church and all her friends may be led to wait upon the Lord, who alone giveth light.—Yours very truly, "ROBT. S. CANDLISH."

The subject of Sabbath observance, especially in connection with railway travelling, occupied a good deal of Dr. Candlish's attention at this time. He spoke upon it at the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in February, and at the stated meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March as Convener of the Assembly's Sabbath Observance Committee; he also urged it upon the attention of the Church. In the following week, moreover, at a public meeting held in the West Church, Edinburgh, presided over by the Lord Provost, he pressed the sacred observance of the Lord's day, being, in consequence of fresh desecration, "more than ever called upon to watch over ourselves with a godly jealousy, and to take care to avoid doing not only that which we ourselves may think unlawful, but that also which may give the adversary cause of offence, and which may prove a stumbling-block in the way of the doubter."

It will have appeared from what has been stated regarding the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, that the movement on the part of the Church had ceased to be on behalf of non-intrusion merely, and had become a movement for the aboliton of Patronage; and at the beginning of April Dr. Candlish, at a public meeting held in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, and again at a public meeting in Glasgow, held a few days afterwards, advocated the abolition of Patronage. At the Edinburgh meeting he said—

"Among the circumstances to which the attention of the meeting is called—among the reasons assigned for pressing more earnestly for the abolition of Patronage, and for seeking to bring the question to an immediate issue, so far as it depends on us, and for making our claim in a form which cannot be evaded—is the recent refusal on the part of Her Majesty's Government to agree to any settlement of the Church's affairs which is consistent with her fundamental principles, or even to grant a Parliamentary inquiry. Now, it is not difficult to see how this circumstance is virtually an argument for taking up more decided ground than the Church has hitherto occupied. For years past the Church has endeavoured to effect a settlement of her affairs by the intervention of Her Majesty's Government and the Legislature on the footing of the non-intrusion principle. She has persevered in this attempt notwithstanding repeated failures and disappointment, constantly cherishing the hope that wise and patriotic rulers would come to see the expediency and necessity of acceding to a settlement on that footing. I defend her not, I vindicate her not, for seeking a settlement of her affairs upon this footing exclusively. I think that from the first the Church has erred in seeking a settlement on any footing short of the abolition of Patronage. At the same time, I have always felt myself not only free in conscience, but solemnly bound in duty, as a minister and office-bearer of the Church, to co-operate with my fathers and brethren in seeking with my utmost strenuousness a settlement on the footing which the Church herself had taken up; and this, because I held that the footing upon which the Church sought a settlement of her affairs, although not the whole truth of Scripture, was yet, so far as it went, Scriptural, and was a fair, a legitimate, and warrantable mode of seeking to extricate herself from her difficulties. The principle of non-intrusion I hold to be a Scriptural principle. The Church, in adopting this principle, acted according to the dictates of God's providence; and the State, in sanctioning it, would have done so too. No doubt the Church, in stopping short of the main grievance, erred and sinned, and the State also fell short of its duty; but yet, so far as it goes, the principle that no pastor be intruded upon a congregation contrary to the will of the people is a Scriptural principle, and I have always felt free, nay bound, to seek, along with my fathers and brethren, a settlement of the Church's affairs upon this footing. At the same time, while no man can well rejoice in the prolongation of this distressing controversy, while indeed it is wrong to be a lover of strife, or to exult in the failure of past efforts to restore peace, yet I do say that I recognise the hand of God in leading the Church into her present position, in shutting up every door of escape but the open door of the full assertion of her liberties. And it is indeed in one view all the more satisfactory, because all the more clear, that it is by the leading of God's providence that this result has been accomplished; that it has been brought about by no effort of ours; for though we have been striving all along to persuade the Church to take up anti-Patronage ground, it has been accomplished not by any effort of ours, but by the conduct of others, for which we were in no measure responsible, and over which we had no control, and which, therefore, so far as we are concerned, is undoubtedly to be interpreted as the voice of God to His Church. We have been all along seeking to persuade the Church to take up anti-Patronage ground, to raise her protest against this master grievance, to oppose all methods of effecting a settlement of the question excepting upon the footing of total abolition. We nearly succeeded at last General Assembly; but although every moment's delay in the Church discharging her duty is to be deplored, there will not be much evil done if the carrying of the anti-Patronage motion is to be deferred for only one short year,—from 1841 to 1842. Were it deferred longer, I should certainly despair of the Church of Scotland. If the Church at next General Assembly do not take up this ground, and resume her ancient protest against this grievance, and claim her rights at the hands of Parliament, which had no title to pass the Act, and no title to enforce it; if the Church shall not now take up this ground, I shall begin to despair of the good cause, so far at least as that cause is identified, as I believe it is, and ever will be, with the Church of our fathers, which maintained it in ages gone by. The question, as I have said, has been delayed at least for one year, yet I cannot but remember that, if it had been carried last year, it would have seemed to be carried by the dogged efforts of a section of the Assembly, by the obstinacy of a few extreme hot-headed men; whereas now, we shall have leading this movement not the raw youth of the Church but the venerable Professor of Theology. We shall have Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Gordon cordially leading on the anti-Patronage movement, and doing so avowedly on the ground that they have been led in the course of God's providence to do so; for so it clearly appears to the judgment of those wise and devout men, who rightly interpret both the Word and the providence of God; so that the work is not our's but the Lord's, and the glory shall be all His own."

From the following letter to Mr. Dunlop, dated 11th April, it appears that there was some risk of a division in the coming Assembly as to Dr. Welsh being Moderator, and some uneasiness as to a bill on the Church question, introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Campbell of Monzie. Dr. Candlish says—

"I understood when I wrote, that Cunningham, who thought the difficulty serious, was to see you on Friday, and to discuss it with you.

Otherwise, I would not have written about the matter. Now that the public notice has been given, we had better wait a little to see if the Moderates raise an outcry. If they say nothing, and give us no intimation of an intention to oppose, nothing on our part need be done. If they indicate a purpose to make a row, we can then consider what should be done. I have no objection to your last proposal. The decision in Lee's case clearly covers Dr. Welsh. I heartily wish these bugbears of form were out of the way.

"As to Monzie, you must really moderate your wrath. I think you are too jealous of him. Bating a little Highland pawkiness, he seems really in earnest, and I don't see what sinister object he can well have at present. But be that as it may, we must not treat him as an enemy. I quite agree with you that we should not make ourselves at all responsible either for his movement or for approving of it. Let it be represented as entirely his own doing. Buchanan agrees in this. But we must not denounce the movement, or appear suspicious of it, or of its author. It is, *ex facie*, a friendly act. We may watch it; but surely we must give Monzie some little credit as at least a professed friend. With his knowledge of Hamilton's mind, and indeed of what we all thought, namely, that his introducing a bill would be good, if it were over before the Assembly, I don't see that he has acted so very wilfully. As to what our friends Maule and Rutherford should do, there is considerable difficulty. Surely they might get Monzie to agree either to press the second reading or to withdraw the bill before the Assembly. They might make some such terms with him, and then they would have no difficulty. Monzie seems willing to do this. I am sorry, I confess, that Maule should have refused to go along with him. That would have kept all right, as Maule could have insisted on having it all over in good time. Perhaps he may succeed in this still."

On the 7th May he wrote to Mr. John Hamilton, then in London with Dr. R. Buchanan, evidently in considerable alarm as to the attitude of the Government—

"I scarcely know what to say of all this mystification. I fear the very worst. In spite of all Buchanan's very private information, and your concurrence in his opinion, I have not the slightest doubt that it will all turn out to be, if not a trick, at least an entire misunderstanding; a new edition of the old game at cross purposes. After all, it is merely Sir Robert Peel's acquiescence in a certain interpretation of Sir George's (Sinclair's) clause. What possible security is that to us? Is it not quite plain that, instead of moving towards us, Government are calculating on a movement towards them? It is truly deplorable. And the worst of it is that a London Court atmosphere seems to lull to sleep our vigilance. How intolerable is this revival of a wretched measure of ambiguous meaning, at the very time our cause was manifestly making progress. And that we should owe this to traitors and renegades like Simpson and his crew is truly disgusting. But I must keep my temper. I look for nothing now but the breaking up of our party—our Church dishonoured—a shuffling settlement forced on us—our character gone—our people alienated, and the battle of principle in our hands basely lost. We shall have verbal quibbling—pitiful casuistry—special pleading, and nice interpretations in abundance. It is most disastrous. But it will be overruled for good; and surely a testifying remnant, however small, will be found faithful. I confess I see nothing now before us but expulsion or secession. Still we must put a good face on it to the last. My only hope is in the Government measure being obviously bad enough. It does seem most amazing that, after what has passed, you should still give the Government credit for being willing to concede the *liberum arbitrium*, or any form of non-intrusion. They may say much in a general way, privately. But really to ask us to believe that they mean to give a bill, containing in *express terms* what Buchanan says (and of what use is a mere understanding?), does seem too much in the face of Graham's (Sir James), and all their other proceedings.

"I do hope that you and Buchanan are giving no countenance to this revival of Sir George's defunct negotiations, and that you are not reviving any confidence in Government among our friends in Scotland. I think the *Witness* avoids anything needlessly offensive. When you come down let Buchanan also come to Edinburgh for consultation."

Three days after this letter was written the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale met, and Dr. Candlish proposed an overture to the General Assembly on the state of the Church, and adverted to a movement which had originated in the west of Scotland, notorious afterwards as the movement of the *forty*, that being the number of ministers who subscribed the proposal. Dr. Candlish said—

"In introducing this overture, I have this difficulty to contend with, that, in discussing the question which it brings before the House, a great many vague surmises and doubtful interpretations, founded on private letters or personal information, may be thrown in the way of the Synod and the Church, in this the most difficult crisis, in my opinion, of her affairs which has ever yet come upon her ; and therefore I must say at the outset that I intend, so far as this motion is concerned, to deal in no vague or doubtful surmises—no interpretations which rest on private information—no confidential letters, but on public and avowed resolutions, published either on the one side or the other. I think it necessary to premise this, though I am compelled to admit that there are some vague rumours afloat, which, in my opinion, are most dangerous snares and pitfalls put in the way of the Church of our fathers, and for deliverance from which my only confidence is not in the wisdom of man, but in the gracious promise of Him who has given His assurance that He will deliver from the snare of the fowler. I have no fear of the ultimate issue of the question, whether that shall be in favour of the Church's mode of settlement, or whether it shall compel us to forego for a time the advantages of an Establishment ; yet I have no fear if we are to deal with that which is plain, and palpable, and above board. We then understand exactly where we are, and let us be tried, as we may be called upon to be tried ; let us suffer, as we shall be called upon to suffer ; we shall endure the suffering and the trial with our integrity and honour unstained. But I have great fear lest unaware we may be betrayed into unwarrantable concessions, and find ourselves involved in unjustifiable entanglements, if we are to be met at every turn by vague surmises and insinuations, by vague and doubtful interpretations which rest upon no official authority, but from their currency mislead some of our friends, and may mislead us all into some false step.

"I admit that when we reject a godly and unexceptionable presentee there is a wrong committed. I have no wish to deny that, though I certainly would not admit it altogether without qualification ; for I can conceive a case of a Presbytery and a people both being justified in rejecting a godly and unexceptionable presentee on grounds altogether apart from his personal qualifications. Still, the principle of non-intrusion lies here, that whatever may be the offence and the wrong of rejecting a presentee, the onus of that lies wholly with the people. To say that there is as great a wrong in the Presbytery deferring to the decided opposition of the people in rejecting a godly and unexceptionable presentee, as it is to settle a presentee in the face of their conscientious opposition, is grievously to misapprehend the very nature and meaning of the non-intrusion principle. It is to confound what non-intrusion lays upon the people—the responsibility of saying whether they will or will not receive the presentee, with the duty of the Presbytery to disclaim the responsibility of forcing upon them a minister contrary to their will.

"I have something to say in regard to those who have proceeded in this matter,—not certainly altogether, on this occasion, in the usual way of managing the Church's affairs, which have always been managed hitherto either in the Church Courts or through a Committee of the Assembly specially appointed for the purpose ; but these parties have proceeded in a way of their own. I trust I shall not say anything unnecessarily offensive, but I pray the Synod to observe the position in which these friends have placed themselves and the Church. I am willing to believe that they have acted in the manner they have done without being aware of the exact bearings of what they were doing. But see what the proceedings have been. Suddenly, at a meeting of a Synod in the West, a document is produced and read, purporting to be a declaration on the part of certain members of this Church, some of whom we have been accustomed to regard as at one with us on the Church question, and transmitted by them to Her Majesty's Government. I do not dispute the right of any person in this country—be he minister or not—to communicate his views on any subject to the Government. It is the right and the privilege of all in the Church and in the country to communicate to the Government views which they believe to have regard to the public interest ; but I take the liberty of saying that, in a somewhat difficult and delicate negotiation, involving considerations sufficiently embarrassing, which the Church had solemnly committed to a number of her members specially appointed for this purpose, — it indicates something like an overweening confidence in one's own discretion to undertake the management of these affairs without the consent or concurrence, and even without the knowledge, of the very body to whom the Church had committed it ; and this not by those who have all along avowedly opposed our principles, but by some of those who have declared their adherence to our principles. But apart from that, and I admit the full right of individuals to do their utmost for the settlement of the question, I crave the Synod to attend to what it is our brethren have done. Here is a plan for the settlement of the question, declared by the official organ of the Church in this matter, and by other Church Courts to be inadmissible in principle, which our friends have been actually striving to bring again upon the carpet, when it appeared to have been wholly conveyed to the oblivion in which it ought to have been left. I know it will be said that our friends had no intention of inviting a renewal of the negotiations on a footing which would compel their fathers and brethren to leave the Church. I do not accuse them of that. I allow them to put their own construction on their own measure, as involving really what they thought might prove satisfactory to the consciences even of the most scrupulous. Be it so. I ask what is the position in which our brethren would have placed us in reference to the only kind of settlement really desirable,—a settlement not on a footing which would exonerate men's consciences, but on a footing which would bring glory to God, and good to the Church? I hold that the question, What will the Church submit to? is one which she ought not to answer till she is compelled to answer. She is bound to go forward demanding the full measure of justice which the Word of God requires; and the Church was in the attitude of doing so when this pitiful manœuvre—this pitiful negotiation—comes across our path, and threatens us again with distracted counsel, that may lead us to consequences, at the thought of which I tremble. The Church was, at this time, while this poor negotiation on this minimum measure was renewed, not by the Government,—for, mark, Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham are careful to tell us, that the renewal of the negotiations was not of their seeking,—that it was courted from Scotland, and courted by men of whom they spoke as conceding something,—I say, at the time these negotiations were renewed, what was the Church doing? She was maintaining her standards unimpaired and unimpeached, and she was maintaining an attitude which became her, happen what might. In these circumstances, when the Church had just scarcely been delivered from the shoals and quicksands of doubtful negotiations, depending on doubtful constructions and interpretations of doubtful clauses,—from negotiations which, even if successful, would have been creditable to no Government, and honourable to none; when the Church had again escaped into a clear field, and had declared to the Government her principles in a way which could not be misunderstood,—in these circumstances, when an advance of this very peculiar kind was made, neither by the Church nor the Government, but by the agency of individuals unauthorised by the Church, I say it without a desire of imputing motives, that these men were betraying the Church into the hands of her enemies. I must use strong language here. At the close of the negotiations which, thanks to the sagacity of the venerable Moderator of this Assembly, thanks to his undoubted strength of character and highminded principles, so clearly brought out our views, that not even Sir James Graham himself could misunderstand them; in these circumstances it was surely the duty of the Church, and of all who loved the Church and the principles for which she was contending, to go forward in a steadfast course—and to wait and see whether Sir James Graham and the Government, now that the principle was at last made palpable to them, would really admit it or no. But what did our friends do? Even giving them credit for supposing that they construed the clause in question in such a way as we might submit to it—though what avails *their construction* of a doubtful and ambiguous phraseology?—they have renewed the negotiations on the very lowest and most unsatisfactory ground,—a ground scarcely, if at all, tolerable, and by so doing they have come across the second reading of the very measure which had secured the sanction of the Supreme Court of the Church. This is the fruit of their negotiations. Is this the attitude which the Church should occupy at this late stage of the contest, in which not only the interests of the Church of our fathers, but the honour of her great Head and the liberties of His people are involved? Is this an attitude in which she should again be placed? Why should they again bring down upon us a measure to which we might barely and by possibility submit, when we were in the attitude of seeking a settlement which would be honourable to God and safe and satisfactory to the people of Scotland? I have further to say on this point, that it does not appear to me, and I believe it will not appear to the Synod, that there is any evidence which can be relied on that the Government will concede such a measure as our friends think is imported in Sir George Sinclair's clause. There may be a hundred surmises abroad, and before tomorrow morning we may have a communication from Sir James Graham circulated amongst us, stating that he does not object to such an interpretation of this clause. But is it proposed by the Government distinctly and definitely to concede a measure which will recognise our principles as explained by the Committee? Is there any evidence that the Government will introduce, not Sir George Sinclair's clause, but the very words which Dr. Gordon put as defining the least possible measure which we could take? So far from that, we have a direct declaration on the part of the Home Secretary, of the principles on which he would settle our affairs, of a nature identical with those held by the minority in the Church who are opposed to the principle of non-intrusion. These principles are plain and explicit; and I must say that I heartily rejoice the subject is now brought above-board, and that the subject is brought before the Church Courts, and will speedily be discussed before our highest judicature. I rejoice in this. I fear little for any open discussion of any plan which the Government may propose; and in this overture I do not ask the Synod, or the Assembly, to condemn any measure which may be proposed by the Government. Let the Government table their measure. Why have they not yet done so? Why has Sir James Graham not declared what the measure is, which he is not to table till six weeks, perhaps, are nearly expired? I do not wish to impute motives; but there is a convenient purpose which policy like this may serve. They would have no difficulty in at once tabling their measure, if it were an honest measure of non-intrusion. They have had communicated to them the principles of NON-INTRUSION in the clearest possible shape, as they were sent to them by the Committee entrusted with that business. They have had communicated to them what the Committee held as the lowest possible form of non-intrusion. Where lay the difficulty, on the part of the Government, of simply saying, We mean to concede that principle as you have succeeded in making it at last intelligible to us? Where would be the difficulty? Nowhere, except in the advantage of keeping the Church in suspense and in doubt, so as, if it were possible, to break up the majority of the Church in detail, and get the Church to stoop to take an inadequate and a meagre settlement.

"I entertain, from the turn things have recently taken, the most gloomy forebodings. I have often had occasion, in the course of this controversy, to contemplate the worst possible issue, so far as man can see, the dismembering the Church of our fathers, and the expulsion of many of her office-bearers and people. Now, when it plainly and manifestly appears that at last, and better late than never, statesmen begin to see that this is not a subject to be trifled with,—when it is avowed that it would be a proud thing for any statesman to have the honour of settling this distracted question; and when, thanks not to our forty friends, thanks to the firmness and uncompromising attitude of the Church, the Government is brought, at the last hour, to say that they will take the matter up and give us peace,—at this crisis I hope the Church of our fathers, before she consents to traffic and palter with doubtful terms, and listen to such ambiguous voices as wily statesmen may find it convenient to scatter, will remember that she is the Church of the living God, entrusted with the honour of her great Head,—that she is placed in her position to defend the liberties of Christ's people, and that she can consent to no compromise, to no doubtful measure, to no evasion in principle, without doing that which may save her, indeed, from temporary destruction, but which will only leave her distracted and dishonoured,—a useless thing among the people. I trust that the Church will assume her ancient position, and go forward in her career of duty, and that she will listen to no overture which does not proceed on the ground of maintaining those principles in regard to which she is solemnly pledged before God and man."

CHAPTER VIII.

General Assembly 1842—Repeal of Act 1799—Superintendence of students—Abolition of Patronage—English Presbyterian Church—Censure for communion with deposed ministers of Strathbogie—Non-intrusion Committee—Appointment of a day of humiliation—Bill of Mr. Campbell of Monzie—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Ordination at Stewarton—Meeting at Aberdeen—Chartists—Decision of House of Lords in Auchterarder case—Call at Ratho—Speech—Preparations for the Convocation—Memorial to Government.

THE General Assembly 1842 is especially memorable for two things. It renewed the protest which the Church had long maintained against Patronage; and it adopted the Claim of Right—a representation to the Legislature and to the country at large of the liberties which had been guaranteed to the Church as an Establishment by various Acts of Parliament. Besides these, however, the Assembly was called upon to transact much business of abiding interest, and Dr. Candlish took an active part in all its deliberations.

He spoke in support of a motion of Dr. Cunningham for the repeal of the Act of Assembly 1799, which prohibited ministers from admitting to their pulpits any who were not qualified to be admitted as ministers of the Church. He said—

"The effect of its repeal would be to place our ministers in the precise position which they occupied before the Act 1799 was passed. If the liberty which the adoption of this motion would grant them were abused, it would then be time enough to make regulations and restrictions, but he did not see the necessity of making these just now, as he did not anticipate any evil consequences from the measure at all. He was not aware that the Act 1799 was passed because of such abuses having become prevalent. It was, on the contrary, notorious that that Act was passed for the very purpose of excluding from the pulpits of the Church men whom it would have been an honour to any Church to employ in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ. In passing that Act he held that the Church of Scotland had isolated herself from the communion of saints ; so far as the present world was concerned, had proclaimed herself to the world as a sect, and had separated herself from all the other Churches of Christendom."

On the subject of the religious superintendence of students he advocated the duty of the Church "to have at each of the University cities a minister whose sole charge is to be to oversee the conduct and impart religious instruction to the youths at college, whose parents and guardians may put them under his charge."

He supported the motion of Dr. Cunningham for the abolition of Patronage, which was introduced by a speech which those who heard it can never forget. The motion was carried by a majority of 69 in a very full House, the numbers voting being 215 to 146.

Dr. Candlish addressed himself particularly to rebut the arguments which had been adduced against the motion in the course of the protracted discussion. At the conclusion of his speech he said—

"I protest against being influenced in the decision of this question by the mere thought of how it may influence any measure supposed to be in embryo, though not decided upon. We agitated this question last year when we had a measure on our table in which we were prepared cordially to concur ; and we would argue the question now though we had a measure lying on our table from Government as satisfactory as that of Mr. Campbell. We are discussing the question of Patronage with no Government measure whatever before us ; and we never could be in circumstances to discuss it with less suspicion of an intention to run counter to a Government measure, the magnanimity of which has been spoken of. I must say that, speaking as I do in this your Assembly, on the right of Patronage, I deem it unworthy of any Government to call that magnanimity which would be unworthy of the freedom of debate and the liberty of the subject. Is it to be called magnanimity in a Government minister that he, having friendly intentions towards a great national institution, being prepared to bring in a measure to settle her dissensions, does not draw back from these friendly intentions because, in the free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, utterance is given to our sentiments on this subject?"

The Assembly having received a deputation from the English Presbyterian Synod, Dr. Candlish said—

"I have to propose a resolution acknowledging the high sense we entertain of the expressions of sympathy conveyed to us by our English brethren, and the deep interest they take in the affairs of this Church, and also the high sense which we entertain of the value to both Churches of this reciprocal intercourse. I warmly re-echo the sentiments of my reverend father who preceded me in regard to the importance of the Presbyterian Church which our brethren represent, assuming out and out the character of an Anglican Church, and not longer remaining a mere pendicle of the Church of Scotland. When a proposal for a more intimate connection between our brethren in England and the Church at home was made by me before the Assembly some years ago, there were many of our brethren in England who were hostile to this view. They seemed to have a hankering after a sort of fancied respectability which they received from being a part and parcel of an Established Church; but I rejoice to think that the Assembly, while responding to the desire of fellowship between the Church at home and our brethren in England, did not accede to that view of the footing on which it should be placed; for I apprehend that the respectability and usefulness of that body in England, instead of being increased, would have been compromised by their standing as a mere foreign pendicle of an Established Church. To me the other position is far more attractive and noble, when they are unendowed and unestablished, but yet an independent Presbyterian Church, standing by themselves, apart from all other Churches, saving only in so far as, in the true catholic spirit, they cultivate brotherly love with all the Churches throughout the world who hold the Head, even Christ. I think our brethren in England should drop the phrase "in connection with the Church of Scotland." Not that they should cease to have that connection; I desire to have such a connection perpetuated; but that they should not hold themselves as in any other sense connected with the Church of Scotland than do the Presbyterian Church of

Ireland, the Presbyterian Church of America, and all other Presbyterian Churches throughout the world."

Notice has previously been taken of the conduct of certain ministers who had held communion with the deposed ministers of Strathbogie, and thereby had disregarded the solemn sentence of the Church, and treated it as null and void. These ministers, having been cited, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and Dr. Candlish moved the judgment of the House. He said—

"I shall have credit for sincerity when I say that I have undertaken the opening of this business in the Assembly with a due sense of the solemnity and responsibility of the task. I had expected, and should have hoped, that our brethren at the bar would have put the Assembly more fully in possession of their views on the precise question now before the Assembly, namely, whether the course they were alleged to have followed, and which they have now acknowledged at our bar, is or is not censurable according to the laws of the Church? I shall begin what I have to say with at once mentioning that any motion with which I may conclude will be limited to this precise question,—whether the conduct of our brethren is in itself censurable or not, according to the laws of the Church; and that I shall reserve for after consideration the steps which ought to be taken, should the General Assembly be of opinion that that conduct is censurable, in the way of further dealing with our brethren at the bar; and, above all, in the way of determining what precise kind and amount of censure ought to be inflicted for those offences that have been committed. The discussion, in the first instance, I entreat the Assembly to bear in mind, is to be viewed as an abstract discussion; and I am glad that the question comes before the Assembly, in the first instance, in such a shape as this, namely, that the question before us will rather involve the discussion of great principles than any matters mixed up with the particular individuals at the bar. What may be the course of conduct incumbent on the Church in reference to our brethren who have appeared at the bar, is matter of after consideration; but, in the meantime, we are discussing a question simply of constitutional law, as to whether the conduct of these brethren is or is not censurable. I think this consideration will give to any discussion that may take place a certain tone of calmness which might otherwise have been disturbed, and that we shall be enabled to consider the question very much as we might consider an abstract point raised for our deliberation in regard to the duty of individual ministers in obedience to the authority of the Church."

Having adverted to the difference between the case of these ministers and those who had been deposed, he continued—

"Viewed in this light, what is the construction that may be put upon the act committed by our brethren at the bar? What does it imply? It implies this, and nothing more, that they have disregarded a solemn sentence of the Assembly pronounced in a case of discipline; in short, the offence of contumacy. No doubt it may be fair enough in argument, and in remonstrating with these our brethren, to endeavour to point out to the world, and above all to them, what we think is fairly implied in their conduct by construction, and what inferences may be drawn from it; but that is a different thing from putting upon their conduct the utmost latitude of interpretation we might be warranted to give to it, such as is analogous to what is known in criminal law under the phrase of constructive treason. There were formerly certain things which used to be held to imply constructive treason against the supreme power in the State, but which yet did not in themselves amount to the levying of war or other treasonable acts, but simply were held by fair construction to involve the treason. I need not remind the Assembly that the charging the offence of constructive treason has been regarded as the height of tyranny, from which the people of this country are now happily delivered; that now the charge of constructive treason is unknown; that it is not enough to say of a man that he has done something fairly to imply the guilt of treason, unless directly a treasonable act is committed by him against the State. Viewed legally, it may seem to imply the character of guilt of treason,—to homologate the guilt of treason, while yet it would be oppressive and tyrannical to deal with it according to that implication. The offence must be regarded as it is in itself, and not in the light of the construction that may be fairly put upon it. Our brethren at the bar have not been in a position in which they could possibly commit the same offence with the ministers of Strathbogie. A man might be in a position in which he could not commit the crime of treason, and yet he might manifest great sympathy with traitors, and have a desire to give them the right hand of fellowship. To put upon that, however, the construction of its implying treason, will not place him in a position to commit the treason, and would not be a fair mode of procedure towards him. Now it is the same in this case. Our brethren at the bar have not a sentence of the Assembly directed personally against them, and involving suspension from any of their functions, which, in spite of that sentence, they have continued to exercise. Neither have they at all gone the length of calling upon the Civil Courts to interfere in their own behalf, or in behalf of others, in the way of resisting the progress of ecclesiastical censure; so that they have not been in a position in which they could possibly commit these offences. They have manifested sympathy with the rebels against the authority of the Church, and, with all submission, rebels against a higher authority still; they have shown a great deal of sympathy with them, and of desire to give them the right hand of fellowship, and therefore gone to the very verge of what is consistent with a due regard to the authority of the Church; but all that admitted, they have not been in circumstances to commit precisely the same offence, and therefore their offence is not in the same category with that for which the ministers of Strathbogie were deposed. In short, to return to the point, the offence has been acknowledged by our brethren, as the offence of contumacy, and nothing more; and it does not necessarily involve more. It may be that we may be compelled ultimately to have, from the course of public proceedings on their part, to apply the very worst construction to what they have done which the offence itself could possibly warrant. They may have intended to homologate all that the Strathbogie ministers have done, and may show by their subsequent conduct that they had so intended it; but we have not that before us now, and we are not called upon to take it into consideration. It is on the ground of the offence charged against our brethren, and which they have acknowledged as the offence of contumacy, or of disregard of the authority of the Supreme Court, that we may conclusively proceed against all parties so situated in a summary manner. This may be found necessary for the integrity of our authority, and our defence against inroads upon it. It is a general principle, applicable to all bodies self-governed, that the offence of contumacy must be more summarily disposed of than other offences, and for this good reason, that the offence itself so directly calls in question the authority of the body that, for its own defence and vindication, it is compelled to have recourse to instant procedure. It is a general principle, applicable to all bodies, that they are entitled to do whatsoever is necessary for the vindication of their own authority, and to do it promptly. And it is on this principle that Courts of Law summarily punish contumacy; and, on the same principle, it is competent to the Assembly to punish the offence, especially when that contumacy is connected with the encouragement of schismatic and divisive courses. The justification of immediate procedure, and the necessity of it, become more palpably apparent when the offence is not only a setting at nought the ecclesiastical authority in this Church, but directly leading to the rending of this Church asunder, and to leave her a prey to those very divisions against which we are all sworn to protect her.

"Having thus explained the view I hold the Assembly may be called on to take of the fact which our brethren have acknowledged, the light in which it must necessarily be regarded, and the category in which it must be placed, as justifying summary procedure, I must advert to what I hold to be implied, even according to this limited view, in the offence itself. I am not disposed to view it as a light offence. I need not tell this Assembly that it stands on a distinct footing altogether from the act of those who have been guilty of preaching in their parishes to the encouragement of ecclesiastical disorders, but by no means implying the holding of communion with the deposed ministers, as the act now acknowledged by our brethren at the bar undoubtedly does; and they cannot but think, in all the circumstances of the case, that it is an act of serious responsibility. I must repeat what I have often said before, that after all the explanations our brethren have given us, I cannot see what obligations they were under to violate so frequently the authority of the General Assembly of this Church. I can easily see various strong motives, most of them highly honourable, which might induce our brethren at the bar to take this step, and which might make them feel that they could not, in the circumstances, do otherwise; but surely to justify a direct act of disobedience and disregard of the solemn sentence of deposition, something more is needed than the existence of a motive, in many points of view, perhaps, honourable and commendable. Surely there must be lying upon the individual a direct religious obligation of stronger force than the religious obligation which binds to obedience to the authority of the Church. Let it be remembered that every minister of this Church confessedly lies under a solemn obligation, ratified and confirmed by a vow, to submit to the supreme authority of the Church; and surely the obedience which he owes, in virtue of that obligation, to the supreme authority of the Church, cannot possibly be set aside except by pleading another obligation equally direct, equally religious, equally imperative and indispensable. Neither will it do to dwell on various considerations of honour and feeling, or even of a religious nature, that may account for the act having been committed. It is incumbent on those who did it to make out clearly and fully the exact obligation lying on them. To take the illustration of the parental relation; beyond all doubt disregard of the parental authority cannot possibly be vindicated by any considerations arising merely out of the way in which that authority is exercised; neither can it be vindicated merely on a sort of feeling that it is incompetent, because our sympathy has been excited in favour of those whom such parental authority has treated too severely; but even if the parental authority should, in the case of others, have been stretched beyond its competent limits and with undue harshness, will that be a vindication of me in disregarding that authority so long as it is not brought to bear incompetently against myself? Our brethren at the bar plead their disobedience to the sentence of this Assembly not on the ground of its being an unjust sentence—a hard and oppressive sentence. They could not constitutionally urge any such plea as this. It is not that it is harsh or oppressive that they do so; but they rest their defence on the ground that the sentence is incompetent. Even if it be admitted, however, to have been incompetent, that incompetency in reference to others will not justify them, when it is not brought to bear against themselves. There is another defence which has been made on the part of some. The breach which has been committed is put upon the ground that the sentence of the General Assembly being a violation of the compact between Church and State, and being an exercise of authority beyond its powers, the same is null and void, and has no existence. Now, it seems to me that this dealing with the case is somewhat summary; for if the authority, which they admit they are bound to obey, has performed an act which in their judgment is wrong, incompetent, and a breach of contract, and sinful, the brethren get rid of it by assuming that this act of the Church is to be held as never having been performed at all. If I am ordered by my lawful superior to do a thing which is contrary to law, there is then laid upon me the obligation of determining, as a question of conscience, what I am to do, when the authority to which I am lawfully subject has exercised such power; and I am not at liberty to shift from myself the responsibility of that position, by assuming that the thing itself being wrong, incompetent, or sinful, is not done at all. This thing is deliberately done by the Church; it cannot be recalled, and is now existent. There it stands, and there it must stand, whether it be a breach of contract, whether it be sinful or incompetent, or however

> bad it be. This question is not to be disposed of by believing or assuming on the part of any one that the act of the Church is altogether obliterated. Still it is my lawful superior who has done it, and though it may lay open the question whether I shall rebel or go forth, I must still entertain the question, the thing being done by an authority to which I am subject. I am not to get rid of it by assuming that they never did it at all, else I would get rid of all conscientious obligation whatever, even though it should be in cases of controversy between God and man."

Dr. Candlish concluded by moving the appointment of a Committee to deal with the ministers at the bar, and to report to the Assembly on the Monday following; and, when the report was brought up on that day, he spoke in support of the motion proposed by Dr. Makellar—That these ministers should be suspended from the exercise of their judicial functions as members of Presbyteries and all other judicatories of the Church till the first Wednesday of March next. This motion was passed without a division.

When the report of the non-intrusion Committee was given in by Dr. Gordon, Dr. Candlish proposed that, instead of reappointing the non-intrusion Committee, they should appoint a new special Commission. He said—

> "I propose that the instructions given to the Committee should be somewhat general—that they should consist of a general intimation that they are to be guided in all their proceedings by the terms of the several deliverances of the General Assembly on that head. Upon this subject I take it that there are three deliverances of the Assembly, which it will be essential for the special Commission to have in view. The first of these deliverances is that one in the carrying of which I specially rejoice, and which will give joy and gladness to the hearts of all our friends,—I mean the deliverance of Monday night, marking the mind of this Church, that Patronage should be abolished. The second deliverance which this special Commission will have to look to is the important one of Tuesday night, asserting the independence of the Church in her spiritual jurisdiction, as exclusive of the interference of the Civil Courts. The third deliverance which must be kept in mind by the special Commission will be that which, I trust, the General

Assembly will now come to—a general approval of the non-intrusion Committee's report. With these three deliverances in their eye, their instructions will, I think, be sufficiently explicit. One word as to the last of these deliverances, which I anticipate will be passed to-day, approving generally of the Committee's report. In such a deliverance I would hold these two things to be involved; first, a declaration that a settlement on the footing of the Duke of Argyll's bill, or something substantially equivalent, is the only settlement we can point to as in the slightest degree an adequate settlement. The other thing involved in the deliverance I propose is the explicit and express condemnation of any legislative measure founded on the plan of the *liberum arbitrium.*

"I need scarcely refer to the debt of obligation under which the Church lies to the Duke of Argyll. I need not refer to what the Assembly acknowledged last year, the obligations we lie under to his Grace for the bill he introduced in the House of Lords; but it cannot be so fully known to the Assembly as to the members of the non-intrusion Committee to what extent the Church is indebted to the Duke of Argyll, far beyond his public act, which alone has appeared in the newspapers of the day. We can speak to the disinterested, and zealous, and devoted labours of his Grace, both privately and publicly, in obtaining and giving information, getting us access to the ears of influential men, and in various ways, but for which we would not have had the advantage of making our cause known in high places. And I cannot pass from this topic without acknowledging the debt of gratitude under which this Assembly lies to another member of the House of Argyll—to a scion of that House, who, yet scarcely at the years of maturity, has put forth one of the best vindications of the Church in our day. The indefatigable energy of that young nobleman in availing himself of his access to the peers of the realm, in diffusing among his peers all the information in his power, whether by conversation or otherwise, and his many and arduous exertions in our cause, cannot be fully known to this Assembly; but they are equally deserving of the gratitude of the Church, with the public service he has rendered us as a 'peer's son.'"

On the same day Dr. Candlish gave in a report on Correspondence with Foreign Churches, and proposed the approval of a memorial for a general concert for prayer. On the evening also of that day he gave in a report on Sabbath Observance, and proposed "that the General Assembly appoint Thursday, the 21st day of July next, to be observed as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer with respect to the distress of the country, and the destitution which exists among the working classes, and that the concurrence of other bodies of Christians be invited in carrying out the object in view; and that the Moderator be instructed to prepare a pastoral address on the subject, to be read from all the pulpits of the Church."

The non-intrusion bill which had been introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Campbell of Monzie stood for a second reading on the 15th June, and everybody was expecting a thorough discussion of the subject which was agitating all Scotland. The objection to proceeding with the bill, however, was raised, that it required the sanction of the Crown, as it affected the Patronage which the Crown held and exercised. Dr. Candlish was in London waiting the discussion, and holding interviews with members about the bill, and on the same day wrote Mr. Dunlop as to what had occurred—

"You will see from the newspapers the new and strange turn of affairs. The secret and real history it is impossible to conjecture. We went down to the House quite secure of a good discussion, when this sudden difficulty was started about the Queen's prerogative. It seems to have taken all parties by surprise. Principal M'Farlane was apparently as much taken aback as we were. It seems he saw Sir James Graham to-day, and Sir James told him a great deal of what he meant to say, I suppose vastly satisfactory to the Principal. Whether Sir James was humbugging him or not does not appear. But of the interview he told John Hunter, from whom we heard it. Of course the question occurs, Why did not this objection occur in the Lords, or at the first reading, or six weeks ago, when, on another ground, the Government got the question postponed? The whole thing is very pitiful. It looks like a shuffle at the last hour to get rid of the question and burke the discussion, which might have been troublesome to Peel. The chief practical evil is the loss of Rutherfurd's speech. That he should have done so signal a service as to come up, and then that it should turn out in vain, is very vexatious. We cannot be sufficiently sensible of our obligation to him. Maule has given notice of a motion to address the Crown, and I fear there may be some crossing between him and Monzie, who, on this occasion, is not to blame, but quite the reverse. It may be matter of doubt whether the subject should be again brought forward at all this session. Certainly it is scarce worth while to move again, except for anti-Patronage, especially since the prerogative is pleaded, and it may be as well to get the Crown's consent to the whole as to a part of our demand being considered. Altogether this is a most uncomfortable issue, and makes us feel very foolish. However, I daresay it may turn to good in Scotland. I would be down on Friday, but unhappily I had previously engaged myself for Sunday, and also to address a meeting in Regent Square on Monday."

On the 14th July the special Commission appointed by the late Assemby met at Stewarton for the ordination of Mr. Arthur, in the new church erected there, and Dr. Candlish preached and presided. Previous to the commencement of the public service a messenger-at-arms served on the different members of the special Commission an interdict granted by the Lord Ordinary at the instance of one of the heritors, prohibiting them from proceeding to the duty they were sent to perform. Of course the interdict was disregarded, and the ordination proceeded. The step taken, however, had very important issues, and the Stewarton case became one of the leading causes which made the Disruption of the following year necessary. The Court of Session determined, when the case came before them, that the Church had no right to allocate parishes *quoad sacra*—to ordain ministers over them, and to invest these ministers with the right of exercising discipline in their congregations—of having Kirk-Sessions—or of sitting in Presbyteries or any superior Church Courts. This decision was not appealed against, as there was no civil interest involved. It necessarily affected the standing of many ministers, who, since the Assembly of 1833, had been admitted to Church Courts as ministers of parishes *quoad sacra;* and the Church had the alternative either of denuding such ministers of their function of ruling, or of renouncing its connection with the State.

On the 20th July Dr. Candlish wrote from Aberdeen to Mr. Dunlop—

> "I came here yesterday morning, and we had our Church meeting last night. It was in a church inconveniently small, and crowded to excess—ill ventilated, and ill lighted. A small body of Chartists were present. They did not seem disposed to make a row. I was well heard for an hour or so. When I was done, two of the leaders (Chartist) addressed the meeting on Brewster's case, etc. Thereafter the meeting got into confusion and broke up. Some of us then met to consider what was best to be done. I felt very strongly that we should take some instant method of encouraging our friends by another meeting, better arranged and more orderly. In this all concurred. It seemed most inexpedient to let the matter rest as it was last night; and if time were allowed to pass before another meeting was held our friends here might lose heart. I saw nothing for it but to make a sacrifice, and, instead of returning home to-day, to remain here till Friday. Mr. Longmuir, of the Mariners' Church, agreed at once to go south and officiate for me, and of course I preach here to-morrow. Then on Friday evening we propose to have our meeting called by a better advertisement, in a more roomy church, and with tickets. How this meeting may turn out I cannot anticipate; but I think it will do good, and, in the circumstances, I see no other way of doing our duty here to the Church and to the friends of the good cause."

About this period, and on till the time of the Disruption, Church meetings were constantly liable to be interrupted by Chartists, into whose minds the notion was instilled that the contest was for clerical power rather than for the liberties of the people. The Rev. P. Brewster, of Paisley, had avowed himself as a Chartist, and some of his statements were called in question in the Church Courts. The after meeting proposed by Dr. Candlish was held, and was addressed by him for two hours on the proceedings of the Assembly.

On the 9th August the House of Lords affirmed the judgment of the Court of Session in the Auchterarder case, finding the majority of the Presbytery liable in damages to the Earl of Kinnoul, the patron, and to Mr. Young, the presentee to the parish. The Commission of Assembly met on the following day, but it was too early to take any notice of that judgment, for there was then no telegraphic communication. Dr. Candlish addressed the Commission on a case remitted to them by the Assembly. In the Presbytery of Perth, of which Dr. Bryce was a member, he had refused to recognise as competent a decision in which ministers *quoad sacra* sat as members of Court. The Commission, on the motion of Dr. Cunningham, declared Dr. Bryce incapable of sitting in any of the Courts of the Church till he withdrew his declaration. Dr. Candlish said he could not understand how Dr. Bryce could continue a member of the Church Courts when he considered every one of them illegal—unless, indeed, he made an exception in favour of the immaculate Kirk-Session of Redgorton, or even the no less immaculate Kirk-Session of the Old Church of Edinburgh. (These were the Kirk-Sessions of which Dr. Bryce had been a member.) Dr. Candlish also spoke on the Education and Home Mission Schemes.

On the 15th August he wrote Mr. Dunlop—

> "I have been hunting after you in vain. I am very much impressed with the difficulty, in point of principle, of Presbyteries taking any steps, in the cases of settlements on presentations, without first consulting the Assembly, and also with the necessity of our making some immediate *practical* demonstration of the serious light in which we view the present state of the law. Hamilton and Julius Wood were with me this evening, and very much agreed. We have fixed to meet at your house this evening at eight, for further deliberation, especially in reference to what we should do on Thursday at Ratho. Wood is to bring Guthrie. Will you try to get Drs. Gordon, Clason, and Paul. It is really essential that we understand this question of present duty better."

The Presbytery of Edinburgh met at Ratho on the 18th to moderate in a call to Mr. Arnot. The call was numerously signed, and there were no dissents; but, on the ground of the recent decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, the Presbytery delayed proceeding towards a settlement. Mr. Paul proposed delaying to sustain the call till it had lain in the hands of the Kirk-Session to receive further signatures. The delay was agreed to, but not the reason for which it had been proposed. Dr. Candlish said—

"He could not agree to delay sustaining the call on the grounds which had been stated, or for the mere purpose of obtaining additional signatures to the call. The circumstances entitled the Presbytery to sustain a call which had been very numerously signed, no dissents at the same time being offered. He wished this to be distinctly understood. He should feel a difficulty in delaying, if it were to imply the slightest suspicion, that this call was not sufficiently signed; but the large attendance to-day was such as could scarcely have been anticipated at this time on a harvest day; the call, under the circumstances, might be considered as most numerously signed, and in the entire absence of dissents he would have thought it the duty of the Presbytery immediately to sustain the call, and take steps to complete the settlement of Mr. Arnot with all convenient speed. It was usual to sustain the call, and then allow it to lie in the hands of the session-clerk for additional signatures. That was what he should have deemed the proper course with reference to the interests of the presentee and the benefice. But there were peculiar circumstances to which he must advert, and which seemed to render delay advisable. He referred to the very peculiar circumstances in which the Church had been placed by the recent decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case. He referred to that as wholly changing the position in which the Church and its Presbyteries were placed in taking steps with respect to the law of Patronage. He did not propose at present to examine the grounds of that decision; but he must express in one sentence or two the bearing which that decision had on the position of this Presbytery, and every other, in taking steps with respect to the law of Patronage; and the matter was one for consideration, especially on the present occasion, as this was the first question affecting a settlement upon a presentation, which had come before any Presbytery since the decision had been pronounced.

"There were several views which might be taken of this judgment of the House of Lords as bearing upon the position of the Church, and of every Church Court, when called to take any step whatever in carrying out a settlement under the law of Patronage. Thus, in the first place, this was a decision of the Civil Court, to which, in no shape, could the Church render obedience—to which the Presbyteries of the Church could not render obedience. The former judgment in the Auchterarder case was one to which they could render obedience; because, for anything that appeared in that judgment, the decision might have been intended simply for the regulation of the judgment of the Civil Court with respect to the temporalities. The Church, therefore, declared that she should render obedience to that judgment, in that view of it, as a judgment finally determining the disposal of the temporalities of the benefice of Auchterarder. No doubt there were indications that the Civil Courts were about to stretch their powers beyond their just limits; but the judgment bore no more on the face of it than he had stated. This new decision, however, finding a Presbytery guilty of an offence or crime in civil law—liable in damages for rejecting a presentee on the dissent of a major part of the congregation, was a decision which in no sense whatever could they obey; for it was not obeying the decision to reject the presentee, and then to suffer the penalty. The amount of the judgment was that the Civil Courts had jurisdiction to lay down for the Church this particular rule for their authoritative guidance in the discharge of their spiritual functions of trying, ordaining, and admitting candidates for the ministry, that the dissent of a congregation was no sufficient reason for setting aside a presentee, and that these Courts had jurisdiction to compel Presbyteries to induct presentees to the cure of souls notwithstanding such dissent. It was not the mere terror of damages that created a difficulty as to the conduct of the Church. But here was a judgment of the Civil Court to which they could not yield obedience, which they were not called on, either by Scripture or constitutional principles, to obey. It was vain to say that if Presbyteries took presentees on trial the Civil Court will be satisfied. The Civil Court, in the late decision, said the dissent of the congregation must be entirely excluded. The Church could not go on upon these terms, they could not even appear to homologate such a decision by proceeding, just as usual, to act upon presentations, without guarding themselves in some way or other against misconstruction. They had now, for the first time, a judgment of the Supreme Civil Court determining the civil law in a way that they must disobey. It was reasonable to ask time for considering how they ought to proceed in cases of settlement under Patronage, when so grave a consequence was involved in their procedure; and the civil law was so interpreted that they could neither homologate nor submit to it.

"But there was another view which might be taken of this judgment. Not only was it a judgment of the Supreme Civil Court to which the Church could not yield obedience in any sense, but it was one which placed the Presbytery in a new and very peculiar position, namely, that they were going forward to discharge spiritual duties under civil liabilities, under a liability to civil pains and penalties. These were *de facto*—whether *de jure* or not—the liabilities which it was declared that they incurred. Now, he had no hesitation in saying that, in certain circumstances, it was the duty of the Church to go forward at the risk of whatever liabilities, in the shape of damages or otherwise. But this was a serious position for a Church of Christ to be placed in; and it demanded consideration how far it was either necessary or becoming for the Courts of the Church recognised and established by the State, to take any steps towards carrying out the law of Patronage, without demanding of the State freedom to do so, as the Constitution warrants, without this civil liability lying over them, which might be both dangerous to their integrity and dishonourable to their character.

"A third view which he took of this decision was, that it was a new interpretation of the law of Patronage. Hitherto he had been accustomed to say and feel that he could freely act under the law of Patronage, for this reason that while he was bound by that law to receive and admit presentees, he held himself free by this law to exercise his own judgment in receiving and admitting presentees, and, in particular, to give effect to the fundamental principle of the Church—that no pastor is to be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation,—subject to no other check on the part of the Civil Courts than their acknowledged right to dispose of the temporalities. He was free to obey the law of Patronage while that was the construction of the law; but the construction was now materially changed, so far as the decision of the Civil Courts could change it. For it appeared that he was not only bound to receive and admit according to his own sense of duty and of the constitution of the Church, but that the civil law gave the Civil Courts a direct control over him in that matter. This was a new view of patronage, and made it infinitely more grievous than before; while it raised a question as to whether the Church Courts should submit to patronage, even to the extent to which they had hitherto done, or should have anything whatever to do with presentations in any stage, while the civil law respecting the enforcing of them continues such as the House of Lords has interpreted it.

"These were the considerations which occurred to him as bearing on their position as a Presbytery and a Church under existing circumstances. This was the first Presbytery of the Church called on to act in such a matter as a settlement upon a presentation since the decision in question had been given. It was important, at the very outset, to state distinctly before the Church and the country in what position this decision recently pronounced placed them. It was intolerable, when they were anxious to fulfil all the conditions of our Establishment, as laid down in the Statute book,—it was too much that they should now be impeded by the unconstitutional interference of the Civil Courts. When the Church was fairly obstructed in the discharge of her duty by a judgment which placed her in so serious a position, —what might be the duty of the Church and of the Presbytery he was not prepared to say. He was not prepared to say what was the duty of this Presbytery and of the Church in this present case. He was not prepared to say whether the Presbytery should proceed to admit the presentee under the decision lately pronounced, with a solemn reference of the whole matter, as connected with that decision, to the Assembly, or whether it might not be the part of the Presbytery to stop short at once and refer the case to the General Assembly. What he meant to say was, that there was in this new position of the Church in which the Presbytery found themselves for the first time, and were the first to be placed, a strong call on them to do nothing hastily—to commit, prematurely, neither themselves nor the Church of which they were members."

At a special meeting of the Commission held at the end of August Dr. Candlish supported a motion by Dr. Makellar to address the Queen on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to Scotland, but without adverting to the circumstances of the Church, as Her Majesty's visit was not connected with State affairs. Dr. Candlish, however, said, "If we are not relieved from the law as interpreted by the House of Lords, it will break up the Establishment."

When the Presbytery of Edinburgh again met at Ratho, on the 6th September, in reference to the call to Mr. Arnot, Dr. Candlish moved a series of resolutions, which were adopted, to the effect that, while the Presbytery proceeded to act as hitherto under the law of Patronage, they should not be understood as acquiescing in the recent judgment of the House of Lords, or in any way homologating it, or consenting to act under it.

It appears from a letter written to Mr. Dunlop from Portpatrick that the idea of a Convocation, held in November following, was beginning now to take shape. The letter is dated 13th September. Dr. Candlish says—

"I am about to be busy here among the brethren, seeing and conferring with them. The more I think of it the more I like Chalmers' proposal. Do not leave town without getting it put in train. It will do a world of good to have it generally known among our friends immediately. It will keep them in heart, and keep them together. The circular must be prepared with some care. 1. It must make it quite clear that no change of tactics is intended. The new mode of calling it, which is admirable, and indeed essential, might lead to such a surmise if not duly guarded. The circular should embody a recognition and approval of what has been done, and a determination to abide by it. It should state expressly that the object of the meeting is to follow out the previous proceedings of the Church. 2. It must not seem as if it were intended to commit men who may come as to ulterior steps. The special purpose should be mentioned, namely, to consider in what way we can, in the meantime, and before the Parliament and the Assembly meet, most unequivocally and emphatically bring before the Church and Country, and Government and Legislature the absolute impossibility of our submitting to such decisions, and the inevitable tendency of affairs to a crisis, and may best prepare ourselves for it. Let our friends understand that the conference is not for finally making up our minds as to the particulars of our duty, in the event of relief being refused, but rather for making manifest the absolute necessity of immediate relief, and testifying to all parties as to that necessity. It might be well also, even in the circular, to advert to this idea that relief now is practically as easy for the Legislature to give as before, by a remedy of the particular grievances complained of, and that it will not long be so. 3. The urgency of the crisis,—the obvious bearing of the decision should be stated. 4. The provision about expenses and lodgings should be intimated. There should be no delicacy or hesitation about this.

"I am sure we would have a good gathering, and good results might be hoped. I have seen two of our friends who like the idea much. Probably, besides the old Moderators, one or two names would suffice. Do get this arranged. I am rather tired and confused to-day."

Again he writes to Mr. Dunlop on 30th September—

"You must make an effort to be at the meeting of the Special Commission on Tuesday, and, if possible, at a meeting of friends on Monday night, at nine o'clock, in 15 Queen Street. It is of the utmost consequence that you should be present. There is a question raised about resuming negotiations with Government, which all of us think most dangerous. It originates in the West, and it will require our most strenuous efforts to meet it, and to carry an early meeting of the proposed Convention. Cunningham and Hamilton unite in urging you to attend. Do not grudge the loss of two days of cutting trees."

On the 4th November he wrote to his early friend Mr. Urquhart of Portpatrick—

"When I got your note I was about to write you on the very subject to which it refers. I have been desired by the brethren in Edinburgh to request you to undertake the charge of bringing up all the brethren in the Synod of Galloway. We wish you, with any other in whom you have confidence, to see, if possible, every man in the Synod on our side, or if not, at least to correspond with him, urging the importance of his being at his post, and combating the arguments likely to be used for staying at home. Press the consideration that this is a vital step which cannot be repeated, and that no adherence by letter or otherwise can make up for personal attendance. In short, see and reason with every man as to the absolute duty of coming up. Of course you may do this in the name of the requisitionists and other friends, and as authorised and requested by them. Set about it *instanter*. You stay with us at the Convocation."

The stated meeting of the Commission of Assembly was held on the 16th November, and on that day Dr. Candlish, as Convener of a Committee on the commemoration of the Westminster Assembly, submitted an interim report of what was proposed to be done when the bicentenary meeting projected should be held in July next year. He also gave a short report of the Colonial Committee.

At the evening meeting he spoke at length in support of a motion to prepare a memorial to Government, stating the Church's grievances, and demanding redress—to represent to the Government that recent decisions render more necessary an answer to the Claim of Rights which was sent up by last Assembly. He said—

"I confess that if we were sure upon the question whether the recent proceedings of the Civil Courts imposed upon the Church the necessity of taking some new step, and, if so, what that step must be—I confess that such is the embarrassment of our position—such the unprecedented difficulties in which the Church is involved—that at the present moment there would be considerable difference of opinion, and considerable difficulty in our coming to a harmonious conclusion. I confess that so new to me is the question, so entirely has it come upon me by surprise, and so momentous are the issues depending upon my determination, so far as I am an individual member of the Church, and so difficult are all the questions involved in it, requiring us to review and revise our consideration of the very first principles of our Establishment, requiring us to enter into most perplexing questions of casuistry, that I, as an office-bearer of this Church, would shrink from committing myself prematurely to a deliberate opinion; and I rejoice that there is no necessity for this—that the Commission is not required at present to give a decision on this point, and that it may safely be left to the General Assembly to say what they are to do in the event of things remaining as they are. But this question is wholly distinct from this other question, What is our duty now—what is our right from respect to our constitution and our standing in the country—what is our duty to set forth to the State?

"It is of importance that we should explain that, in a well-ordered Church Establishment, we hold the independence of the Civil Magistrate as strongly as we hold the independence of the Church; and the independence of the Civil Magistrate, in all he is entitled to do *circa sacra*, as well as the independence of the Church in all she is entitled to do *in sacris*. It is of the utmost importance to understand this. The Church is not entitled to control or to resist him in the exercise of his duty. He is equally independent in all he does *circa sacra*, as the Church is independent in all she does *in sacris*. We hold that the Civil Magistrate is not only entitled generally to control all temporal matters, but that he has certain duties to discharge in reference to things spiritual—and we hold him to be entirely independent of the Church both in his general control of civil matters and in all questions he has to determine and settle *circa sacra.* For example, we are not entitled to compel the Magistrate to establish a Church according to our views; it rests with the Magistrate to say whether he will establish the Church or not, and on what terms he will establish and endow it. In all he does to protect and favour the Church he acts independently and on his own responsibility. In all his dealings with the Church he is not bound to take the will of the Church as his guide; he is bound to take the Word of God in his hand and to act on his own responsibility to God alone. But then he is not entitled to assume the power of the keys; he is not entitled to set himself up in the Church as its governor. The Magistrate may only dispose of the temporalities which the Church enjoys, and do what he thinks fit in regard to all that he has himself given to the Church; that is an exercise of jurisdiction competent to him, which we may not resist."

After remarking on the invasion by the Civil Courts on the province of the Church, and particularly on a recent decision of one of the Lords Ordinary, declaring it competent to the Civil Courts to review and reverse a sentence of deposition, and remarks made by his Lordship, he continued—

"We can go to the supreme civil power, and to all parties in the country, and say, Look you to the Constitution; look you to the Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union; look you to the history of the Church; look you to the black Acts which were repealed at the time of the Union;—look you to these, and then say if this is the Church which you have established—if this is the Constitution which you meant that Church to have. Or, suppose you do not wish to enter upon these questions, we ask you, Is this, as now set forth, the Church you now wish to have? Here it is, cut and dry, ready for you. The decision of the Lord Ordinary may be made final in a fortnight, making it competent for the Civil Courts to control the Ecclesiastical—to reduce and to set aside, to oppose and to contradict them in matters of deposition. Is this the Church which you wish to be the Established Church of Scotland? Why then prolong the harassing warfare—why cause us to go from court to court, wasting the means and the energies with which we might advance the cause of the kingdom of Christ? Tell us at once the terms of the constitution we are to have, and we shall know how to act. But tell us this, your decision, under a sense of your responsibility to that great God by whom kings reign and princes decree justice; tell us under a sense of your responsibility to the nation of Scotland, whose independent legislature was secured by the faith of treaties which are now given to the winds; tell us under a sense of your responsibility to the kingdom of Great Britain, whose institutions are shaken to their centre by this invasion.

"We are bound to represent to the supreme power these considerations; and we are bound to add—and I say that the more I consider this controversy the more this feeling is pressed upon me—we are both entitled and bound to add—both to the Legislature and to the nation at large—that this matter concerns them still more than it does the Church. Undoubtedly the prospect is painful, to contemplate the Established Church leaving the position which she now occupies—compelled to renounce the advantages which an Establishment gives for the preaching of the gospel. There is pain in the thought which contemplates the infliction upon the Church of such a catastrophe as this. But I will say that, looking to the affairs of the world—looking to the sad state into which even the Established Church has allowed the country to fall—looking to the need there is of even a wider preaching of the gospel—looking to the progress of error, and that too more and more every day, so far as the influence of the powers of this world is concerned, I must say I have no fears for the Church of Christ if she were cast off to-morrow. But our duty is to bear our solemn testimony to the rulers of this great land, that they have now, it may be the last and final opportunity, to save—not the Church from ruin, for I believe that the Church of Christ would subsist without, nay, against the State—but that they have the last opportunity of preserving to the people of Scotland the only class of ministers for whom the people themselves care—the only class of ministers who can serve the purposes of the State itself—the only class of ministers who have influence enough to arrest the fearfully rapid progress of the principles of evil, and to uphold the principles of right government. Let us be done with speaking as if we were afraid of ourselves—as if we deprecated the calamity in reference to ourselves merely; let us be done with speaking, as if the sole question was, whether our ministers are to eat their bread in their manses or to retire to humbler habitations. Let us be done with this; let us go to Government and tell them, It is your duty to relieve the Church—you have now a last opportunity to do so; and if you will not, the mischief which is impending will fall, not upon us but upon the State which you govern. It will be an overt act of the State refusing the right of Christ to reign in His own house. It will be an overt act of the State declaring that, so far as they are concerned, there shall be no Scriptural alliance between the Church and the State at all. These are solemn views ; and I trust that the Church will fully lay them before our rulers—that she will not go to them with a humble and almost whining petition, such as she has before presented, beseeching the State as for mercy's sake, and begging that the bread may not be taken out of our mouths—that the State will relax our fetters and give us space to breathe. I trust that we shall go before the Government and the country, setting forth not what we want, as if it were merely to relieve our own consistency, and to allow us to remain in connection with our manses ; but setting forth what the State should do—to attend to our Claim of Right, and at once and for ever to set us free from the fetters with which we have been bound ever since the Act of Queen Anne was passed."

CHAPTER IX.

The Convocation—Publications of Dr. Candlish.

On Monday, the 14th November 1842, the Convocation of Ministers, which had been called by circular, began their work by a sermon preached in St. George's Church by Dr. Chalmers, from the text " Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness," a sermon which lives in the memories of all who heard it. On the following evening the members of the Convocation, which consisted exclusively of ministers, of whom four hundred and seventy-four attended, assembled in Roxburgh Church, and continued their sittings there from day to day till the evening of Thursday of the following week. The meetings were not open to the public, or to reporters, and the result of their deliberations only appeared afterwards in two series of resolutions which were laid before the people of the country, whose adherence to them was asked, after public meetings and explanations given in almost every parish. But though the meetings of Convocation were private, some of the ministers present took notes of the proceedings, and among others Dr. James Henderson, of Glasgow, a thoroughly competent reporter. These notes, which were extended every night, I have now before me; and I am confident that, after the lapse of nearly thirty-eight years, the publication of them can hurt no one, while it will gratify a reasonable curiosity, and furnish interesting information. The notes bear the following title:—" Summary of the Proceedings of the Convocation in Edinburgh, November 1842, taken at the time.—J. H."

Introduced by Dr. CHALMERS. Text, Ps. cxii. 4. A most delightful sermon—solemn, tender, Scriptural, faithful, full of tact and of power, much fitted to confirm the weak and embolden the fearful, and to animate us in an upright way. May God cause a mighty blessing to rest upon it.

Evening Diet.—Roxburgh Church ; not a good hearing place. Meeting attended by not less than 450 ; which, if we shall be all of one mind, is to be regarded as a *good muster.*

Dr. CHALMERS adverted to the object of the meeting, and to the manner in which it should be conducted—as a deliberative not a debating assembly, and by conference rather than by discussion and speechifying. *This* will be difficult to make good. His remarks were meant to encourage all men to give out their sentiments.

Dr. MACFARLANE, Greenock, spoke of the spirit in which our deliberations should be conducted, and proposed—what was afterwards impressively insisted on by Dr. Candlish—that our conferences should have very much of a devotional character, and that not only should they be begun and ended by prayer, but interspersed all through by devotional duty.

Dr. SMYTH afterwards proposed we should add the service of *praise* and reading of the Word, which was gone into most cordially. And this will be needed. There are evidently the elements of *discord*, which will show itself in the judgment which men will form respectively regarding the legal or binding effect of the Auchterarder decision. Some will hold it binding, others will not deny its import, but will disown its obligation.

Dr. BURNS of Paisley will be troublesome. He had a to-do about the word "only" in the circular, in which several joined, whether it was so restrictive as to exclude all subjects of deliberation except the Auchterarder decision. Dr. Chalmers made it plain that while *this* was the sole subject of the declaration, if any such should be made, *any* other matter, or *every other* matter connected with the state of the Church was to be the subject of full and free consultation.

Mr. THOMSON of Wick started a difficulty about his taking or keeping his place in the Convocation, seeing he did not form the judgment which many did of the Auchterarder decision. What he did judge of it he did not say, but Dr. Buchanan judiciously put an end to his difficulty for the present by saying it would be time enough for him to state his difficulties when the opinion of the Convocation was taken on the import of the Act.

A proposal was made to introduce Mr. JOHN HAMILTON and Mr. A. DUNLOP to the Conference, which was overruled, and wisely. There is no want of information on the subject in the Convocation itself, and to have introduced them would have done mischief within doors and without.

A proposal was made for a committee to draw up a programme of the order of business, on which some discussion took place, some wishing *every* thing to be included, others recommending as *few* subjects as possible to be embraced in it. Some indication of the latent jealousy of the *quoad sacra* men appeared as to the composition of the committee. They seem to have got an idea that some of the leading men—Dr. Macfarlane is named as one—are resolved to sacrifice their interests for the sake of the Church, giving to them the key of knowledge, but taking from them the key of discipline, and they proposed a large addition of *quoad sacra* men to be added to the committee.

On this matter Stewart of Oathlaw, Dr. Brown of Langton, Dr. Willis, Balfour of Clackmannan, Smyth, Chalmers, Begg, Moncreiff, gave in their word. Nothing important, but all intimating great keenness and distrust, and determination to be independent. On the whole, I feel uncomfortable and anxious for results. I am afraid of division and variance. God alone can bring order out of the confusion, and make His own spirit of love and unity to flow down over us, and encircle us all within its blessed influence.

Friday, Morning Diet.—After prayer by Dr. MACFARLANE, Dr. CANDLISH read the report of the committee for the order of business, and subjects of deliberation in the Convocation.

It contained (first) general regulations recommending—

1. That every diet be opened by praise, prayer, and reading of the Word, and that there be three prayers at every diet.

2. That as much as possible the deliberations be conducted in the way of conversation.

3. That when any motion is made, the sense of the meeting shall be taken upon it, without any counter motion.

4. That before closing consideration of any subject, members be asked—synod by synod—to give their opinions upon it.

5. That all topics shall be discussed, and the opinions of the Convocation ascertained, before any declaration be agreed upon, so as to prevent division and promote unanimity.

These general rules exhibit great practical sagacity, and were unanimously approved.

Subjects for Consideration.

1. The effect and bearing of the late decision of the Civil Courts on the constitutional principles of the Church and its position with the State, and the elements indispensable to a remedy adequate to the emergency.

2. The duty of the Church in the event of no adequate remedy being given, or none containing these elements indispensable to a right settlement ; the alternative duty as to continuing its connection with the State or separating from it.

3. The effect of an adverse decision in the Stewarton case, and the duty of *quoad sacra* ministers thereupon.

4. Questions connected with litigation, settlements, processes against offenders, etc.

5. The position of probationers adhering to the constitutional principles of the Church.

On this matter of business perfect unanimity, a great blessing, and a token for good. An address from thirty-five Irish ministers at Belfast agreed in sympathising with and encouraging us. Four admitted to the Convocation.

Mr. MACDONALD of Urquhart prayed. Mr. EDMONSTONE proposed that arrangements should be made for an order in prayer. The proposal was not approved. Dr. Burns pressed it unwisely, and raised the House against him.

The Convocation proceeded to consider the *first* subject, the effect and bearing, etc.

Dr. MACFARLANE left the chair to introduce the subject, which he did very clearly. His judgment was that every particle, or the *grounds* of every particle, of our jurisdiction were swept away by these decisions, and the abolition of Queen Anne's Act was the remedy for the evil.

Dr. LAIRD, Portmoak, next spoke, agreeing and extending the application of the decisions to sealing ordinances, and recommending effort to enlighten and interest our people.

Mr. CARMENT maintained that the sentence was as bad as the Act of the Middleton Drunken Parliament, an act recissory of all the statutes establishing the liberties of the Church. He concluded with a fine allusion to the Israelites at the Red Sea.

Mr. SMITH of Lochwinnoch doubted if the legal effect of these decisions was as great or mischievous as alleged, and held they were not law, for several reasons not satisfactory.

Mr. PAUL was at one with all who had spoken in regard of the evils, but agreed with Mr. Smith; expressed great confidence in Government, and gave in a motion for a settlement on the ground of the *Forty's* measure. Not well received; but certainly he spoke much better than I ever heard him.

Mr. WALKER, Muthill, spoke rhapsodies, which I did not understand.

Mr. NAIRN of Forgan spoke admirably in style and spirit, noticed the good hand of God in giving us *strong* cases, on which to defend our principles and proceedings in the whole of our contest, as Auchterarder, Marnoch, etc., where the people were *united* to a man against the presentees, and then showed what has long struck my mind, that God having given us a reviving and some increased measure of grace, has put us into the furnace to try and exhibit its power.

Mr. BEGG, Liberton, distinguished the decisions of the Civil Courts into those that profess to be founded on statute and those which proceed on the assumption of power in the Civil Courts. The one class took power or privilege from the Christian people, the second from the Church Courts. The remedy proposed for these aggressions was the repeal of the Statute of Queen Anne; the abolishing of Patronage, which, it is now shown, cannot stand with the order God's Word craves; and besides this expel the civil element, and make the civil magistrate go back from his encroachments on the Church's province.

Mr. GUTHRIE addressed himself to Mr. Smith's objections. 1, To the change of judges he anticipated, to which Mr. Guthrie replied that this would not change the law as now declared by the House of Lords. 2, The parties to the bargain. And we will not *consent* to the terms of the State. *Answer*—Both parties *free*, *cum periculo*, to make the bargain. 3, The Act of Security cannot be violated. *Answer*—Don't argue against facts. This Act is broken, and we cannot force the State to keep it.

He next spoke of Mr. Paul's motion, which he characterised as that old, withered, wretched, miserable concern, the *liberum arbitrium.* If we ask anything, let us demand the *best.* Anecdote of a clergyman of the Church of England; not a Puseyite. Mr. Guthrie asked him, What will you do now in England? He answered, What will you at your Convocation? On this depends what will be done in England.

At this stage Dr. DEWAR prayed most impressively.

Evening Diet, Friday.—Dr. LAIRD began with suitable prayer. The song of praise was sublime.

Moved that we should not meet to-morrow evening, and, on that account prolong our meeting later than ten this evening, and that ministers be urged to return on Monday.

Mr. BEGG laid a motion on the table in terms of his speech, an extreme anti-Patronage proposal.

Dr. CANDLISH questioned the *ground* of Mr. Begg's proposal, as making that *indispensable* which Mr. Begg did not consider as practically indispensable. This speech very clever and very fine.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE GORDON spoke well in the same strain.

Mr. BEGG replied.

Dr. CANDLISH asked what is the element indispensable to a measure to which the Church can conscientiously conform its procedure? and showed that the abolition of Patronage is not thus indispensable. Certainly our existence under it hitherto shows that we may exist still, though it should remain. Mr. Begg's argument that Queen Anne's Act is, and from the beginning had been, understood to be Erastian, and that, as now interpreted, it was only a little more so, is not true, and does not bear out the practical course to which Mr. Begg on this ground pointed. They had borne it before, and might bear it still without going out.

He showed how, that though he could once have submitted to a *liberum arbitrium* measure, this would not do now. For though there is no difference in the Act of Queen Anne, there is a difference in the grounds of the decisions founded on it, which cannot be submitted to without Erastianism. He showed the inadequacy of Mr. Begg's motion to the emergency.

Mr. MONCREIFF of Kilbride supported Mr. Paul's motion, tried to assail Dr. Candlish, on the score of the inconsistency of the present proposals with his averments at the West Kirk meeting, but without solid ground, and insisted that the Decisions were not law, did not bind the conscience; and the silence of the Legislature was to be interpreted as equally favourable to the Church and to the Civil Courts.

Mr. DEMPSTER of Denny prayed in his own style powerfully.

At this point Dr. CANDLISH, who had written them out in the meeting, laid on the table a series of Resolutions on the Grievance and the Remedy, declaring the Grievance to be an invasion and subversion of our spiritual jurisdiction, and the Remedy a measure which would secure this from the reach of the Civil Courts (this in substance).

Dr. BURNS of Paisley assailed Dr. Candlish on the score of inconsistency. He was strangely Erastian in his own views, and very much interrupted.

Mr. ANDREW GRAY, Perth, spoke well. Admitted Mr. Moncreiff's constitutional views, but differed from his views respecting the silence of the State; was witty and forcible in exposing the absurdity of such interpretation of the silence, while a guillotine or maiden was being framed to take off the heads of the ecclesiastical authority, and disputed Mr. Begg's view of the Act of 1712.

Mr. NIXON, Montrose, opposed Dr. Candlish's resolutions on four grounds—1, Because they imply the decisions are the law of the land; 2, No allusion is made in them to Non-intrusion; 3, The proposed Remedy provides only for one of our principles and not for both; 4, It contains less than Mr. Begg's motion.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM ably refuted Mr. Nixon and Mr. Paul, and cautioned us most adroitly against our extreme present danger—a non-intrusion measure which does not rid us of the invasion of the Civil Courts.

Mr. ELDER rose to propound certain difficulties he felt in regard to all the motions, exploded Mr. Paul's, felt jealous of Dr. Candlish's, and concurred generally in Mr. Begg's.

Mr. DRUMMOND, from Kirkmichael, a good old man, spoke strongly against Dr. Candlish's resolutions and speech as temporising, unworthy of Dr. Candlish, and not likely to have the blessing of God.

There the diet closed to resume to-morrow at ten o'clock.

Saturday Morning, 10.—I was too late for prayer, for which I was sorry.

Dr. Candlish read again his Resolutions.

Mr. Begg modified his motion, *requiring* an *expression* of the unconstitutional character of the Decisions, which is only implied in Dr. Candlish's motion.

Dr. Chalmers made a most wise, powerful, and effective speech. Our proper counterpart to the Decisions of the Civil Courts is not an affirmation but a negative. We go to the Legislature not to petition, but to remonstrate; not saying what is best, but what is indispensable.

He adverted first to Mr. Paul's motion, objected to it as undignified and cringing: "He will pocket his defeat or affront, and will be satisfied if you give us this other thing, like a defeated enemy sending forth a flag of truce with lowered terms."

Next to Mr. Begg—we are not now saying what is extremism—his own idea on this point, growing every day, was that the election should be with the Christian communicants, with the *check* of a right of judgment and control in the Presbytery. But this we could not get, and his object was to declare the minimum measure, and with the declaration of the measure, leave the odium of a defective measure not on the Church Courts but on the State. In Mr. Begg's motion he saw a twofold mischief. For it weakens ourselves by division, and destroys the force of one rally; second, it weakens our representation to Government. They will say there is no bringing us to terms; whereas, if instead of demanding what we have never had, we go merely asking them to secure to us what we have all along had, we make a demand which it puts them much in the wrong to refuse.

He would put a question. No; he would not press Mr. Begg by a question. But he would suppose the case that Mr. Begg would cling to the Establishment, even if what he asked were refused. And this *supposed*, which Mr. Begg readily accedes to, he asked him, Will you lay the servitude of a proposal on a matter which you deem is not one of life and death, on our proposal, which we hold *to be* a matter of life and death?

(The effect of the question on the Convocation was very strong, and there was a burst of enthusiastic sympathy, which broke forth all but universally in the meeting.)

He proceeded in the same strain to say there was a vast difference between extremeness of principle and strength of principle, applying it rather with severity to the men who held and urged anti-Patronage principles and yet would not go out, while men of moderate demands would go out if their moderate demands should be refused.

He compared the insisting for anti-Patronage at the present time to a dispute getting up among the sailors, when a ship was among the breakers, upon the best mode of rigging the ship, when in all sense and reason the matter in hand, the work for the time was, How shall we keep her afloat?

He was not willing to give great prominence in the resolution to non-intrusion. He thought it would complicate the question to the Government, whose concern it is not but ours.

A great succession of speakers from the several Synods now spoke when called. Mr. THOMSON, Yester, Dr. DUNCAN, Ruthwell, Mr. BRYDON, Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, Dr. WILLIS, who insisted on non-intrusion as a *sine qua non*. Dr. BUCHANAN, who insisted that it was in the Resolutions. Mr. DUNCAN, Kirkintilloch, who would have the terms of the Resolutions a testing question, and would advise unanimity. Dr. FORBES tried to bring the second and third motions to one, and proposed that, to meet the charge of rebellion, there be added a profession of loyalty and obedience to law. Mr. BONAR of Larbert, who would have had the terms of the Resolutions more stringent. Mr. BROWN of Largo, Mr. BRODIE, DUNCAN of Cleish, who all supported Dr. Candlish's Resolutions. Mr. WILSON of Carmylie urged unanimity, but would not unite himself except anti-Patronage introduced. Mr. BEGG gave in; said he was satisfied so far by the modifications made on Dr. Candlish's Resolutions, and provided it should be recorded that *some* thought abolition of Patronage the only effective remedy of our evils, he would fall in with the Resolutions. Dr. DEWAR congratulated the Convocation on this event. Mr. GRANT, Petty, spoke a speech *out* of tune, but sound. Mr. BARCLAY of Auldearn, SHEPPARD of Kingussie, GRANT of Forres, attested the unanimity of the Presbytery and Synod on our principles. Mr. MACDONALD, Mr. MATHESON, Mr. GLASS, M'MILLAN, CAMERON of Laggan, MONRO, all concurred.

Mr. PAUL now gave in (loud cheering). He said he did not come to the meeting to throw in an apple of discord. That he was satisfied that his motion had done much good, and had prevented and restrained certain extreme measures which were in contemplation, and would now withdraw it. I believe every heart at this moment gave thanks to God, we were now *unanimous.*

And the assent or concurrence of every member of the Convocation was taken *seriatim.*

The names being called, they each answered—*Agreed.* Not one lifted his voice against. Some were silent, and Mr. WELSH of Lumphanan, M'DOUGAL, Lochgoilhead, STEPHEN, Aberdeen, MACKENZIE, Lasswade, declined to vote.

Dr. CANDLISH proposed now to record that a large number thought that the best way to settle all disturbances was to abolish Patronage.

Mr. PAUL objected keenly.

Dr. MACFARLANE and Dr. CHALMERS insisted it was only keeping faith with Mr. Begg, and Dr. Chalmers at the same time urged Mr. Begg and his friends very strongly to forego the privilege.

Mr. GUTHRIE resisted the withdrawment. Dr. CANDLISH pressed its insertion, and it was done.

Thanks were returned for God's good hand upon us by Mr. C. BROWN—a most beautiful and solemn prayer.

Monday, Morning Diet.—After prayer, minutes read, Mr. PAUL stated that he wished the minute to contain the *reason* why he withdrew his motion on Saturday. I opposed it, on the ground that if allowed it would introduce an uncertainty into the vote, seriously injurious to it. Many others followed on both sides. Dr. Candlish expanded and enforced my view of the matter, saying he would rather have *fifty* with a simple, than 500 with a qualified adherence to the Resolutions, and proposed an alternative to Mr. Paul, which, after much debate, Mr. Paul agreed to take time to consider.

Mr. BANNERMAN proposed to name in the minutes those who did not vote on Saturday, which was resented by Mr. MACKENZIE of Lasswade as a personal attack. It was withdrawn.

The Convocation proceeded to the second great subject in the programme. The duty of the Church in the event of no remedy for our grievance, on the alternative supposition of our continuing in the Establishment or in the event of our separating from it.

Dr. MACFARLANE introduced the subject—began by acknowledgment of mercy in the unanimity hitherto—evident answer to prayer.

The question—How are our Resolutions to be carried out? All, he hoped, were agreed not to remove so long as we can conscientiously remain.

This the groundwork or substance of the Resolutions that we regard the supremacy of Christ in the Church fundamental and indispensable. Therefore we petition the Legislature for a free jurisdiction. Now suppose *first* that this petition is denied, the doctrine we have held of co-ordinate jurisdiction in Courts is overthrown definitively, and then what is the path of duty? It was plain to him to give up connection with the State on these terms. He supposed the case of an entrant, looking to the Erastianised Establishment, and saying, I cannot *enter*, and then said—Can I remain where he might not enter? *No.* Or suppose, *secondly*, a bill conceding something, but not enough, What is to be done in this inexplicit or indistinct form? If, whatever it concede, it leaves us in the hands of the Courts of law—unsatisfying, like the Schoolmasters' Act, for example, we cannot submit to this either.

But the adjustment might be satisfactory if a bill were introduced making everything anent settlement of ministers a matter purely ecclesiastical, and excluding the Civil Courts.

Adverted next to the opinion expressed by some of the brethren. 1, Not justified in leaving the Establishment so long as they had liberty to preach the gospel. This he would advise men to reconsider. Are they ready to *do* all they are required by the Civil Courts? 2, Justified by constitutional law in remaining, and will not be driven by decisions of Courts. But this practically unavailing; not permitted to protest, soon become a minority, and be overborne.

Admonished us all to contemplate our position in the eye of Christendom, and the results to religion for or against it, as we remain faithful or not.

Dr. DEWAR rose with deep solemnity; came up with the impression that it was too soon to contemplate a removal, or take any resolution regarding it—don't outrun Providence. Our safety

1, In adherence to principles; 2, In union; 3, In a prayerful spirit in connection with tenderness in thinking and judging of one another.

Mr. Burns, Kilsyth, notified the interest and success of the prayer-meeting last night in Lady Glenorchy's, and advised avoidance of *interruptions* by the House, and more deliberation and less speechifying. He said the minister of Maidenkirk had come up with him in the boat, and he lodged with another minister from John o'Groat's House.

Mr. Macdonald gave in a petition from elders of Duke Street.

Mr. Moncreiff here intimated his fears of *differences* on the subject of this day's discussion, not being easy to be reconciled, etc. Proposed a string of resolutions, some of them well enough as to the importance of Establishment; only justifiable to remove from our own when for the glory of God and good of the people; the necessity of a conciliatory tone in dealing with the Government, but at the same time standing on constitutional rights, and on this ground justifying adherence to the Establishment; act in despite of the law as declared, and at the hazard of all the pains and penalties.

(He did not seem to carry the convictions or sympathies of many in the Convocation.)

Dr. Laird agreed with Mr. Moncreiff's constitutional views. But the law would be followed out, and *thus* practically the constitution. But he had a difficulty about endowments for the people, were we to give them away.

Dr. Candlish here spoke to the order of business. He would have us now address ourselves to the course of the Church on the alternative of its continuing in connection with the State as regards *discipline*, case of refractory ministers and presentees, etc.

Dr. Burns got up and insisted that the Church had not done all for her safety until she repealed the Veto, and would not until then "disencumber herself of her endowments." (The House impatient.)

Mr. Smith of Greenock replied first to Dr. Burns, and put three questions to Mr. Moncreiff. 1, What, in your way of it, is to become of our principles, weakened by secession, superseded by Erastian presentees? their supporters are first overborne, and by and by annihilated. Will Presbyteries do their duty? Will the people stay to give them the opportunity? 2, What is to become of our resources? Will they not go in litigations, and fines, etc., and supplying vacant parishes? 3, What is to become of your moral status in the land, fallen, reproached, degraded, really the rebels, which we are now slanderously affirmed to be, and damage unspeakable wrought to the cause of Christ? He alluded to an English barrister who was repeating to an English judge the conversation he had had with Dr. Macfarlane on the Church question, and had said that unless righted in this matter he must give up the best living in Scotland, and the judge said, "I will believe it when I see it."

Mr. Brodie, Monimail, stated his difficulties, but said, in conclusion, If I am in doubt as to the course of duty when danger comes, I will cast in my lot with the losing party.

Dr. Candlish replied to Mr. Brodie, that if we go, as he advised, to Government, asking on what terms we held our endowments, the answer would be, On terms of your obedience to the law.

In reference to Dr. Burns's argument for repeal of Veto, he said the Church had all along declared herself ready to do so if her non-intrusion principle were saved, otherwise it was impossible. Then as to the course of duty, if we should continue without a bill, shall we surrender the power of discipline we have from Christ—impossible in duty—yet how impossible to carry it out against refractory ministers of Strathbogie, or Synod of Aberdeen, etc. Last year *lenient*, this year we cannot be so again. We cannot slip or recede then, and what must ensue? Shall we place ourselves in opposition to law declared? or shall we restore Strathbogie men? or proceed against them and they against us; we deposing them and they deposing us; excommunicating us and we them? What a shame to the godly, and what a triumph to the ungodly!

Dr. Chalmers stated his understanding of the question at this stage; said he did not like a phrase frequently used—we going out of the Church—not *we*, but the endowments, were going out. Now, the question was twofold. "What if in?" "What if out?" He considered the speakers on both terms to-day as caterers for the chances of to-morrow. He would attend first to the prospects in the event of a separation; asked permission to address us on this point at the evening diet; and as he considered himself pretty ripe on the subject, would like us to back-speer (cross-question) him on the subject until all doubt was removed.

Monday 21st, Evening Diet.—Mr. Paul insisted on his explanation of his vote on Saturday being inserted in the minutes. I renewed my objection, and so did many; and Mr. Paul, as I understood, withdrew his vote.

On calling the names of members who had not agreed to the Resolutions, Mr. Bennie, who was in the House, gave no response. The clerk raised his voice unusually loud, which was followed by laughter and tones of derision, at which Mr. Bennie left the House, as if feeling himself publicly insulted by the Convocation. Many felt greatly annoyed. Dr. Candlish complained of it as more likely to damage our meeting than anything that had occurred, and proposed the Moderator should write to Mr. Bennie explaining, etc. Mr. Gibson proposed instead of a letter a deputation, and Mr. C. Brown and Dr. Buchanan proceeded to Mr. Bennie's house to convey to him from us an expression of regret, and that we had considered the unpleasant manifestation as very partial. But Dr. Candlish assured us it was very general. When the deputation returned, they reported the deep wound inflicted on Mr. Bennie and his family, his gratitude for this expression of the Convocation's regard, and their hope that no further evil would follow.

Dr. Chalmers proceeded to expatiate at length on the prospects of the Church, in the event of a separation from the State Endowments. The design of this was not to overpersuade or overbear men, but to lighten the pressure of the present temptation.

He said he was full of *hope*, his confidence was not on the multitude of great things, but the multitude of small things, in the *mites* of the millions.

The product of a penny a week from every family in Scotland is £100,000 a year. This affords an income of £200 a year to 500 ministers. This he could demonstrate by figures, not the figures of oratory, but the figures of arithmetic.

And this sum might be gathered by one half-hour of time weekly, every Monday morning from collectors. He mentioned several sums already proffered of £300, £200, £50 per annum. A master tradesman reducing his living to the level of a journeyman, and giving the surplus. 36 elders who had laid themselves in incomes under a local rate of £10 per cent, whose united contributions would be £6000.

Men like these supply the deficiency from places like Skye, and keep the average of a penny for each family. He owned himself, while thus confident of resources, anxious about an agency to collect or work them. He did not fear for the *first*, but he feared a falling away. *Impulse* would do much at *first*, when most was needed, and habit would do enough afterwards when less might be required. This habit might be kept up by restoring the Apostolic order of deaconesses. The larger fruits of present impulse he would appropriate to building, etc., and extraordinary emergencies. The lesser fruits of habit to ordinary expenses, and he had no doubt but a highminded sacrifice for principle, on the part of ministers, would produce open-handed beneficence on the part of the people to maintain them.

In regard to the disposal of these contributions, he proposed—That they shall not go direct to the minister, but to the Church Fund, and from there be disbursed in stipends of £200 or £150, leaving to the private kindness of people to show any additional kindness to their ministers. This he considered advantageous in many points of view.

Perhaps he would now be pronounced a Voluntary. The sects, he said, are so very controversial a people, that if two principles are named they are not satisfied till they have set them like two cocks a-fighting. There are two kinds of voluntaryism, and one of these is not a conflicting but a conspiring force with legal endowments, and the Church he contemplated would not be a voluntary Church, but a voluntarily endowed and supported Church.

He conceived that an institution like ours, devoted not to pamper ministers, but to evangelise the people and diffuse the Gospel, would commend itself to the public mind, so that we would apply an increase of funds not to enrich ministers but to multiply them, until we had occupied all the heathen territory which we had never been able to overtake, and next all the Erastian territory which we had left behind, and would besides carry out all the Church schemes along with us, missions and schools, etc.

Mr. Carment spoke, but not to any effect. Mr. Robertson of Gartly, one of the Strathbogie ministers, stated a difficulty existing to a great extent as well as in his own parish. If thrown out of the Establishment, there is not a spot in the parish which he could get to set a church upon. He had twelve children; he could cast himself and them on the care of God, but what was to become of his people and others thus circumstanced?

Mr. GEORGE LEWIS pointed out many sources of revenue overlooked by Dr. Chalmers—1, Seat-rents another £100,000; 2, Collections £40,000, etc. etc. He referred to Wesley and Wesleyans, and applied the facts of their Society to illustrate our prospects. We could say to the people, You see at what we value our principles; at what do you value them? Adverted to Methodist missionary spirit. In 1825 they had not more than 40 missionaries, now they have 400, and their income £100,000. Referred to a conversation between Dr. Inglis and Dr. Duff. The anxiety of the former was to get £1200 per annum. The ambition of the latter went to £12,000, and now it is drawing onward to it.

Dr. PATERSON moved thanks to Dr. Chalmers the philanthropist, who had brought a lifeboat to the rescue when the ship was sinking. The only objection he had was that the lifeboat was made to look better than the ship (great laughter). Dr. MACKAY prayed.

Tuesday, Morning Diet.—After devotions Mr. PAUL objected to the minute, and insisted on his own *reason* for his vote being inserted. Mr. GRAY of Perth objected to this demand. Much delay and confusion about the matter. I suggested that Mr. Paul should withdraw his vote, and liberty be given to all to withdraw who voted in his sense of the Resolutions.

Mr. PAUL ultimately withdrew his vote and left the Conference.

Several names were added to the adherents to the Resolutions of Saturday. Dr. Welsh adhered—*most emphatic cordiality.*

Dr. MACFARLANE now laid a series of resolutions on the table, to the effect that if the Legislature should by continued silence give the effect of *law* to the Auchterarder decision, we must quit our connection with the Establishment. "A most solemn and responsible proposal."

Dr. MACFARLANE'S Resolutions were in substance—1, That while we protest against the invasion of the Civil upon the Church

Courts, as a violation of law and the constitution, it is not the duty of the Church to plead these rights against law, except in the way of petition, remonstrance, and warning.

2, That while it is our duty to represent to the Legislature this wrong done us, yet if they shall refuse to hear and *redress* our grievance, their silence must be held as a recognition of the sentences of the Civil Courts as the declaration of *law*.

3, That recognising the jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrate in his own province, and holding it not the duty of the Church to resist him in it, yet seeing the Church is not at liberty to conform her procedure to the law as thus declared by the State, so neither is she at liberty to resist the magistrate, acting within his own province and on his own responsibility.

4, That, in these circumstances, it is *not* the duty of the Church to continue to receive endowments, after the State has declared these terms of their bestowment, nor is it duty to conflict further with the Civil Courts.

Mr. MONCREIFF repeated his resolutions to the effect—1, That there is no change in our constitution by the Auchterarder decision. We hold our power from Christ.

2, That the silence of the Legislature does not subvert it.

3, That if *out*, we could not maintain the struggle for our principles.

4, That after our former Resolutions no further declaration is at all necessary.

5, That to secede on this ground were to admit our rebellion hitherto.

Dr. FORBES thought they contained some unguarded statement with respect to the power or duty of the Civil Magistrate, and some little criticism on the wording of the Resolutions took place, in which Mr. Balfour and Dr. Cunningham took part.

Mr. BEGG rejoiced we were come to look our difficulties in the face. We are now solemnly committed to *principles* as one man in every issue. (He proceeded to advert to the temptations of our position.)

The temptation is to adhere to our benefices, another—to leave before the time. He would not say that any would be carried before it, but for himself he was *prone* to yield to this. There are three cases in which there is a question of principle and duty—our course is plain so far—1, We cannot conform our procedure to an Erastian Establishment. If the civil power would coerce me I would give up the battle. 2, If the Legislature issue a bill of conformity, or seek to settle the question by a *defective* bill, which does not reverse the decisions of the Civil Courts. But until the State Erastianise the Church, or the Church Erastianise herself, I am not bound in conscience to leave. 3, Circumstances may occur to make it expedient, or to warrant me to leave, but I am not bound in conscience. But these circumstances have not yet *arisen.* Silence he did not consider sufficient. Speak out and let us know how we stand. 1, He would distinguish between the Government and the Legislature—between Peel and the *three* estates. 2, Suppose both silent—what is to be inferred? It is now said, in Dr. Macfarlane's resolution, to be our duty to secede. But this he held a *new view* of duty. We have been accustomed to hold that nothing but compulsion—moral or physical—could drive us out. 3, This was the view of our fathers. To this is owing the second Reformation in Scotland. They kept their posts, in despite of civil power, until they were backed by the people. One exception—Middleton's Bill of Conformity, when 400 ministers were driven out—but we have not this necessity yet. He had met an elder this morning, who said to him, "If you leave your posts you will deserve to be abandoned; if you stay by them I will spend my last shilling upon you." I am of this mind.

He would close with these observations. Suppose the *Secession* taken not as duty, but as expediency, he would maintain it was not expedient.

1, To say to Government, If you don't interfere to protect us we walk out, is to make glad the Government, who will this way get rid of obnoxious men.

2, Entail formidable evils. We are driven from Universities, from parish schools; leave many parishes without the gospel, where not a spot of ground can be got to build a church upon. Let all this come if necessity for it; but he could see no necessity.

3, He held we would not be safer, or more free from persecution, *out* of the Establishment than in it.

4, He could not vote for these Resolutions until all means were exhausted, which they were not yet. Moderatism was undisturbed; England was untouched, and he would do *all* this before moving.

5, He was asked—Well, but if you remain, what will you do with your discipline? Can you enforce it; will you depose the Synod of Aberdeen, etc.? Undoubtedly, enforce it; our ancestors in 1638 deposed, by one stroke, all the bishops of Scotland, and the result of this bold measure was that their cause triumphed, and in a little time the storm was past and gone.

6, Again it was said, But you will be cut down in detail. This does not alarm me, all martyrdom is a cutting down in detail. But they suppress and exclude *quoad sacra* ministers. If this done, I am done with them; they have robbed us of our spiritual power, and in that case I denude myself of my temporalities.

Then as to lawsuits. Sir, the Church should have done with lawsuits. Let them rob us, imprison our bodies; we will suffer.

In regard to the Resolutions, Mr. Begg objected to the account they gave of our duty to the State. We have more to do than to *warn* and remonstrate, we must *wait* and *suffer*.

Denied that silence is enough; refusal to redress our grievance, if active, will be decisive, and we must go out; if passive, or silence merely, it is nothing, it does not bind my conscience. The Constitution is supreme—above law, and these are rights of subjects which rulers have no right to touch. Now by the Constitution our Church is placed out of the power of the Civil Courts, and this is the point in hand—our duty, thus considered, is to stand out against Civil Courts. If by a deed of the State the Church is Erastianised, or if by her own deed, then he could not remain in her; but otherwise, or if silent, even though they threw the weight of the secular arm against the Church, it is not duty to abandon but to abide by her.

Mr. Cairns, Cupar, asked if Mr. Begg considered that an Act of Parliament was necessary to make the decision of the House of Lords law?

No. Well, if not, he added, is not that decision now law?

Mr. C. Brown would not follow Mr. Begg throughout, but would simply make a few remarks in support of Dr. Macfarlane's Resolutions. Mr. Begg, he thought, had not touched the question. He had argued as if that course were a course of mere expediency, which we conceive to be imposed by duty. Mr. Begg allows it to be duty to give up on certain cases, but he says from some idea of the unchangeable nature of the Constitution that that change cannot happen. Now this won't stand. Does not silence intimate the coming down of a physical power upon us? He would ask if any declaration of the Legislature, however made, can bind the conscience? Whatever Mr. Begg thought, he held that if they declare their terms to be such as were unlawful he could not accept them; it would be dishonest.

Mr. Begg alleges that the Treaty of Union shuts out the State from all right to interfere in altering the constitution of the Church or the terms of the Establishment. He acknowledged the relevancy of the allegation, but denied the fact. He would not follow Mr. Begg into his doctrine of Constitutional law as above ordinary law, as maintained by Junius, but he would maintain, whatever stand the *people* of Scotland in their civil capacity might take on this ground, it was not the part of a *Church* as a Church to take this stand; but when the constitution *so* declared by the State, however wrongously and falsely, it was the duty of the Church, after exhausting its means of warning and remonstrance in vain, *just* to *submit*,—at all events, if not prepared to deny and resist the lawfulness of these powers of the State—to *submit*. The grand contest, we maintain, is for the things of God, and it well becomes us, as a Church, to be careful how we meddle with carnal weapons. He would ask Mr. Begg whether he *would* strive *against* the Government by such weapon—*if* he could?

Now, considered as a case of conscience, and submission seen to be the duty of the Church, the rest is easy. The course may indeed be difficult, but it is plain. He at one time had been inclined to think that the silence of Legislature would not bind his conscience, but now he was clear that if we lay our case before the Legislature, and they, besides being *silent*, throw the might of the secular arm to support the Civil Courts against the Church, there is a sufficient declaration of their mind, and demanding submission; for while he held, as before, the constitutional doctrine respecting the co-ordinate Courts, he held that, as the Courts of Christ's Church, the State had no right to interfere, and Mr. Begg no right to ask it to do so. We are Christ's servants, Civil Courts are the State's, and if it do not step in to regulate or control its own servants, we cannot make it to do so. We could imagine a case made out, on this ground of constitutional rights, to satisfy a man of the world—a politician, but not possible to make out such an argument on it as to vindicate a Christian Church.

We should try in this matter to find a *principle* on which to settle it. There are difficulties on either side, moral difficulties on the one side, difficulties in the eye of expediency on the other. The moral course, as worldly men will see it, determines our course. If we remain and draw our stipends, while we refuse and resist the terms on which they are given, we will not be understood. It may do very well for us to say Christ is our Head. Be it so, will men say, but don't keep what is not your own. In the eyes of such we will go out with honour, remain in to our disgrace.

If policy is to be regarded in the case, to go to Government with an honest statement of such intentions as Mr. Begg holds would certainly be fatal to our application. You must say plainly either we stay in or we go out. This might disarm their hostility. But to say, Do as you like, we will not conform our procedure to the law, neither will we go out of the Church,—would provoke inevitably, and justify, their resentment and refusal.

Indeed there is a plain *impossibility* of our going on in the course Mr. Begg would recommend. Lord Jeffrey said to the Court of Session, There must be something wrong in your principle, for you cannot carry it into effect against the Church. So would Mr. Brown say to Mr. Begg. There must be something wrong in your principle; you cannot carry it into effect against the *State* and *Law*.

It had long weighed in Mr. Brown's mind as an argument against going out, that we were in danger of becoming Voluntaries. He was now satisfied there was no force in this. The present, on the contrary, was a glorious opportunity of testifying to the truth of Christ's lordship over nations, as well as His headship over His own house.

Mr. LOGAN, Stenton, asked Mr. Brown how, on his principles, Paul and Silas asked the magistrates of Philippi to come and take them out of prison?

Mr. ELDER asked Mr. Brown if the *silence* of the Legislature alone, laying other circumstances out of the case, would be regarded as *sufficient* to bind his conscience and decide him to go out? Mr. Brown declined to answer until he should know the *case*.

Mr. CARMENT seemed to say with Mr. Begg, that it was not competent to the British Parliament to touch the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and that no decision of theirs, nor statute of theirs in violation of it, should bind his conscience; he was not for surrendering the spiritual privileges of the people.

Mr. Stephen, Knox Church, Aberdeen, doubted if ever the claims of the Church would be legalised. He had doubted whether this Convocation would go far enough, and was persuaded our strength lay in going the whole length of the Resolutions.

Mr. M'Cosh of Brechin could not agree to either series of Resolutions. Not to the first, because they are vague and indistinct, and did not meet the emergency. Not to the second, because they contain principles *new* to many, and which no man should hastily adopt. He could not assent to the doctrine that the silence of the State is to be held as binding the conscience. The Courts have not found that we have forfeited our benefices. He thought it likely, however, that we should be broken down in detail, and therefore let us go to the Legislature, saying we must adhere in the meantime, set forth the difficulties of our position, and that, if not relieved in a twelvemonth, we must dissolve the union between Church and State.

Mr. Guthrie said that Mr. M'Cosh talks as if we would drive men. But with him the question was one of principle; not of expediency, but of conscience. He could not receive the pay of the State, and not do the work on condition of which it was given It was said that on this ground we should have gone out long before now. But no. In his view, though the Court of Session had decided the question some time since, the Supreme Court had not done it until now. But now that the State takes the *sword*, and aims it at my breast, the answer is explicit enough. If a man's servant do me injury as the servant of his master, and I complain to his master and am refused redress, I regard the master as homologating the deed of his servant, and the offence of it I impute to him. So here; if my lords in Edinburgh or in London do the Church grievous wrong, and on our complaining and craving redress from the State, whose servants they are, the State gives us none, surely we are to regard the State as vindicating the wrong done by their servants as their own deed.

But another view was recommended from expediency. But was it expedient to lay aside the reins of discipline, and to receive into the ministry men whom you have deposed from it? Surely no. We will suspend them, says Mr. Elder, from their *judicial functions* — judicial functions — judicial functions! Suppose a nobleman in London rose against the State, and called in the aid of a foreign soldiery to defend him against it, what would the State do? Suspend him from his judicial functions! Yes, they would suspend him, but it would be by the neck. No, let these men go through with their discipline; let Mr. Elder go to St. Stephen's and depose Dr. Muir, and Dr. Muir come over to St. Paul's and depose Mr. Elder. Oh, sir, if things must come to this pass, if so fatal a *stab* shall be given to the cause of Christianity and of Christ in this land, my hand shall never, I trust, have part in the doing of it.

But Mr. Begg says, If you leave you will be no better. A spirit of persecution is raised in the land, which shall follow us out of the Establishment as well as in it. The aristocracy will concuss all their dependents to desert us and oppose us. Sir, when that day comes, the doom of the aristocracy of Scotland is sealed.

Then Mr. Begg says, Have done with lawsuits. Most happy consummation, sir, if they will have done with me. But will they? It has been his dream by night and his thought by day, What is to come of us? But the grand question is, What is our duty? and not our duty to the Established Church so much as what is our duty to the Church of Christ? He could see it his duty to share his last silver sixpence with his suffering brethren.

Mr. Elder said, If I differ from the Resolutions of Dr. Macfarlane, it is with great pain, yet I feel the freer to take my ground that I have a stipend secured to me independent of the State.

There are two views of the nature of the connection of the Church and State. The one (the juster one) that the magistrate simply recognises the Church as a spiritual body, and therefore the duty of the Church, as entirely independent of him, to go on in her own duty according to her own sense of it, and enduring anything which she may be called to suffer in maintaining her own course. The other, that the alliance is one by compact, in which the will of both is declared, and the yoke is not imposed by the magistrate on the Church. The silence of the State has not hitherto been viewed as determining the terms, or our practical course, and he thought it more the position of Christian men to continue to suffer for their principles than to abandon their post when it became a post of danger and difficulty.

Evening Diet.—Dr. Lorimer prayed.

Dr. Candlish seconded the Resolutions, and, after, it was arranged that the Convocation should be called upon Synod by Synod. Dr. Candlish, as of the Synod of whom any representative was present, proceeded—

He adverted to the arguments of Mr. Elder and Mr. Moncreiff. Mr. Elder would throw us on first principles, the right theory of a connection between Church and State. This very important; now forced upon it. All agreed that as a Church we could not conform our ecclesiastical procedure to the will of the Civil Courts. Now, according to one of Mr. Elder's theories of this alliance, we were just to go on in our way as if there were no courts of law at all, and as if we had received no Establishment, endowment, etc., from the State. Whether the State showers down her benefits on us, or withholds or withdraws them, we are just to go on without any heed to it. This lands us in absurdity. According to this view there is no room for mutual understanding, or mutual duty according to the will of God. Whereas Dr. Candlish held that both must go to God's Word, and both, each for itself, learn from thence their duty to God and to one another.

This, then, lands us in the other theory of Church and State connection as a compact or arrangement, which leaves to each its right to keep it or to break it, according to their sense of duty at the time. It does not matter whether the terms of the compact be *unlawful*, both are free to break it,—nay, if found to be unlawful, the duty is to break it on either side. Therefore it is not enough to plead *Treaty;* we must plead *Duty*, and if, before or now, either party find the *treaty* illicit, *duty* requires that it be dissolved.

The present state of matters calls on the Church to complete its testimony to the glorious truth of Christ's sovereignty. We have long been pleading His right to reign in His own house. This was the great contest our fathers maintained against claims to civil supremacy. Now we are to complete our testimony by witnessing to the reverse principle—supremacy over the State as well as the Church.

Mr. Moncreiff holds the jurisdiction of the Courts of the Church, so secured by the Constitution, as that nothing done by the State can affect their independence, that the Church so stands in the Constitution that neither Courts nor Legislature can touch its independence; but this, however it might be in theory, was contradicted by the fact.

Now, coming to the *Resolutions*, he held, in terms of them, that, as a spiritual body the Church had no warrant to oppose any resistance to the decisions of law beyond remonstrance and warning. Mr. Begg had said this was pleading for despotism. But this Resolution does not touch the question of the power of the magistrate over subjects. On this subject Dr. Candlish—as Whiggish as any man—considered it a fair question whether subjects might not resist. But this is not our present concern; we are concerned with the duty of the Christian Church in regard to a State disposing the terms of its own gifts on its own view of duty, or her right in equity to retain the endowments in despite of the sword of the State, and certainly if the State should qualify the terms, and make terms unlawfully, we could have no warrant·to retain the emoluments, to resist the terms.

But the case of silence on the part of the Legislature is supposed, and how is this to be construed?

Mr. Moncreiff held that, in holding this doctrine of the second Resolution, we had abandoned the doctrine we had all along maintained, and on which alone we could vindicate our resistance hitherto, of co-ordinate Courts—Civil and Ecclesiastical. But we did not depart from it; we held it *was* the Constitution, but that by this declaration of law the constitution in this respect was changed. We held that, according to the theory of the constitution, Church Courts declare the mind of Christ—the Civil Courts *prima facie* the mind of the State, and the reason why the sentence of the Civil Courts is not at once received as the voice of the State is, that not till now have we had a decision on the point from the Supreme Court. This decision involves and proceeds upon the subjection of the Courts of the Church to the Civil Courts, and we go to the Legislature now to ask them to change the law, as so declared. We do not interpret your *silence*, but we conceive that if you do not say to the contrary, you have *spoken* already, through the sentences or decisions of the Courts of Law.

It is said that the subject or doctrine is partly new, and many in consequence in doubt about present duty. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Let no man's doings or decisions anticipate or go beyond his convictions. But plainly, one course is plain, if the Legislature won't *speak* in answer to application, we must go out. Impossible to remain. Thus, if only 100 ministers should see it their duty to leave, the rest of our brethren are left in a minority, and Mr. Begg tells us he and his brethren will not remain a minority in an Erastian Church, and the Statute tells me he holds his stipend on condition of his regarding it his *duty* to *intrude*. He feared our brethren will concede the independence, or will deny to the magistrate his right and duty in regard to the Church of Christ.

Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh, called by the House, at length rose and spoke. He set out with stating and avowing the supreme power of the State over all things temporal. This *belongs* to it, and if they use it wrongly God will judge them, and I am subject for conscience sake. We, the Church, have a connection with the State, in virtue of which we have duties to perform. No matter on what ground or principle these temporalities were given, they have power now to say on what terms, and to propose if they please, *new* terms; and if they insist on anything I object to I cannot help myself, and when the Supreme Civil Court gives the voice of the State, I do not say on the instant I must relinquish them if I will not undertake the conditions, but as soon as I am satisfied that this is the mind of the State, *Silence* makes the law; it carries you back to the last recorded and unrepealed utterance of it, and it is absurd to say, I will continue to hold my benefice until another statute come forth. This is the statute; there needs no new one. But perhaps the State is disposed to think we will submit. Therefore we make them aware of consequences; and if these do not prevail with them to *alter* the law, I must go out.

Some spoke of our voluntarily relinquishing our post, its duties and immunities. No, not voluntarily, but by force of conscience, more formidable to resist than batons, and prisons to bear. In short I am persecuted into a surrender.

Some speak of the privileges of the people. It is no more my duty to maintain their privileges than my own by committing sin.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM was called on, but declined taking up the time of the Convocation.

Dr. CHALMERS began by saying that he had heard of a discovery, fetched from the depths of a metaphysical jurisprudence, which withdrew the grounds of our Resolution, and left us, independent of all decisions of Civil Courts, free, or bound to keep our places. Now, in regard to this matter, he would distinguish between current or ordinary and constitutional law. If these conflict, we do not yield, or die at once. But if constitutional law, being appealed to, keep silent, much more if it give civil effect to the change made by ordinary law, I defer to the change. Yet, while deferring, it is the duty of the Church that she declare her rights, and admonish the State also of her duty.

He remarked that there are certain amiable and useful moralities, apart from Christian duty, which have great influence on the state of society. For instance, if rulers violate a constitution of the State, there is a strong feeling of sympathy with the resistance of the people to the aggression, and a lively joy if they triumph. But if Christianity come in, it lays an arrest and control over these feelings. "Let the dead bury their dead." There is enough of sensibility in human nature, at its worst, to do this service for the dead. Anger, another example. It works mighty effects for good, yet Christianity controls it. Apply this to the violation of the constitution of France in 1830, and to the violence done to the Church by the Courts of Law. Are we to give way to natural feeling under the provocation. Our Bible says no. Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth. What we call tyranny in civil matters, in matters spiritual is persecution. If the Legislature look on benignantly on the aggressions of the Civil Courts, persecution is begun, and under it the rule of Scripture is still applicable,—"if they persecute you in one city, flee into another." Without the limits of the Establishment there is freedom from the legal persecution, and therefore let us go forth. To wait for an articulate voice from the Legislature was to wait for ever. The example of our fathers pleaded for this. They stuck to their post, it is said, but there was no toleration; they stuck to the preaching of the gospel, and if it had been put to John Knox whether he would preach under restraint where he had a mess of pottage, or would preach *free* away from it, he would venture to say that John would have been *off* from it. He would not be surprised if persecution should follow us forth of the Establishment. He feared from the signs of the times the speedy rise of the great apostasy. But in the meantime *flee* into another. The Spirit did witness that in every city bonds, etc., did await Paul, but still he fled ; and so let us do, protesting, at the same time, as we go out, that we are driven out by a gross infraction of the faith of treaties,—in fact, by *Chartism in high life.*

There were two species of Ultraism in this matter, the one to give up instantly—like men in pet or impatience, precipitating the country into anarchy. The other—not to give up at all, and to offer continued resistance to the law in all the procedure of the Church Courts.

These Resolutions were a medium. They differ from the Resolutions of Saturday—as a declaratory from an effective proposition. (They differ, as Dr. Candlish said, in another respect—the one declares the duty of the Church, the other the duty of the magistrate.)

They may be enforced by a further argument. Suppose that the Church remain, refuse to conform its procedure to law, and carry out its own discipline, then deposition against deposition, excommunication against excommunication, and you will be driven out at last, despised as men of no principle, without the sympathy felt for men who suffer for a good conscience.

This work is begun ; some already are exposed and subjected to persecution ; and are we to make common cause with them ? No, this were to encourage the harpies of the law, and waste our means. But let us go out with them.

He adverted with admiration to Mr. Robertson of Gartly's statement of last evening, and digressed in reference to a question of Dr. Paterson about the voluntary or unendowed Church, and tried to find an answer to Mr. Begg's question, What is to be done with universities, etc., with funds to be had for this and every good purpose ?

Mr. James Buchanan was called, and expressed without a speech his adherence to the Resolutions.

Mr. Wood, Westruther, had come to the Conference thinking it his duty to remain in the Church, but the discussion had completely changed his views. If the Legislature remain silent, he will go out. Dr. DUNCAN of Ruthwell adhered. Mr. GEORGE DUNCAN was shaken in his views, but would like time. Mr. MACKENZIE adhered. He considered this a controversy not between the Courts of the Church and State, but between the Church and the world. Mr. BRYDON hesitated. Mr. CLARKE, Half Morton, had changed thoroughly—adhering to the Resolutions. Mr. SAMUEL SMITH thought Mr. Moncreiff's Resolutions not suitable. Dr. Macfarlane's he approved of, with slight alterations.

Dr. BROWN of Glasgow expressed his opinion, that we should respectfully, yet firmly, state to the Legislature our difficulties, and that, if they gave us no redress, we should have no alternative.

Dr. PATERSON, Glasgow—his hope was we would come to a conclusion to-night, and unanimously adhere to Dr. Macfarlane's Resolutions.

Mr. WILLIAM BURNS held the opinion—out at once, if no redress.

Dr. R. BURNS anticipated the impatience of the House, but would be short. He could not agree to resolve to withdraw from the Establishment until the Church had first exhausted all her resources, etc.

Mr. MONCREIFF was much impressed with admiration and anxiety by what he had heard, but was not convinced. He tried to explain and vindicate his own position and views.

Dr. MAKELLAR maintained the principles for which the Church now contends in a few sentences.

Mr. GIBSON made a remark or two on the condition of *quoad sacra* ministers, and made offer of the *quoad sacra* churches to the fathers of the Church, should they be thrown out of their present churches, and the extension churches be preserved to the ejected party.

Dr. BUCHANAN began by saying that he saw no allurement out of the Church to ministers; but if the law as declared shall be confirmed, less allurement in it. It is indeed impossible to submit to an Erastian supremacy. An age like this—so gross and secular that they can realise nothing spiritual unless as connected with something secular—may see little evil in this. But it is destructive of discipline—of religion itself—and these, independent of the constitutional ground, are elements of decision which leave no difficulty to decide *now* on the course of duty. Not to speak of what the Judges themselves would do, the country will not allow the Judges to sit under the restrictions by which we are now held bound, till justice should be polluted. They are not removable, even at the pleasure of the Crown; and why shall ministers of Christ, judging in higher matters, be deprived of all freedom of judgment, and held bound by a liability to actions of damages for conscientious discharge of their duty to their Lord. No juror would take the jury-box under terms so dishonourable and unjust.

If he had at times been more measured in his words, and more moderate in his measures, than some of his brethren—more reluctant to invite the crisis—it was not because he did not see his course, or was not made up to follow it, but it was because he saw it clearly, and knew what alone he could do, that he was anxious to do nothing to hasten so great a calamity—that if come it must he might not have any of the fearful responsibility—more than of necessity he must bear. The thought of a voluntary Church was to him as darkness. But the pillar of fire would be there, and there he would go as led.

Mr. MACFARLAN, Renfrew, legalised on the relation of the State to the funds of the Church. They are not proprietors, but trustees, and must regulate them according to the terms of the trust. Mr. DEMPSTER concurred. Mr. BALFOUR, Clackmannan, demurred to the Resolutions, and moved delay till the Assembly should meet. Mr. CUPPLES concurred. Before the meeting he was in doubt and inclined for delay. Mr. STIRLING, Cargill, had come up with doubts, but these were removed, and the course was plain.

Mr. BEITH repeated adherence to his principles, but was undecided as to the mode of procedure. He could not concur with Drs. Gordon, Brown, Chalmers, etc. It had been admitted that the views taken by these Resolutions were new. Our leaders, he said, had changed more than once, and may change again. There is so much talent and subtilty and eloquence about them that they never can get anybody to answer them till they answer themselves.

Dr. MACFARLANE asked what alterations were required on the Resolutions to unite all.

Mr. GRAY of Perth denied the allegation of Mr. Beith that there was any change in the views of our leaders. He held still the doctrine he had ever maintained on the co-ordinate jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts. But the late decision had brought principles into view not before contemplated. The difficulty had been to decide what was the full effect of silence in the Legislature. But on consideration he was satisfied that it was of equal efficacy with an Act of Parliament. Give the Legislature time, if they please, to take this declaration of law out of the way; but if they allow it to remain, it is to be held that they have spoken—that the Law Courts give forth their view, and they choose not to recall it. It is confirmed by their sanction. In this case it is impossible to remain in the Church. A change of Government, which some contemplate, would not change the law; and if we leave our benefices, let us leave them with a protest against the deed of the State. The Treaty of Union bound the State; but how? Not to fetter our temporalities with sinful conditions? Certainly not. But if they do so fetter them in the exercise of a power confessedly competent, though wrongful, we cannot hinder them. We may plead the national faith, we may appeal to the fears of the Legislature; but if these prevail not, we have no resource. They have imposed a sinful condition, and if we cannot undertake or discharge it, we must submit and forego our advantage. The compact cannot be altered without both parties consenting, but it may be broken by either. In this case the State has broken the compact contained in the Treaty of Union, and on their heads be the guilt. The change fetters our conscience, and we cannot conscientiously come under the altered terms.

Mr. Brown of Largo spoke in support of the Resolutions.

Mr. Nairn, Forgan, would guard against anticipating providence. The duty of the present moment, he would say, is expressed in these words, "Add to your faith fortitude." He considered the position of matters morally to be this—God is not calling us at this moment to give up our livings; but He is putting to the trial our disposition or readiness to give them up if called upon, and he had remarked that in providence it was often God's way to give back what He was threatening to take away, when we showed ourselves really prepared to part with it at His call. It was so with Abraham, of whom God accepted the will to sacrifice his own son Isaac for the deed.

The Resolutions were now put, and of those present I think 223 agreed. It was now past two in the morning, and many had retired before the discussion came to a close.

Wednesday, Morning Diet.—Many gave in their names as adherents to the Resolutions put yesterday. News was brought that the heritors of Carmylie (Lord Panmure at the head) had agreed to pay no stipend to the minister because he had been ordained by a Presbytery containing *quoad sacra* ministers. Thus aggression and disorder proceed and accumulate.

Mr. Nixon had hesitated last night to adhere, being afraid to press State abuses, but after consideration, he hoped in a proper way, he was convinced that the meeting of Convocation would evaporate in smoke unless it took some practical step, and the Resolutions taking the *proper* one—he adhered.

Mr. Thornton of Milnathort prayed.

Mr. Begg stated that the single consideration on which he refused to agree to the Resolutions was, as he had before stated, that he did not feel or consider the decision of the Civil Court binding on his conscience. He could not conform rule and procedure to this decision, and if either the Legislature Erastianise the Church by express statute, or the Church Erastianised herself, he must quit. He was at one with us in remonstrating with the Government; and, moreover, he could conceive certain circumstances in which *Silence* of the Legislature would decide his course with us. But not silence after *one* application. He would endure until driven out by violence from without, or by defection within.

He gave in a paper containing reasons of dissent, which was objected to, as putting a false colour on our proceedings, and setting us in a false position; and it was stated that, if persisted in, either permission to insert it in the records must be refused, or, if permitted, must be accompanied with the insertion of an elaborate answer to it.

Dr. Candlish urged that this should be dropped in the meantime, and Mr. Begg acquiesced.

Dr. Buchanan rose to guard the meaning of a clause in the Resolutions regarding the application to be made to the Legislature. He did not understand this resolution as referring to the application to be now made by the Convocation, but to the application to be made by the Assembly.

Dr. Chalmers, who had just come in, urged strongly the importance of unanimity, from the mischief of divisions. He asked the clerk what number of *names* had agreed to the Resolutions of yesterday, and being answered 323, he exclaimed with great ardour, "Very well then, we exceed the army of Gideon ; a most hopeful omen, a most hopeful omen for the Church of Scotland." While urging unanimity, he guarded every one against outrunning his own light and convictions. It seemed as if all were *virtually* at *one*, and he thought that any little differences should be yielded at the bidding of sound Christian policy.

It was a duty, Christ's prayer was, that the disciples might be one—that the world might know that the Father had sent Him, as if Christian union were a stepping-stone to the regeneration of the world. Who, he asked, are they who will rejoice in the part Mr. Begg and his friends have taken? The Erastian party, no doubt, and they have cause, for this will greatly strengthen their cause. For instance, Dr. Muir and his six or eight followers, who are thought the purest of their party, have given nine-tenths of all their strength to the Moderate party, and if there shall be a remainder of sixty away from us, the Moderates will consider that they have gained by the Convocation much more than we have.

Mr. Begg felt these remarks very sore, and said that a time might come when he and his friends must go out—and would. Dr. Chalmers rejoined, "Why don't you say so then?"

Mr. Begg said—If you go, we are driven out.

Dr. Chalmers proceeded to say that if ever he should be tempted to look with an evil eye it would be when, after being driven forth of the Establishment, he should look back and see some of them who had held the same principles luxuriating on their livings, who had helped to put us out or keep us out.

Mr. Begg said that he would never be seen of this number. Dr. Chalmers replied he had guarded himself expressly against any personal application of this remark, and hoped that he was speaking of a man of straw. He here introduced and read a paragraph in one of Dr. Macfarlane's letters, which he greatly commended. In regard to the Assembly, he thought that the Resolutions of *Three* hundred ministers from this Convocation would tell more on Government than the Assembly, and at least the Assembly will do themselves immortal honour if they shall make the Resolutions of the Convocation their own.

He adverted to the cry of *Schism.* This, he said, is the cry of corrupt Churches, and on the principles on which schism is condemned there never could have been separation from the Church of Rome. In the present the Church is leaving us; or, as abiding by its principles, from which others are departing, *we* are the Church *minus* the Endowments.

He felt assured that the apathy of the people complained of would be dissipated by the deed of our *Separation*. He thought, if cast out, we should go, intimating that if the present ground of offence were taken away we might return to the Establishment. Yet this was not a probable event. If he read prophecy aright he was inclined to consider the rising Toryism of the English Church, supported by the Ultra-Toryism of England—the Beast—which was asserting its power against Protestantism and the truth. Now, if we remained in an Erastian Church, we could offer no effectual opposition to its use. Whereas, if free, the Church of Scotland might be the rallying point for evangelical truth throughout the world.

At this point he burst forth into a description of enthusiasm, as peculiar to times of trouble and excitement, etc.

(He was himself the most striking impersonation of the passion which he so eloquently and vividly depicted. I cannot recall it—it burst like electricity upon us—not less brilliant and effective than the most brilliant and striking of all the productions of his mind. The effect was astonishing.)

Mr. ELDER again said that his only design was to present the *difference* which, in his conscience, seemed to exist between him and his brethren. When the time comes, he trusted he would be found willing to take joyfully the spoiling of his goods, etc.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM held Mr. Elder's proposal to insert this point in this form not reasonable; either be content with silence, or with a single sentence stating *your* view, not reflecting on us.

Mr. BONAR was yearning over his brethren, fain to have them with us. They say they will leave when the time comes. Mr. B. would put it to them, Is not the time now come, when three hundred of their brethren are forced to withdraw? Is not this a providential sign that the time is come?

Mr. BEGG still stood out.

Dr. CANDLISH interrupted, and Mr. Begg retired with his friends to the Session-house to see if they could not alter their paper so as to meet the view of the Convocation.

The next subject for consideration was the *quoad sacra* ministers, and their position in prospect of an adverse decision of the Stewarton case.

Dr. CANDLISH could not anticipate any difference of opinion on this subject, and proposed that the Convocation should adhere to the resolution of last Assembly on the point. *Their* cause is the cause of the Church.

Mr. DUNCAN thought this should content them ; but as to the question whether, if a bill passed depriving them of their judicial functions, Dr. Candlish and the Convocation would hold themselves pledged to make common cause with them.

Mr. MONCREIFF objected, and reserved his opinion on this subject.

Dr. CANDLISH explained satisfactorily.

Mr. GIBSON suggested the importance of doing what could be done in regard to the property of the Extension Churches.

Dr. BUCHANAN said, We can do nothing. It is a civil matter, and the Civil Courts will claim them for the Establishment.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM thought it might be worth while to examine the feudal titles, and see if in any case they admit of being altered.

On the subject of the powers of the ministry, Dr. Cunningham held that, in cases of evangelists or missionaries, the only power conferred was the key of doctrine ; but in every case where a minister was ordained to a particular charge he received the keys both of doctrine and discipline.

Dr. WILLIS adverted to the particular state of the Churches which had joined the Establishment of late from the Secession.

Mr. GUTHRIE said that it was a custom with a distressed army, when they could not carry away their guns, to spike them. If we cannot get the Extension Churches, lay a heavy burden of debt on them, which will make them of little use.

Mr. AITKEN would like better if we could save the guns to good service.

Dr. CANDLISH next adverted to the means to be taken for getting additional adherents to the Resolutions, and making our proceedings known to the country.

Dr. BUCHANAN proposed local committees for this purpose. Mr. C. BROWN proposed a brief synopsis of the views and grounds of our proceedings. Mr. DAVIDSON proposed missions into Moderate parishes. Dr. MACFARLANE urged expedition in what was done. I suggested the importance of our calling meetings of our people, immediately on our return home, and urging the advantage of our people's love of news, and curiosity to know the proceedings of a secret Convocation, to secure a larger attendance than otherwise we might command.

Wednesday, Evening Diet.—It was proposed by Dr. Candlish that there should be a public meeting, for a close, in Lady Glenorchy's to-morrow evening, to which elders and others should be invited, and where, along with prayer, several ministers should be appointed to rehearse the proceedings of the Convocation.

Dr. MACFARLANE proposed a vote of thanks, and a *present* to Mr. Pitcairn, the clerk.

Mr. BEGG now reported the result of his conference with his friends. The single point of difference—they were not prepared to hold the silence of the Legislature as sufficient expression of its mind nor binding their conscience. He tendered the paper anew, with eighteen or twenty adherents, repeating that the only ground of difference was that they considered that the silence of the Legislature would lay upon them no obligation. Circumstances might make it *warrantable,* but not binding.

Mr. BROWN contended that there was at least now no ground of practical difference. Mr. BEITH asked, How, if this paper were not admitted on the record—how *he* and his brethren were to stand *right* with the country? Mr. GUTHRIE asked in reply, How, if it were admitted, *he* and his brethren would stand right with the country? Dr. KEITH of St. Cyrus tried to show that Mr. Begg and his friends were thoroughly at one with us. Mr. GENTLE considered that it was only on the ground of general agreement that Mr. Begg and his friends could claim the inserting of this paper, and professedly they were not agreeing but differing. Mr. MACKELLAR, Mearns, insisted on its insertion (he being an adherent). Dr. BUCHANAN now saw the way, as the result of all the discussion, to a *unanimous memorial.*

At this stage a deputation from *seventy preachers* of the gospel was introduced. They had signed a requisition for a meeting of preachers to adhere to the principles of the Church, and to follow up the Resolutions of the Convocation.

Mr. GRANT, Assistant to Dr. Brown, Glasgow, read their memorial.

Mr. M'CHEYNE, Dundee, was called on to pray.

Dr. MACFARLANE responded to the memorial of the preachers.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM expressed the delight of the Convocation in the honest and manly course of these preachers, and the determination of the Convocation to provide opportunities of usefulness for them by all means in their power. Complimented Dr. Macfarlane, who had so nobly maintained the principles of the Church, and whose son was now in the front rank of the rising generation, who would adhere to them.

The Convocation recurred to what means should be taken to enlighten the people. In addition to former proposals it was suggested that the Convocation should issue an address to the people of Scotland.

Thursday, Morning Diet.—Dr. CANDLISH read a report of committee proposing that the Convocation should close its sittings this evening in Lady Glenorchy's, that certain ministers should be requested beforehand to pray, and certain others to address the meeting, and that elders and friends should be invited to attend.

Mr. PITCAIRN returned thanks for the thanks and present given him for his willing services.

On the papers of Mr. Begg being read over, embodying the point of difference between him and the majority of Convocation, Mr. BONAR remarked that there was a clerical blunder, which should be corrected in it. It made mention of an application to Government. It ought to be applications. Mr. ELDER demurred to any change. Mr. BEITH was of the same mind. Mr. BONAR stood to the importance of it and urged it. I said the proposal was most reasonable. Mr. BEITH said it was not only not reasonable but very harsh. I insisted that it must be made. Messrs. BROWN, GLEN, HETHERINGTON, on the same side—Mr. MACKELLAR on the other, insisting that as a matter of form and correct business it should remain.

I again insisted that while Mr. Mackellar was right in point of form, these gentlemen ought not to insist on seeking a foundation for their own position on ground which we did not only not hold but disallowed; and they should either concede the point, and so make themselves at one with us, or show some other reason why they stood out.

Dr. Cunningham took the same ground. He said, we had been forbearing toward them, and they should not seek to put us in the wrong. Mr. Guthrie very seriously maintained this point.

Mr. Davidson said he did not vote last night for the Resolutions because not quite decided, but with the explanation now given he was clear.

One man after another rose and withdrew his adherence from Mr. Begg's paper on the same ground. It was most delightful to see it.

Some conversation took place about preserving the records of the Convocation, and a committee was appointed to see them correctly made up, and then safely deposited in the hands of Mr. David Laing, keeper of the records of the Church.

Dr. Lorimer moved that, as a means of helping forward the object of the Convocation, we should pray for one another at a stated time. He proposed Saturday evening. I seconded this proposal; but if time were to be fixed at all, which I am not fond of, I would prefer Sabbath evening. It was agreed it should be Saturday.

Dr. Macfarlane proceeded to read the draught of the Memorial to Government.[1] It was not yet completed. It wanted the peroration; but the body of it was here, and will soon be public property. Its tone was respectful and moderate, yet firm. It proceeded on the Resolutions of the Convocation, which it embodied, and was directed not simply to secure the non-intrusion principle, but the freedom of the Church in her Courts invaded by the late decisions.

Mr. Wilson, Carmylie, would have liked the insertion of an anti-Patronage clause, but would not press it.

Mr. Grierson would not seem to concuss the Government.

Mr. Moncreiff, while he acknowledged the Memorial was the best thing the Convocation had done, could not concur in it.

Mr. Wallace of Barr concurred cordially.

Mr. Brown, Largo, considered the destruction or salvation of the Established Church to turn upon the result of this Memorial; admonished to caution as to its terms, and to diligence in prosecution of its object. He thought that the negotiations of the Church hitherto had suffered grievously from want of due diligence. There was no railway or canal company which did not lay out more time and money in carrying through their bill than had been given yet to secure the freedom and efficiency and continued existence of the Establishment.

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[1] See *Ten Years' Conflict* for this Memorial, and Resolutions of Convocation.

Dr. BUCHANAN repudiated all idea of the Church attempting or seeming to concuss the Government. At the same time, he thought it would be highly blameable not to tell the Government, fairly and fully, what is going on and impending. This matter, if it fail, may prove the beginning of a revolution. However innocently and inevitably, we may become the occasion of this. Men will therefore certainly blame us. Therefore let us be careful to act so as to make it evident that we took not the step until, having exhausted all means, and brought all influence to bear, we were driven to it.

Mr. BEITH now said, My name stands first at this paper (Mr. Begg's), and I have now the happiness to withdraw it, and to go along with my brethren.

A thrill of delight and gratitude went through the Convocation on this announcement, by which we were all brought and declared, by God's good hand upon us, to be of one mind.

Mr. ELDER and Mr. BEGG concurred in the withdrawal.

Dr. MACFARLANE gave utterance to the feeling of the Convocation.

I was called upon to pray.

Dr. CHALMERS proposed a Committee to co-operate with elders of the Church in carrying the ends of the Convocation into effect.

Dr. MACFARLANE named a Committee to complete the Memorial, and to prepare petitions to Parliament and an address to the people.

Dr. CANDLISH said the address to the people was not ready.

Mr. GORDON recommended all convenient speed.

Dr. CANDLISH proposed that means should be taken, after informing our congregations, that petitions from the male communicants should be sent up from each of them, and that meetings should be held.

Mr. M'COSH asked whether, in the calling meetings of our congregations, we should call only those friendly, or all indiscriminately. The latter way might create much inconvenience.

Dr. CANDLISH would invite all, not for debate, but for exposition.

Mr. BEGG would preach about it. Time was when the pulpit was the moving power of the nation, and ought not to be surrendered. He had taken this subject there in the face of his heritors, and would again.

Mr. SYM asked whether nothing should be done by ministers to get the adherence of their people.

Dr. CANDLISH suggested the adoption of Dr. Macfarlane's plan of addressing letters to them. Also he thought we should preach about the subject. He had no idea that the Church should be broken up on grounds not fit for the pulpit. He had hitherto been reserved there, but now he would have freedom to introduce it. People should be made sensible of their responsibility in the matter. The great principles, at all events, if not the details, should be expounded and pressed upon them. The announcement of a week-day sermon would get the better of those obstructions which so many ministers complained of as vexatiously thrown in their way to meeting with the people on the subject.

Some members proposed that Mr. Macdonald of Urquhart should invade Moderate parishes in the north, which he said he had been in the way of doing, and would continue to do.

Some one proposed that Dr. Mackay should be requested to translate Dr. Macfarlane's letters into Gaelic, the address to the people, etc.

After reading the minutes, Dr. CHALMERS closed the business of the Convocation with a most tender and earnest and sublime prayer.

427 ministers concurred in the first series of Resolutions. 354 ministers concurred in the second series of Resolutions.

Thursday, Evening Diet.—Lady Glenorchy's Church.—The meeting was presided over by Dr. Brown of Glasgow. He, Mr. Macdonald of Urquhart, and Mr. Bonar of Larbert, conducted the devotions of the meeting.

Dr. Buchanan, Glasgow, Dr. Clason, Mr. Elder, and Dr.

Candlish addressed the meeting on the occasion and proceedings of the Convocation.

Contemporaneously with the meeting of the Convocation there was published the first volume of *Contributions towards an Exposition of the Book of Genesis* by Dr. Candlish, which was followed by the publication of several other volumes in successive years, abundantly showing that, among his manifold labours as an ecclesiastic, Dr. Candlish was by no means neglectful of his work as a theologian and a preacher of the gospel.

CHAPTER X.

Narrow Escape from Drowning at Largo—Addresses Congregations in east of Fife—Resolutions in Presbytery of Edinburgh—Meeting of Commission in January 1843—Goes to London—Letters to Mr. J. Hamilton and Rev. J. Gibson—Claim of Church rejected in House of Commons—Letters to Dr. Henderson and Rev. J. Gibson—Meeting in Waterloo Rooms—Speech in Presbytery—Speech at Glasgow—Speech in Synod of Glasgow and Ayr—Preparations for Disruption.

So soon as the Christmas holidays were over, Dr. Candlish set out on a visitation to the congregations in the east of Fife, to lay before them and expound the Resolutions of the Convocation held in November last. On the 9th January 1843 he crossed the Firth of Forth in a steamer with the view of landing at Largo Bay. Mr. Brown, then minister of Largo, has thus described what took place :—

"The small harbour of Largo, on the coast of Fife, in the centre of the bay of that name, is formed by a stone pier, on the east side, and a ridge of rocks sloping down to the sand, on the west. It is dry at low water, but even then, when the wind blows strong from the south, it is filled with heavy volumes of waves rolling in from the bay. Such was the case on a certain day in the month of February January) 1843, when Dr. Candlish came over from Edinburgh in the St. George steamer to hold a meeting in the Parish Church of Largo on the Church question. The steamer could only come to the mouth of the harbour, where she discharged nine passengers into the ferry-boat, which, on this day, being so rough, had four boatmen instead of two. The boat could not make for the usual landing-place at the pier, as it was low water, and was compelled for safety to steer for the ridge of rocks above mentioned. In doing this it was caught by a heavy wave and half filled with water, and shortly after was wholly filled by a tremendous sea, which plunged all the passengers and crew into the raging waters. They could not wade, but were borne by the violence of the waves to the shore, where they gained a footing with much difficulty, with the exception of a young man, the only sailor on board, who was unhappily drowned. I had been awaiting Dr. Candlish's landing at the usual place on the pier, but on seeing the boat heading to the west, I hurried across to the reef, and there I marked Dr. Candlish struggling with the waves, rushed in, seized him, and drew him out. A cart with straw in it was standing near. I lifted him into it. Then, entering a cottage, I snatched a blanket from the bed, wrapped him in it, and drove to the manse as speedily as possible. We undressed and rubbed him well, and surrounded him with heat. He fell into a sound sleep, and awoke thankful and cheerful in the evening. Next day he was able to proceed to Elie, where, with his wonted kindness and sympathy, he visited the relatives of the young man who had been drowned."

In reference to this same occurrence, Mr. Bell says—

"Desiring to land at Largo from the Dundee steamer in a small boat, the latter was swamped. Dr. Candlish was an excellent swimmer and boatman, thanks to the practice which he had on the Thames at Eton; but, being trammelled by his travelling clothes, he would have been drowned, as one young man was, had it not been for a providential circumstance, which he mentioned to me on his return home. It was this. While still in the water these words from Acts xxvii. 44, came to his mind, 'some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship,' and then, looking round, he got hold of an oar, which helped to keep him up. On being rescued and put to bed at the manse, he was insensible for some time, but after a profuse perspiration he felt well, with the exception of a slight headache."

[illegible]

On the 10th January he wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

"First of all, let me ask you to join in giving thanks for my safe preservation yesterday, when one far more likely to save himself than I was lost. In coming ashore here the small boat was swamped—an accident unknown before in this bay; and we all, five boatmen, and about as many passengers, were thrown into the sea. All were got ashore, but one, alas! too late. The rest are doing well. For myself, after being in bed all yesterday, I feel no bad effects at all, although I was sufficiently exhausted at the time. By way of precaution I am confining myself to the house to-day, and I shall not do any work here. But I am quite as well as ever now."

In this visit to the east of Fife Dr. Candlish was accompanied by Mr. Cairns of Cupar (now Dr. Cairns, Melbourne), and in the congregations of Largo, Anstruther Easter, Crail, St. Andrews, Kemback, Leuchars, and Ceres, they explained to the people the position and duty of the Church in the present eventful crisis. The meetings were all largely attended. Dr. Candlish preached at St. Andrews on the 15th, in the Secession Church in the forenoon and in the Parish Church in the afternoon. Of this afternoon service the *Fife Sentinel* of the day says—

"For half an hour before the time a continuous stream of human beings poured in at every entrance to that huge fabric, until every place from which it was possible to hear him was literally crowded. After the usual exercises he preached from John xiv. 30, 'The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me.' Often as we have before seen audiences, both in the Assembly and in the pulpit, carried away by his glowing eloquence, so that consciousness for the time seemed to be altogether suspended, yet we scarcely ever remember of having seen him excite so lively an interest. The visit has been like life from the dead to St. Andrews."

The ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh was held on the last Wednesday of January, and at that meeting Dr. Candlish proposed a series of resolutions on the state of the Church. He said—

"Before the Presbytery proceed to consider the business on the roll, I feel it necessary to call the attention of the Court to the position in which we are met. Of course I refer to the judgment recently pronounced by the Court of Session in the case of Stewarton, and to the principles affirmed by that judgment. Whether or not that judgment is to be appealed to the House of Lords we cannot tell, the Church alone can decide upon that point; but, in the meantime, we cannot allow a judgment of that nature to be passed in the Court of Session without taking some notice of it in this Court, now met for the first time since that decision was pronounced. It has been found by the whole Court that a large portion of this and other Presbyteries are not constitutional members of the Court. Now there are two points here to consider. In the first place, whether we are called upon to say, or to put on record, anything in reference to our own views as to the jurisdiction claimed by the Civil Courts, and in reference to our determination, notwithstanding that judgment, to continue to regard the ministers of the *quoad sacra* churches as valid and legal members of this Court ; and in the second place, viewing this decision in connection with other decisions, which seem to shut up the Church to the consideration of this single question, whether we can continue to carry on our government and discipline in connection with the State or not—viewing the matter in this connection, to consider whether the Presbytery should pause in its business and seek the advice of the Superior Courts.

"I shall consider the first question in a few words — that is, whether we are called to put on record any reference to the views we entertain as to the jurisdiction claimed by the Civil Courts, and our determination, notwithstanding that decision, to continue to regard our brethren the *quoad sacra* ministers as entitled to bear rule as well as to teach. You all know that, after the judgment given by the Court of Session, we might have been met here to-day by interdict granted against our brethren sitting as members of this Court. A number of interdicts were actually issued by the Court of Session before judgment was pronounced in the case of Stewarton ; and now that the judgment has been pronounced, it was the more likely that this step would have been resorted to. Here let me call to mind, by way of analogous illustration, the course pursued by the last Assembly when certain members were interdicted from taking their seats in that Court. The Assembly passed a resolution encouraging the ministers and elders to take their seats, expressing sympathy with them, and expressing a resolution to support them as far as was in their power. Had our friends come here and intimated to us, as it was very possible they might have done, that they had received interdicts against taking their seats, I think it would have been our bounden duty to follow the course of the Assembly, and to pass a resolution expressing our determination to continue to recognise them as members of this Court. It is true that we meet now without interdict ; without any intimation of the sentence of the Court of Session. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we meet under circumstances where our brethren are, in point of fact, exposed to these proceedings, and that they come here to take their seats with us in violation of a judgment of the Civil Court.

I honour them for doing so; and I trust that the Presbytery honours them for doing so. But I think we ought to do more than honour them in the sentiments entertained in our own minds; we ought to express our views on the matter, and that not merely in reference to our brethren, not simply as a debt we owe to them, ought we to express our views on this unprecedented judgment of the Civil Court, but we ought to do so on the broader ground of the obligation we owe to the Church of which we are members, to vindicate her jurisdiction from invasion in whatever quarter it is attempted. The judgment that has been pronounced by the Civil Court is on a matter concerning the spiritual superintendence of parishes—it is on this particular question, whether the souls of a certain district are to be superintended by one man or by another; and if it be not a spiritual matter to determine who shall have the care of souls in a particular locality, it is in vain to talk of whether there be such a thing as spiritual contradistinguished from civil and temporal. This doctrine is just tantamount to saying that the question of spiritual superintendence is wholly a civil question.

"With regard to the other point—the constitution of Church Courts, and the determination of the Court of Session that the Church shall not be at liberty to determine what ministers and elders shall bear rule within her Courts, I need not advance an argument to show the spiritual nature of her proceedings there also. It is true that certain questions have been connected with the Church, such as the determining about manses and glebes, the trial of schoolmasters, etc., which have been referred by statute to Presbyteries in the first instance; but then, these being confessedly civil matters, may be appealed to the Civil Courts. Had the Civil Courts merely found that, in reference to these, Presbyteries were not rightly constituted, that they could not take the decisions of Presbyteries in which *quoad sacra* ministers and elders sat, as to the allocation of the manse or the glebe, there would have been less ground for complaint, though even then it might have been said that if these matters were entrusted to Presbyteries they were Presbyteries spiritually constituted. But the decision goes much farther than that; it requires the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts to determine who shall bear rule in the Church in spiritual matters; who shall be members of Church Courts in disposing of spiritual questions, and, in fact, all matters that may come before them. I need not point out how grievous an invasion of the privileges of the Church this is. In point of fact, the judgment of the Court of Session in the case of Stewarton is more plainly and palpably than even the later judgment of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, an assumption by the

Civil Courts of jurisdiction in spiritual matters. There is not here anything like a binding and astricting clause; there is not an allegation by a single individual that his civil rights are affected; there is nothing but the naked assertion of jurisdiction by the Civil Courts in matters which are wholly ecclesiastical. It is therefore our bounden duty to take up this judgment at our first meeting, and to record our opinion that it is an unconstitutional invasion of our spiritual jurisdiction, a jurisdiction recognised by statute, and recognised to flow from Christ alone; for however some persons may affect to treat with contempt on the one hand, or to look with disgust on the other, upon our claim to a jurisdiction *jure divino*, or as flowing from Christ alone, it must be remembered that not only do the statutes of the realm recognise this jurisdiction residing in the Church to the extent to which she claims it, but they recognise that jurisdiction as flowing from Christ alone; and therefore, even in a court of law and in a judicial proceeding there is no incompetency or impropriety in the Church employing this argument of her special jurisdiction. It is true she is bound as an Established Church to show statutes for the extent of jurisdiction which she claims; but if she can show that these statutes recognise a claim of *jus divinum*, she is entitled to plead all that is implied in that recognition.

"As to its effect upon the constitution of this Court, I think we ought to record our opinion that it is an unconstitutional invasion of the privileges of the Established Church; and that we ought deliberately to record our determination, notwithstanding the judgment may even be affirmed by the House of Lords, from a sense of duty to disregard it, and to continue to regard the ministers of *quoad sacra* churches as entitled to bear rule, and entitled to exercise discipline within their churches. I at once admit that we are bound here to establish a case of duty. I think that if this were a motion of mere expediency, in regard to which we did not feel ourselves bound down by principle, all considerations of sound policy and all considerations of duty would lead us to accommodate our proceedings to those of the Civil Courts. I admit that in the Auchterarder case, if it were not a matter of conscience and of principle with us not to intrude a pastor upon a reclaiming congregation, it would be our duty, from a consideration of sound policy, and from the regard we have for the value of our Establishment, to abstain from controverting that judgment. So in this case, if it were not a matter of principle and of conscientious duty with us not to yield obedience to the Civil Courts in spiritual matters, it would be our duty to conform our ecclesiastical proceedings, as far as possible, to the proceedings of the Civil Courts judging within their civil province. But in my mind it is a matter of duty, and of conscience, and of principle, to declare our determination to persevere in the course which the Church has adopted. I think we are not bound to yield obedience. I think we are not entitled; neither by the law of God nor by the law of the land are we bound or entitled to yield obedience to the Civil Courts. On the contrary, I think that principle requires us to persevere, notwithstanding that judgment, in the course upon which the Church has entered; for our principle is that, in the first place, we should claim for ourselves the sole and exclusive right of determining who are to have rule and who are to exercise discipline in the Church of Christ. And further, we hold the principle that it is the right of persons who are ordained to the pastoral office not only to teach but also to bear rule. The judgment of the Court of Session, on the contrary, declares that that Act —passed by the General Assembly, and passed because it was regarded by the Church as a matter of principle, of conscience, and of duty,—is illegal and invalid. But we cannot alter our proceeding in accommodation to that judgment, because we hold that we have the exclusive jurisdiction in determining who are to bear rule in the Church, and who are to hold seats in the Church Courts as ministers ordained over churches in the congregations of which they are ordained to bear rule as well as to teach.

"But it is impossible for us to consider this judgment of the Court of Session isolated and alone; we must consider it in connection with other proceedings which have truly raised this solemn question, Whether the Church of Scotland can longer continue to carry on its government and discipline in connection with the State; or whether, to secure these, it must renounce the benefits of an Establishment? We have long struggled to avoid the raising of this question; we have long endeavoured, by expressing our anxiety for any settlement on reasonable terms, to arrest the course of events which led to it. We told the Government and the Legislature that if they delayed to interpose, and if our opponents continued their systematic interference, the question would soon become too complicated for any settlement, and yet neither would the Legislature interfere, nor would our opponents, or the Court of Session, suspend their harassing proceedings; they allowed matters to go on, and the result we always dreaded has now come. The question is fairly raised whether the Church is to be an Established Church, or whether, to be a free Church of the living God, she must renounce the benefits of an Establishment?

"It is plain—there is no possibility of disguising it—that this is the final step in this great controversy, at least as carried on within the Establishment. My belief is that it is the first step of a far greater controversy to be carried on out of the Establishment. But there is no disguising this, that this is the last move that the Church can make as an Establishment. It is strange that any should seem to think, as some appear to have done, that the Church should be contented with an answer from the Government, and that we are not entitled to wait till we see whether the Legislature will entertain our claim. No; we have always said that we would take nothing for a decision of what the Establishment is to be but the voice of the Legislature. Nothing but the supreme power in the nation—the deliverance of the Legislature, tacit or expressed, shall finally determine what the constitution of the Establishment is to be. If the claims of the Church be refused, or not entertained by the Legislature, all the world knows that, in the opinion of a large number of ministers, it will be the duty of the Church to conclude that the supreme power of the nation has substantially declared the constitution of the Church to be *de facto*—whatever it may be *de jure*—such as the Civil Courts have declared it to be; and that they will not only regard this answer of the Legislature as raising, but as determining, the question whether or not they are to continue to carry on the business of Christ's Church in their present connection with the State.

"That being the case, it is important for us to consider whether, when matters are brought to this narrow issue, the inferior judicatories of the Church ought to embroil themselves more than is absolutely necessary in new acts of resistance to the Civil Courts. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that by this decision in the case of Stewarton the inferior Courts of the Church may be harassed and interdicted and interfered with on every hand. It is not merely that certain acts of Church Courts are declared invalid, but the very constitution of the Courts is declared to be invalid. Now, I would have no hesitation, at a call of duty, to set at nought any interdict or interference of the Civil Courts, or the authority of any power on earth in a spiritual matter; and were an important object to be served, I think it would be necessary for the inferior Courts to run every risk of the trouble and expense and harassment which may arise from the interference of the Civil Courts; but it is a different question whether we should not avoid the risk of loading the Church with an amount of expenses and damages and fines which would serve the object of crippling her for many days to come, when she ought to be pervading and occupying the land as a free Church of Jesus Christ. In these circumstances I would propose we should pause for consideration whether it is our duty to carry on the ordinary business of the Church subject to such intolerable interference. We must indeed have freely chosen Commissioners to the Assembly—we must run all risks for that; we must take the necessary steps to instruct the Commission as to our wishes; we must make known our views to the Assembly; but it is a matter for consideration whether we should do more. I do not, however, propose to commit either the Presbytery or myself to a decided course; but I propose to refer the question to the Commission for advice. My present impression is that it is expedient to transact no ordinary business beyond what is for the most necessary purpose, and to refer every case that may come before us to the Assembly."

A special meeting of the Commission was held on the 31st January, and at that meeting there fell to be considered an answer from Sir James Graham, who was then Home Secretary, to the claims which the Church was pressing upon Her Majesty's Government. In moving a series of resolutions on the subject of that letter Dr. Candlish said—

"That reply is just substantially a declinature on the part of Her Majesty's Government to resume consideration of the Claim of Rights even with reference to the explanations afforded with respect to the misconceptions which appear, from the answer of the Government, to exist as to the tenor of that document. It is in plain terms a declinature to enter further into the question with the Church. It is an acknowledgment on the part of Her Majesty's Government that they now are simply contented that the Church should follow out the only remaining measure which lies before her, namely, a solemn application to the Legislature of the country; and, accordingly, I presume the step to be taken by this Commission will be, that the Commission shall now, by petition to the Houses of Parliament, bring the matters referred to in the Claim of Rights under the serious consideration of the Legislature of this great country. We cannot disguise from ourselves at this time the very serious and very critical nature of the application, which I believe the Commission will sanction, to the Legislature of Great Britain—we cannot disguise from ourselves the very serious consideration that upon the result of this application will, practically and substantially, turn our continuing in connection with the Establishment. Sir, we now propose to make our appeal to Parliament, as we have already made our appeal to Her Majesty's Government, not, I trust, in the attitude of men seeking to attain factious objects by mere threat and intimidation. We will *not* go forward using the language of menace, and saying, If we get not our will established, we renounce the benefits of connection with the State. This is not the tone or the spirit in which it would become us to approach the Legislature of this great land. But, at the same time, we cannot avoid intimating our purpose and our determination on this point, though the intimation of such purpose and such determination may be considered by our adversaries as a threat. Of course every pains must be taken to divest our application of anything which could be truly characterised as implying a threat. But we should not be dealing fairly with ourselves—we should not be dealing fairly with the Legislature, to whom we are about to make our last appeal—we should not be dealing fairly with the country, whose great interests are now at stake—if we did not tell the truth, and the whole truth, on this occasion, did we not make it plain and palpable that, be the services we render of more or less value, the only condition on which we can render these services is, that we shall be thoroughly protected from the invasion of our jurisdiction as a Church of Christ, to which we are now helplessly exposed. If our services in the Establishment, and in connection with the State, be they of more or less value (of that we judge not), are to be retained, it must be on condition that we are free to render our services in the first instance to our only Head ; it must be on condition of our being left free to regulate the concerns of Christ on the principles of a Church of Christ, not by the determination of civil rulers in ecclesiastical matters, but by the word of Christ alone, interpreted by the prayerful study of our minds and hearts. Sir, I trust, in the interpretation of what is our duty, it may be possible to place the claim we assert and the condition we hold to be indispensable on such a footing as to show that it is quite reconcilable with the legitimate authority of civil rulers, and quite reconcilable with that dependence upon civil Government, which, in a certain sense, and to certain effects, we acknowledge to be involved in an Established Church.

"Sir, if I am called on, as in present circumstances I feel myself to be,—in introducing this Resolution to the notice of the Commission, to make a very few remarks upon the letter of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, I trust I shall be enabled to bear in mind throughout from whom that letter proceeds, and to whom it is addressed ; and that I shall allow myself to indulge in no remark unbecoming towards the quarter whence the letter emanates, or unworthy of the character of that body to whom the letter is addressed. But I must on this occasion speak frankly and freely with respect to this communication—a communication which (we can scarcely shut our eyes to the fact) has, I had almost said, virtually sealed the fate of the Church. For, knowing the influence of the present Government—knowing what weight it possesses in the Legislature—it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that, if Her Majesty's Government remain in the same mind as when they assented to this letter of the Secretary of State, our hopes of an adjustment are faint and feeble indeed; and this remarkable letter may therefore be said to have put the last hand to the destruction of the Established Church of Scotland.

"Such being the very solemn character of this communication, it cannot fail to strike even the most cursory and careless reader of it that it does not evince that full, and careful, and candid examination of the document laid before the Government, which, in circumstances of such awful and critical magnitude, might have been expected. It is no disrespect to the authority from which it emanates to observe that this letter does not manifest that searching inquiry into the grounds on which we rest our claims, or even into the claims themselves, which surely ought to have preceded a distinct and specific negative on those claims, especially when the claims were put forth by an established institution in the land, and when avowedly, and beyond all doubt, a negative on these claims involved consequences shaking to the very foundation that most venerable institution. There are a very few particulars in that letter to which I shall direct your attention at present. I shall not refer particularly to the entire misapprehension under which Her Majesty's Government labour as to the real nature of the claim put forth by the Church of Scotland. I shall not refer to the somewhat invidious light in which that claim is represented in the letter of the Secretary of State, and the manner in which it is confounded with the Popish claim long ago exploded, the very mention of which is enough to attach a character of odium to all who are alleged to make such claims. I shall not refer to the assertion that we claim the exclusive judgment of what is spiritual and ecclesiastical, that we maintain that in all cases spiritual we are the sole judges, and we alone are competent to determine what is spiritual and what is civil. Sir, we are indeed called on to contend against a claim like this put forth by the Civil Courts. We have been called on to protest against a claim put forth by them to be exclusive judges of what is spiritual and what is civil. But let me observe that the claim which Sir

James Graham imputes to us, and so pointedly condemns, may have an analogy to the claim of the Court of Session and the House of Lords, but is expressly the reverse of the claim put forth by the Church of Scotland. It is virtually, therefore, a condemnation of the Civil Courts which is here pronounced. It is not a condemnation of the Church of Scotland, for the claim put into our mouth is one which we repudiate, and which, when asserted in another quarter, we felt called on to denounce. The claim which Sir James Graham condemns, as we do, is one which, if admitted, would put an end to liberty, civil or religious. Whoever may put forth this monstrous claim to be sole judge of what is spiritual and civil, tramples under foot the rights, civil and spiritual, of all mankind, and establishes a despotism altogether intolerable. If this claim be put forth by a Church to be sole judge of what is civil and what is spiritual, it necessarily follows that that Church is dragging under her superintendence, to the exclusion of Civil Courts, all ecclesiastical persons, and assuming an authority in all causes civil as well as ecclesiastical. It leads to the assertion of a title to decide in civil questions, and to dispose of men's persons and properties. It was this very exclusive claim to decide what was civil and what was spiritual that enabled the Church in former times to grasp and control the persons and properties of all men in ecclesiastical office; and against this monstrous claim of tyranny in the Church our forefathers protested when they asserted the title of an ecclesiastical person to appeal to the knowledge of temporal magistrates touching his property and his right. So that, if spiritual courts should interfere to dispose of my property, by an act of their own, or if they should, as they have sometimes done, pronounce me worthy of death, and if I would seek protection for my life and my property, then I appeal to Cæsar, and Cæsar is bound to do me right. But if this amounts to a violation of civil liberty when the claim is put forth by a Court of Christ, is it less a violation when put forth by a Court of Session? If the claim to drive everything under our jurisdiction be so dangerous when put forth by a Church, will any one who understands the principles of human nature, who has read the history of this country, who remembers those days when not the spiritual tyrannised over the civil, but the civil tyrannised over the spiritual, who has studied the history of this country somewhat more deeply than this letter would seem to indicate its framers had,—is there any man who will not acknowledge that, if such a claim be admitted on the part of civil authorities, they may crush under their foot every vestige of religious liberty,—they may put an end to the free holding of Assemblies—they may put an end to the free preaching of the gospel? I say therefore, again, that, rightly viewed, this passage of the Secretary of State's letter is a sharp and severe condemnation of the Court of Session and the House of Lords. It is the condemnation of a principle utterly inconsistent with civil and religious liberty, by whomsoever that principle is asserted, whether by Courts of Christ or by Courts of Cæsar. It does not matter by whom such a claim is asserted; but if we, as men bound to reverence the powers of this world, but bound also to obey God,—if we, holding a twofold character, as citizens of this world and also as citizens not of this world,—if we are put under the control of any court, civil or sacred, which asserts an exclusive jurisdiction as to what is spiritual and what is civil,—if we submit to any one such court, be it a Court of Session or a General Assembly, we are subject to tyranny. For, so far is it from being inconsistent with liberty that each court should be independent of the other, that, on the contrary, this is the very bulwark of liberty, and our only safeguard against tyranny. Let any one power swallow up all that rightly distinguishes one jurisdiction from another,—let it engulph all causes relating to all kinds of things which come before it, and then we are at the mercy of that court for any fragment or atom of liberty it may choose to leave us.

"The whole claim of the Church is—first, negatively, that the Court of Session shall not have sole power to determine what is civil and spiritual; and, secondly, that the Church shall have power to determine what is spiritual, but not for the direction of the Court of Session, or so as to prevent that court also from doing so for its own guidance. To say that any one court has an exclusive right to determine that question is to give the determination of all causes whatever to that court; but if you leave each court to determine its own jurisdiction, for its own guidance, then you adopt the proper principle,—the one deciding upon its own jurisdiction for the disposal of property, the other with reference to the right to be a minister or a member of a Church Court. There may be an inconvenience in their coming to opposite conclusions; but there is no interference. They go on without approaching each other's province; and each confining itself to its own department, gives civil interests, or regulates them by the Civil Court; or gives spiritual interests, and regulates them by the Spiritual Court. This is the freedom secured to the Church in this country—a freedom which, if once overturned in the Established Church, will not long survive in any Church within the land. For the principle stated in Sir James Graham's letter really negatives the same claims as those now made by the Church of Scotland when put forth in any situation by a Church of Christ. The old argument that there cannot be an *imperium in imperio*, is an argument which tells against the Church whether connected with the kingdoms of this world or not; and we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this is really the question which is arising in this country. The real question to which men's minds are turning is not whether an Established Church can exist, but whether it is accordant with the safety of civil government to acknowledge any other king but Cæsar, — to acknowledge any other kingdom but Cæsar's.

"But I hear the cry, which is sometimes got up, even, I am sorry to say, in friendly quarters, 'Repeal the Veto.' I greatly fear this cry, because its effect is to mislead. It is turning men's minds away from the only question which is worth while contesting—the question of jurisdiction. To talk of repealing the Veto law, and of taking Lord Aberdeen's bill, or of taking anti-Patronage itself—if our jurisdiction is not to be vindicated, is worse than idle. It is vain to talk now of a settlement under a sufficient non-intrusion measure. There can be no measure sufficient now which does not vindicate our jurisdiction, and which does not effectually and for ever secure us from the interference of the Court of Session, of which we have so long complained. And it does indicate to my mind a very low view of the question; it does indicate that the minds of some are very far short of taking in the magnitude of the questions at issue, when we hear such a cry raised, 'Only repeal the Veto law.' Were we to repeal the Veto and take any other measure, and were we to leave the encroachments of the Civil Courts as they have been carried out, we should be surrendering the Crown rights of the Redeemer. Suppose that the principle of non-intrusion was formally given effect to; and suppose that a measure was given to us by which we could abstain from intruding ministers upon a reclaiming congregation; and suppose that the Court of Session would be entitled, not for their own guidance—that we do not object to—but for ours, to come in on any point of form to control, coerce, and compel us to intrude,—if this were to be the Statute law, non-intrusion would not be secured, and the people would be still at the mercy of the Court of Session, and the principles and prerogatives of the Church of Christ would be trampled under foot. I trust that the Commission will be able, this day, to call the attention of the friends of the Church throughout the country to the real question now at issue,—that it is not now a question of mere non-intrusion, that it is not now the question whether Lord Aberdeen's bill will prove good, that it is not now the question whether we can live under Sir George Sinclair's, but that the real question is, Is the constitution of the Church of Scotland such as the Civil Courts have declared it to be?

"Notwithstanding all the attempts that are made to confound and perplex this great question, I think, somehow or other, that we will get the attention of the Legislature favourably called to it. We must be firm in our claim for the jurisdiction of the Church; we must claim entire liberty for her office-bearers and members to serve the Lord Jesus Christ alone, and to serve no earthly power. I trust that in its religious aspect this question will get a hearing; and at least, whatever may be the judgment passed upon it in the Houses of Parliament, that even the claim of divine right will be heard there. True, as an Established Church, it has been said that we have nothing to do with the claim of divine right; but I maintain that we hold it by statutory right, for the statutes confirmed and ratified the jurisdiction of the Church, jurisdiction which belongs to her alone; and I hold, therefore, that, while the Confession of Faith remains part of the law of the land,—while the Statute of 1592 remains unrepealed,—to say that we have no *jus divinum* is just to say that we have no right to plead the statutes acknowledged in this country establishing our right to hold that jurisdiction which Christ instituted in His own house. In the solemn circumstances in which we are placed we are called upon, fully and fairly, to bring the matter before Parliament. I have heard it said that some members of Parliament have declared that if matters go on as they are doing at present they would have brought before them debates on Church government and discipline, debates on Puseyism and Presbyterianism; and they have treated it as a great grievance that religious discussions might take place perhaps on the Bible. Have these honourable members read the signs of the times around them? It will not be long that religious questions can be kept out of the Legislature of the land. Whether we look to the state of the sister Establishment or to the condition of our own,—if we simply look to the progress of public opinion,—if we but mark the elements of religious controversy,—if we look to these things which are now at work throughout the land,—it cannot but be manifest that the Legislature of the country must entertain religious questions; and may God grant that they may settle them better than they have done. But whether or not the Legislature will give to this question, in its religious aspect, a fair hearing, it is our bounden duty, without threat, without intimidation, without menace of any kind, to be plain and peremptory. The Assembly plainly enough indicated what would be the result of a refusal of her claim to protect her from the invasion of the Civil Courts."

The Commission of Assembly having resolved, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, to petition Parliament, he went to London to look after the progress of this business; and on the 16th February wrote to Mr. John Hamilton—

"I got here safe this morning, and have made good my quarters here. Maule has gone to Scotland, which occasions delay. But, on one view, it is no loss that his motion for to-morrow falls. It seems it would have been objected to on a technical or formal ground, and the Speaker was rather against it. I saw Monzie this morning, who had had a conversation with the Speaker, and was anxious about this. I then went to Rutherfurd and found that he also had been spoken to by the Speaker, and that he was quite satisfied the move was a false one. Accordingly, he had prepared a notice for to-night to the effect that Maule's absence caused his motion to drop, and that he (Rutherfurd) would move this day fortnight that the House go into a committee of the whole House to consider the allegations set forth in our petition. This seems clearly the right course. To be put off on a technicality on our application to be heard would be last year's business over again. To move resolutions on the mere statement of the Church would be premature. To resolve into a committee to consider it, seems the natural motion. Were it carried, then we might be heard by the House in committee. But of course the motion will be opposed by Government and lost, and this is perhaps as good a shape for us as any. The only annoyance is the delay of a fortnight. But it could not be helped. At least Rutherfurd says so. There was no other vacant day. Still I hope I may be of some use during this fortnight with Dunlop in preparing the way, and taking advantage of any opportunities that may occur. I am not sorry I came up, as I think I can see good in it. I was with Monzie twice to-day, and had long and full talks with him. He is a little hurt and vexed; but on the whole I liked his tone and temper much. He is wonderfully conciliated. He gave one good reason for not identifying himself with our other friends, that it would have lost him any advantage he has in our cause as a friend of Government. He is still, I am persuaded, quite staunch, and is to open an independent fire on Sir Robert by asking questions as to the intention of Government. He thinks he may be able to force them to an early declaration. Let me know what occurs to you as to the best way of employing these ten days."

Again he wrote to Mr. Hamilton on the 21st February—

"I wish you would very seriously consider the propriety, and indeed *absolute necessity*, of sending up *immediately* a third man to join us here,—a man of Conservative leanings, and not considered so violent as Dunlop and myself. I hold this, and so does Dunlop, to be very important and urgent; not so much because there is much, or indeed anything, material to be done; but for the sake of preventing misrepresentations and reflections, especially among our friends in Scotland. The Government are evidently about to try some cunning game; and a part of their policy will be to give out that we sent a deputation with whom none of their friends could communicate; and, in fact, just to bully them. And there may be some of our people in Scotland silly enough to believe this and make a work about it. Already I see something of this. Of course, if Macfarlane had come, it would have been very well. But now I see nothing for it but either that you come yourself or that you send Dr. Buchanan without delay. He is to be here at any rate about the 7th of March, and might easily come a fortnight or ten days sooner. It would be best of all if you could come yourself for a few days; next best, send Buchanan; but see that he comes *immediately*—this week, if at all possible. If Buchanan cannot, or will not move, you must positively get some others, say Dr. Henderson and Henry Dunlop. I would be for even asking Sir A. Agnew, and Buchan of Kelloe, to come, if neither you nor Buchanan can be here, though I still think a small number best. Only what you do must be done at once; and don't trust to correspondence with Glasgow. Let some one go through and settle this. Observe, I do not in the least mean that anything is to be done likely to be at all effectual in making Government give a good measure; but it is essential to deprive them and their clamourers of a handle, and to satisfy our cautious adherents at home; and there is work enough here for three or four of us for a few days in preparing for a discussion. Only mark, it is above all things needful that any man who comes be decided and intelligent. There is no manner of doubt that something plausible will be proposed. It is understood the Cabinet are to consider and determine their course to-day, and they have asked Lord Campbell and Monzie to postpone their questions till Thursday. They will then, I fancy, try to put as good a colour on their intentions as possible. Monzie is to press them to produce any bill they mean to propose, or at least to say what it is to be, before Rutherfurd's motion comes on; but whether they will do it remains to be seen. Still our having an additional man with us here might enable us to get better at their intentions. It seems nearly certain that they will propose a measure, and then try to put us off; and it would be of consequence, on that account, that we had some such person as Buchanan to assist in preventing our friends from being misled by plausibilities. I have been much with Monzie, and have seen Plumptre. They are very cordial and firm.

"Will you see that Robert Johnstone writes to the deputation appointed to go to Ireland next week. We must have men there; all the more in consequence of Cooke's strange course here. I have not seen him or Stewart since they returned from seeing Sir George Sinclair. But they were in a most unsatisfactory state of mind before they went down to Brighton. It was a mad step—most wilful too; and, taken along with the sad movements in the West, will tell against us, since Sir George will assuredly make the most of it.

"Will you try if you can get me a few copies of the number of the *Watchword*, in which the proceedings of the meeting in Lady Glenorchy's were reported? I want them soon. Monzie or Ross may be able to get one or two. I mean the number containing the Convocation Resolutions and my speech.

"We are attending to all the other points in your letter. Tell Jeffrey to let me know what answers to my circular are coming in. I wish I were at more congenial work at home. But I am satisfied I ought to be here. We have left the field here long enough unoccupied. And, more especially, if we had a Conservative coadjutor, I am not without hope that we might secure the Church getting the *ultimatum* of Government and Parliament in the course of the next fortnight—at all events before Easter. This would be a thing worth striving for, as it would clear the way for our future proceedings.

"By-the-by, with a view to this, it occurs to me that some of our Conservative friends might do us good by privately urging on Government the necessity of being explicit in at once announcing their intentions, whatever they may be. It might be represented that this suspense is injurious to the Church and country, and that it is essential that Government say decidedly and once for all what they mean to give. This would be a service worth while to be rendered by such men as Thomson, Abercrombie, etc.

"Tell Cunningham I will write him in a day or two. We would like him best of all to be with us, and if you send any but Buchanan, Cunningham should by all means accompany him. In truth, the best plan would be for Cunningham to come along with some more Conservative man or men ; that is, if he could be spared. Send him and John Bruce, and we will do. Let me hear from you that you are seriously and at once attending to this."

On the 22d February, two days later, Dr. Candlish wrote Mr. Gibson of Belfast as to the state of affairs—

"I should have answered your note before leaving Edinburgh. I believe the deputation formerly named, or some of them, will attend your Assembly next week. Those named were Drs. Paterson and Henderson of Glasgow, M'Farlane of Renfrew, and MacNaughtan of Paisley. You should not publish their names, however, till you know who are to be with you, for which purpose you may write to Dr. Henderson of Glasgow or to Cunningham of Edinburgh.

Mr. Dunlop and I arrived here last Thursday to attend to the parliamentary proceedings relative to our question, and we expect Dr. Buchanan in a day or two. Our chief object is to get our decisive and final answer from Parliament. We have no expectation of such a settlement as would enable us to continue in the Establishment, but we have considerable apprehensions of a plausible measure being brought in by Government with the view of pleasing Dr. Leishman's section of the party, and detaching a few of our doubtful men. This is the Government policy which we fear. The Government have received too much encouragement to try some such game from the recent Glasgow movement, which is in concert with the renewed interference of Sir George Sinclair, Colquhoun of Killermont, and other worthies of that stamp. An attempt will be made to-morrow night by Mr. Campbell of Monzie to get out of Sir James Graham what the real intentions of Government are. It is understood the Cabinet had the subject under consideration yesterday, and Sir James has virtually promised to give a distinct answer to Monzie to-morrow. It will be of great use to ascertain to-morrow what the Government measure is to be ; and in the event of its being unsatisfactory, as it will almost certainly be, our friends will persevere in their motion, of which Rutherfurd has given notice. With a view to that motion, it is worth your considering whether you and our other friends might not do something in the way of getting the electors, or influential persons among them, throughout Ulster, to write private letters to your members, urging them to attend and support Maule's or Rutherfurd's motion. This might stir up some of them to be at their post.

In regard to what we think your Assembly should do I will write to you (*D.V.*) fully and particularly after we have heard the Government announcement to-morrow. You may expect therefore a communication on Monday morning. Meanwhile, generally, we would like our brethren to be prepared to give forth a testimony in regard to the right Scriptural view of the Church's connection with the State, the necessity of her being left in the enjoyment of her entire spiritual jurisdiction and freedom, and your concurrence in our resolution rather to renounce the benefits of the Establishment than consent to any compromise on that point. It may be needful also, explicitly and strongly, to protest against any such measure as we understand to be contemplated by Government, viz. a recognition of the right of Presbyteries to judge of the presentee's *suitableness*, on any ground, for the particular charge to which he is presented, with an apparent exclusion of the Civil Courts, and the sentence of the Church made final when she acts within the prescribed limits, of which, however, the Civil Courts would be the judges, and would be entitled, on their allegation of the Church exceeding the bounds of the rule or directory in the Statute, to interfere and coerce her, as at present. This, you perceive, is neither non-intrusion nor spiritual independence, though made to look a little like both. It would be cunningly framed, so as to do us damage; and our friends would need to be warned against it. I trust your Assembly will be ready to condemn such a measure.

"I don't know what report Drs. Cooke and Stewart may give of their doings and discoveries here relative to our question. I am unwilling to enter upon this part of the subject, beyond simply requesting you to see Mr. Matthews, and hear what he has to say. The visit to Brighton seemed to me most injudicious, and it has told, I fear, very much against us already. We did not see Cooke or Stewart on their return. I think I can see that they are inclined to regard our question as an annoyance and a bore, of which they would get quit on any terms. All seems to be going right with you as to your own affairs, and they view ours as troubling the Government and themselves. But it will not do. Presbyterianism may and will rise; but our Establishment, I fear, is gone for the present. Our only safety lies in the clearness and consistency of our testimony.

On the 2d March Dr. Candlish again wrote to Mr. Hamilton:—

"We surely are strong enough in London now. Cunningham has arrived, and we expect Macfarlane to-morrow. Things here look, on the whole, favourable for a good discussion on Tuesday, and an explicit categorical deliverance, such as our friends will be at no loss to receive as final. This at least is our hope. We have written to all the constituencies in Scotland from which it was worth while to get up letters to Members, and also to Manchester and Ireland, and we propose sending our papers to some of the Members to-morrow or Saturday. Maule is here, and very cordial. Buchanan is satisfied, in the meantime, to let his proposal stand over, and I hope we shall have no more trouble about it. The instructions of the Committee are good.

"My present object, however, is to get you seriously to consider the question as to Dr. Chalmers coming up to deliver lectures. Alexander Gordon was to write to Dr. Chalmers yesterday on the subject, and we wish you to see the Doctor without delay. Our opinion is that it is really not worth while for him to come down from his high work in Scotland to address the London folks next month. Mr. Gordon was to explain the views of the requisitionists in regard to his not coming till July, and we are very clear that it is inexpedient to throw away Dr. Chalmers's lectures just now. But were he to write a good short letter in answer to the requisition, and explaining his views, it would do great good. But I have no time to add more."

To this letter Dr. Buchanan appended the following note:—"This is an interpolation for the purpose of telling you I have had your letter, and that, before receiving it, I had come to the conclusion not to go near the Government. I have done with them."

Mr. Dunlop also added:—"This is written to state my full concurrence in regard to Dr. Chalmers coming up."

As was expected, the House of Commons rejected the claim of the Church of Scotland, although a large majority—twenty-five to twelve—of the Scotch Members voted in favour of the motion of Mr. Fox Maule. On the evening after this decision Dr. Candlish addressed a crowded meeting of Scottish residents in London in Regent Square Church, and commented on some of the arguments which had been used in the House of Commons. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the final step of separation from the State would be that of the General Assembly itself. "But," he said, "if the Assembly would not do that duty, still he and those who agreed with him must feel themselves bound to separate from an Establishment in which terms, in their opinion unlawful, were imposed by the State and acquiesced in by the Church; and whether the Church separated as such, or as a minority, and they were forced to secede, in either case it would prove that there could be no Scriptural Establishment at all."

On the 18th March Dr. Candlish wrote from Edinburgh to Dr. Henderson, and, referring to Communion engagements, said—"I shall have much pleasure in complying with your request on the usual terms. Our Communions at this time ought to be solemn; and it is affecting to think that we exchange services probably for the last time as ministers of the Establishment."

In this letter he enclosed, for Dr. Henderson's consideration, a long letter to Mr. Gibson of Belfast, and also a letter of Mr. Gibson to him in reference to an unhappy misunderstanding which had arisen between Dr. Cooke of Belfast and himself on the great question at issue in the Church. In reference to Dr. Cooke, Dr. Candlish says—

> "It never once entered into my mind to doubt of his attachment to our principles at bottom being as firm and strong as that of any one among us. My only fear has arisen from his occasional impatience of some of the details of our question, its negotiations, explanations, and controversies; from his anxiety to have some kind of interim adjustment on some plausible middle-ground; from his great confidence in Emerson Tennent and the Conservatives, and his readiness to take on trust, without much examination, the professions of Lord Aberdeen and Sir George Sinclair, and that class of men."

He refers also to a memorandum with which he had furnished Dr. Cooke, which, he says,

> "Expressly specified the element which his (Lord Aberdeen's) original proposal excluded, namely, that the Church must be allowed to hold the dissent or opposition of the people to be, *in itself*, a sufficient reason for rejecting a presentee; and it pointed out the additional element rendered necessary by the second Auchterarder

judgment, namely, effectual protection against the Civil Courts in all spiritual matters."

In reference to the same matter he again wrote to Mr. Gibson on the 4th April—

"Many thanks for your kindness in sending me the *Banner*, and inserting my letter to Dr. Cooke.

"I was on the point of writing to Dr. Cooke to propose that we should forget all the past, and start *de novo* as allies, in this great cause; and I am still anxious to do this, as it is most painful to me to think that there should be any approach to coolness or estrangement when we are called to make sacrifices and to contend together in this holy warfare. One thing, however, I confess, staggers me, and I write to you in the hope that you may be able so to explain it as to remove the difficulty which I feel. I find in both the reports of your meeting that Dr. Cooke, while flourishing my memorandum, and saying that it contained 'the very words' on which he negotiated, goes on to state, as the basis of his negotiation, what is utterly irreconcilable with my memorandum, being really Sir George Sinclair's clause; and he states this in such a way as to make it appear that he is giving the substance, or the very words, of my memorandum. Of course the publication of the memorandum itself sufficiently clears me. But it does seem most unaccountable that Dr. Cooke should have made such a use of it, without reading it, at your meeting. Surely there must be some strange mistake. Dr. Cooke never can imagine that what he gives as the minimum to which the Church, in his opinion, ought to submit, and which he says was what he negotiated for with Sir George Sinclair, viz. that 'on the day of moderating the call, objections,' etc.,—I say he never can imagine that this is at all consistent with either of the two conditions expressly specified in my letter to him, and I own I cannot take it well that my letter, unread, should have been flourished as if it sanctioned Dr. Cooke's minimum, which, on the contrary, it especially condemns. Throughout the Doctor's speech I find nothing whatever indicating that he would insist on higher terms, even as regards non-intrusion, than Sir George Sinclair's clause, and not a syllable as to his insisting on any terms at all in regard to our spiritual jurisdiction. On the contrary, he clearly intimates that he would have us to submit to Sir George Sinclair's bill; and he leaves it to be supposed that 'the very words' which he gives as the basis of his Brighton negotiation were in my memorandum.

"You will believe me when I say that I mention these things not in the way of complaint, but that, if possible, you may give me some satisfactory explanation of them. I have another reason also. I greatly fear the loose and indefinite views which many of your body seem to have in regard to our question, and which Dr. Cooke's eloquence rather tends to cherish. Short of anti-Patronage, they seem to think nothing else worth attending to. If we are not to get the abolition of Patronage altogether they seem to think it of little consequence what we submit to. In particular, there is a want of patience to examine accurately our jurisdiction question. Of course, it is now too late for any hope of a satisfactory adjustment, though we have still a plausible bill about 'suitableness' as a rock ahead (see Anderson's speech). With a view to that danger, and also to give your brethren more precise notions on the subject of jurisdiction, it occurs to me that you might do great service by a series of articles in the *Banner*, calmly and with painstaking severity reasoning out the principle of spiritual independence, so as to make it palpable that mere non-intrusion, or even anti-Patronage, will not now do without an effectual restoration of our constitution. Do set about this.

"I would like much to have all cleared up with Dr. Cooke. I would 'let bygones be bygones' on all sides. Only I do hope there is no misunderstanding or confounding of the clause he quotes and our indispensable principles."

In justice to Dr. Cooke, it is proper to mention here that, on the day after the Disruption, he appeared in the Free Church Assembly, and referred in the following terms to his past and present relations with the Church :—

"I on one occasion did regret the prospect of looking forward to this day, or rather yesterday ; but now that the day has come, a day which could not be avoided consistently with the maintenance of principle, I feel not only satisfied, but thankful. My regrets are all flung to the winds, and I feel grateful to Almighty God that I lived to see yesterday, that I have met you here to-day, and that I have heard my brethren (deputies from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland) express their uncompromising approbation of the step you have taken. You have been compelled by a sense of duty to the highest authority in the Church, to the Lord Jesus and His Word ; you have been compelled by a sense of duty to your principles, to take the step which you have now taken — a step the bearings of which we cannot accurately know, and of the prospects that it opens up it is impossible to foretell. Though I think I may assume that in these results there will be no disaster, that it will bring a thousand blessings in its train, and that though in one sense it may have diminished the number of your hands it will not diminish your courage or your powers.

On Wednesday, 22d March, a great meeting was held in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, which was presided over by Mr. Fox Maule, to receive the report of the Deputation which had been sent to London to bring the claim of the Church before the Legislature. It fell to Dr. Candlish to make a statement regarding the proceedings in the House of Commons, and the position in which these proceedings had placed the Church. Among other things he said—

"The Deputation were unanimous, with Dr. Macfarlane at their head, in the conviction that the appeal to the Legislature had been rejected; that the claims of the Church had been negatived; that the answer of Parliament had been received; and nothing now remained to the Church but either to submit to the Court of Session or to relinquish the benefits of the Establishment; and the Special Commission, with the concurrence of the reverend father to whom I have referred, and other reverend men, gave forth their deliverance approving of the report, and stating that all was at an end so far as the Legislature and the Government were concerned, that the Church was virtually disestablished, that they had only to wait for the meeting of Assembly, and that nothing remained for the people of Scotland but to engage in preparations for the coming emergency. This ought really to be enough; there was not one of the deputation that differed from another; but the whole members, after being present at the debate, and considering the answer made by Her Majesty's Government and the Parliament, were unanimous, that is to say, Dr. Macfarlane, Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Cunningham, Mr. Dunlop, Mr. Buchan of Kelloe, and myself,—we unanimously concurred in our opinion as to the issue of the debate; and the Commission have come to a clear deliverance thereon. This ought to be enough to satisfy any intelligent and honest friend of the principles of the Church of Scotland. Whatever vague rumours and surmises may be abroad—as it is the policy of the adversary to scatter ambiguous words; whatever letters honourable members may write to unknown deputations; whatever notices of motions may be given by noble Lords to vindicate their own consistency; surely the deliberate report of the deputation, and the well-considered deliverance of the Special Commission thereon, ought to satisfy every true son of the Church that the time has come when we must give up all palterings with double meanings, all hankerings after paltry settlements, all waiting to see if Government would at length throw us a boon; and now, like reasonable men—like Scotsmen—with the spirit of our fathers, tell all those who would have us to descend into the arena of discussion respecting the meaning of clauses and of words—of Sir George Sinclair's phrase, and of Dr. Gordon's explanation—to tell them that we are done with all this; that we have a great work on hand; that we are busy and cannot attend to it.

"But it has been said—for I must rouse your attention not only to our report but to the reports of others—it has been said, Oh, the Church has pitched her claims too high,—she has been seeking a maximum measure,—she has been seeking all she is entitled to claim, and it is only that that has been refused by Parliament. People are apt to be run away with by this statement, especially those who are not aware of the dexterity with which Sir Robert Peel contrived to bring into the debate that which was not before the House at the time—the anti-Patronage claim on the part of the Church. He contrived to bring this into the discussion, though the motion which you, sir, made was simply that the House should take into its consideration the petition of the Commission, which was specially limited to two indispensable claims,—the claim of exclusive jurisdiction in spiritual matters and the claim for non-intrusion. This meeting must be aware that when the question submitted to the House of Commons was substantially this,—Will you give the Church redress to carry on her functions as an Established Church? it was plainly the dictate of wisdom and honesty on the part of the Church to state her claims not at their highest but at their lowest point. When she went to Parliament to set forth what she thought she was entitled to claim, it was her duty to protest against the grievance of Patronage, and to ask for its entire removal; but, beyond all question, when she went to the House of Commons, not to ask all that she was entitled to ask, but simply to ask that without which she could not live a single moment as an Established Church, it would not have been fair or honest to deal otherwise with Parliament than to state merely her indispensable claims. Now, our object was to know whether we were to continue the Established Church or to seek freedom elsewhere,—whether we were to continue ministers and elders of the Established Church or to give up the benefits of an Establishment, because we cannot comply with its conditions. That is the question which we submitted to Parliament; and, in submitting this question, it would not have been honest to put forth a claim beyond what we felt to be essential and indispensable; it would not have been dealing fairly with the English Parliament; it would not have been dealing fairly with the public; if we had put forth, in those circumstances, our claim for anything but what we regarded as indispensable, and without which we must quit the Establishment. This was exactly the case which we submitted to the House of Commons; and our petition specified what the Church asked, not as the whole of her claims, but as that without which she could not continue the Established Church. All must admit that while we protested against the evils of Patronage and sought its entire removal, we never made that a *sine qua non* of our connection with the State; we never said, If you refuse us that demand we shall feel ourselves conscientiously bound to quit all connection with the State; but we do say that if we are constrained to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, and if we are to be liable to the control of the Civil Courts in all our proceedings, we cannot comply with this condition, and we must relinquish the benefits which we at present possess.

"And now let me advert to the rival reports that are before the Church and country. I find that a meeting was some time ago held in the Black Bull, Glasgow, called by circular; I do not speak of the names of those who were present, or who took part in the movement. For many of these respected individuals I have too great a personal regard to introduce their names on this occasion. I speak not in anger, nor in bitterness, but in great sorrow, of the movement which our friends in Glasgow have thought it their duty to make. I cannot help saying, on this occasion, that if at any time the Church has suffered more from one cause than from another, it has been not from the machinations of her adversaries but from the unauthorised and ill-advised movements of her own friends. I cannot help thinking that our friends in Glasgow have crossed our path at an untoward time; at a time when the Church was attempting solemnly to try before Parliament those claims which she deemed essential to her existence as an Establishment, and called on Parliament to decide the question on which was to turn whether the ministers and elders and people of the Church were to continue their connection with the State—at this precise time these Glasgow memorialists came forward and told the Government—what? that they ought to concede, for the sake of the country, what so many ministers had declared to be so indispensable?

no; but to tell them this, that they would be thankful for another measure altogether, and that they need not seriously consider our opinions. It seems strange that friends of the Church, at the time when the Church is making her solemn appeal to the Government and the Legislature, that persons professing a warm friendship for the Church, but who fancy that they can present her case better than she can herself—it seems strange that these men should seek to persuade the Government that all the impending calamities are exaggerated by the clamours of a faction, and that, though so great a number have pledged themselves to leave the Establishment, yet many, there is reason to believe, will desert their colours—will desert their brethren; and therefore plausible reasons for this course are given to them individually, man and man, as though they could be honourable only when two or three are met together, and all the temptations of a man's melancholy musings in his own room are to be brought to bear upon them one by one, as if no account was to be taken of their declarations, of their recorded opinions, when met together for solemn prayer and deliberation, and that for many days together; but they are to get some timid person to start a doubt, and one by one they are to seduce persons whose consciences and whose characters are pledged in the eye of the Church and the world.

"Every one admits, in some sense, the spiritual independence of the Church. All our opponents are strong supporters of it in their own way; and so Sir Robert Peel strongly recognises the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church within certain limits, of which the Civil Courts are to be the judges. Within certain limits we are to have exclusive spiritual jurisdiction—exclusive till the Civil Courts think fit to shift these limits, and then exclusive no longer. That this is the meaning of Sir Robert Peel is perfectly plain, for what does he say (after quoting Sir Robert's words)? He distinctly and plainly pleaded on behalf of the Strathbogie ministers that the Civil Courts were asked to repone them in the office of the holy ministry, and that they were entitled to retain possession of their spiritual functions. In plain terms, Sir Robert Peel takes up the argument of the Voluntaries, that there can be no connection between Church and State without the Church being subject to the House of Lords for deciding as to what the terms of the Establishment were as to spiritual effects. What there may be of force in that argument we are not concerned to inquire here. What I press is, that Sir Robert Peel takes up the argument of the Voluntaries that the Church stands upon a different footing when Established, from the footing on which it stands when disestablished and free,—that it is not only subject to the State in temporal matters, but that in all matters whatsoever the supreme control is in the House of Lords. This is substantially admitted in another report,—in the letter of Mr. Colquhoun. I wish to show you first of all the plain admission Mr. Colquhoun makes. He tells the ministers and elders that Parliament will not concede spiritual jurisdiction. Mr. Colquhoun's statement here is important and valuable as a testimony to this, that the Church's claim to exclusive spiritual jurisdiction in the matter of the settlement of ministers has been negatived by Parliament. His plea is that though the claim of jurisdiction has been negatived, intimation has been given of their willingness to grant something that might pass muster as an acknowledgment of the principle of non-intrusion. He would have the ministers and elders of the Church to believe that while Government have refused our claim of spiritual jurisdiction, they have intimated their willingness to give us something under which we might act in carrying out the principle of non-intrusion. Here Mr. Colquhoun refers to nothing more than the bill of Sir George Sinclair in 1841, which bill the Church has already declared to be inadmissible. He speaks, indeed, of Dr. Gordon's explanation; but he nowhere gives it to be understood that Government are willing to concede a bill based upon Dr. Gordon's explanation, namely, that the people may come forward and say honestly that they believe the minister will not edify them or the congregation, and that this will suffice for rejecting the presentee. There is an ambiguity in what Mr. Colquhoun says. He speaks in one place as if the bill which Government are willing to grant would cover even Dr. Gordon's explanation; at other times he speaks of the bill as if it were to stand as it is, only that we might put upon it Dr. Gordon's construction; that construction being, not an explanation of the measure but an explanation of his reasons why he could not take the measure; and yet that is the only measure alleged to be within reach of the Church at the present moment. But what I point to is this, that Mr. Colquhoun admits that the principle of spiritual jurisdiction has been negatived by Government and by Parliament, and that all that the Government hold out to us is simply a declaration of the bonds in which we were henceforth to be if we continue in the Establishment.

"Here, I apprehend, lies the essence of the case as between the Parliament and the Church and people of Scotland. I will suppose, for the sake of argument,—not that I believe it,—I will suppose that the Government are willing to give us something which might enable the Church to carry out the principle of non-intrusion. I will suppose that they give us a new non-intrusion measure, a bill which would enable the Courts of the Church to reject a presentee because he was opposed by the people. I will suppose that. But still there is to be no change in the law as to the interference of the Civil Courts in reference to the Church's exclusive jurisdiction in spiritual matters, and thus how does the matter stand? Unquestionably Parliament might lay down a form of proceeding which would enable the Church to give effect to the non-intrusion principle, and might say that if the Church adheres to that form of proceeding, her sentences shall not be reviewed by the Civil Courts. But still the Civil Courts will be entitled to come forward and say, You, the Church Courts, have transgressed that form which it is for us to interpret, and therefore we will subject you to actions of damages, and compel you to act on our view of the law. Here is the essence of the question. The slave may have his chain lengthened; the captive may have the range of his walk enlarged, but if the chain be round him still, he is not the less a slave; if the walls still enclose him on every side, he is not the less a captive. So it is with the Church of Scotland. Nay more, were the Church to consent to this measure, even if it were proposed, she would be forging the fetters of her own slavery; she would be building the walls of her own captivity. If I were to give up my rights to a master, if the slave were to consent to renounce his claim to liberty, and were willing to become a captive in the land; if he would say that he hankers no more for the green fields of his native land, that he was willing to become a bond slave all his days, why then, the master, in the exercise of his great kindness, might relax his fetters, and give him room to breathe; he might, out of his great favour, give him seasons of holiday, and allow him occasional glimpses of his former joys. But if he is to be under the control of his master still, and if the relaxation he enjoys is palpably and plainly at the master's discretion, he is a slave still. And so would we be. If the limits of our liberty were enlarged so that we might reject a man on account of the dissent of the people, yet their eye would be continually upon us, and we, in consenting to such a settlement of the question, would in fact acknowledge and approve of it as the law of the land, as the constitution of our Establishment. Whatever freedom in matters spiritual we might enjoy, be it ever so enlarged, we would enjoy it only at their discretion, and according to our good behaviour in the judgment of the Court of Session.

"The real principle for which the Church of Scotland is called to contend is not the principle of non-intrusion. I have often thought of late, since we have been compelled to make ourselves familiar with the stories of the martyrs of old, in the course of these painful controversies, that we have not yet got a suitable watchword, that we have not yet got a fitting phrase to be emblazoned on the banner of the Covenant, and inscribed on the martyr's tomb. I have thought at times that we have failed in getting a worthy banner to be displayed because of the truth—a banner worthy of the days of old, worthy of the ancient Covenant. Non-intrusion is a good enough word, but it would look ill upon some lonely gravestone in the wilds of Ayr. Spiritual independence is a good enough phrase, but it would scarcely bear to be emblazoned on our banner in the day of battle, when the stormy wind shall blow. It is not non-intrusion or spiritual independence that will do now, but the old time-worn and hallowed watchword of our fathers—the Crown rights of the Redeemer.

"It is possible that even out of the Establishment the claims which have been put forth against us by Cæsar and his Courts may follow us; for indications and hints were given in Parliament of principles which, if carried out, would deny freedom not only to the Church Established but to the Church of Christ. Be that as it may, oh! let us be resolved and determined that we shall maintain the rights of Christ the King, whether in or out of the Establishment, under persecution, if need be. And let us give no place to any measure of compromise, no lengthening of our chains, no smooth and fair promises of liberty to be enjoyed at the mercy of the Court of Session, no tame and cowardly abandonment of this essential and vital truth,—that in Christ's kingdom His ministers and members must be free to serve Christ, and Him alone, in every function which Christ has imposed upon them. Let the statesmen and the Courts of this world make of the temporal questions what they like, let them dispose of the property as they see fit, let them follow us with fines and imprisonments if they choose, let them lay heavy damages upon my friend the minister of Dunkeld if they like, let them do what they choose in temporal matters; but oh, let it never be said of any one whom God has honoured to contend for His cause in this great controversy, let it never be said of any of us, that for the sake of some doubtful plan which we think we might possibly work so as not to be offensive to the Court of Session, we have compromised by one hair's-breadth the great and fundamental principles which we have avowed! Let statesmen establish or disestablish the Church as they choose, they have no right to enslave her, they have no right to control her.

"A few months will show what we have been driving at; that though we have been fighting for principles of Church Government, we have been fighting for them not for their own sakes, but as subservient to the preaching of the gospel; and that our principle is this, as it was the principle of Knox—no free Assembly no free gospel. We shall have a free Assembly, whether with or without the Queen's Commissioner, time will show. We shall have a free Assembly in May; and God grant that immediately thereafter we may be able to show what the free gospel is, which a free Assembly is prepared to give forth. Even now, on my visits to various parts of the kingdom, I have seen the people greedily thirsting for a preached gospel. I have never visited any part of Scotland without preaching as much as I have spoken, preaching to the hearts of men, and receiving a response from their hearts, affording a foretaste of what we may have hereafter; and I anticipate that when we go forth—how many may go I cannot tell, there may be three, four, or five hundred—we shall have glorious results from our preaching tours. We shall, indeed, cultivate our own districts; we shall have stated Congregations, with stated elders and ministers, but we shall have our tours of preaching too, our visits to all corners of the land, and I believe that yet, by God's blessing on our free and faithful preachings in the highways and hedges, in barns and stables, in sawpits and tents, we shall yet regenerate Scotland, and have multitudes of those who are now perishing for lack of knowledge to listen to the glad tidings of salvation. Oh, this will be a blessed reward for all our agitation, well worth all that it has cost us; well worth the overthrow of the Establishment; if, in districts of Scotland, where no sound preaching of the gospel has been heard for ages, in districts where the people have been left cold and deserted, in many a region where the poor are perishing without the means of grace, we are forced, by the disruption of the Establishment, to carry to them freely the glad tidings of the Gospel."

On the 29th March, in Presbytery, speaking in support of a motion by Dr. Cunningham for the transmission of overtures sent to Presbyteries by last Assembly, among which was one on the regulations of the Veto law, Dr. Candlish said—

"When a plan of settlement has been proposed I have always asked, first, How does it affect our principles? how does it affect the maintenance of our testimony—the testimony which we are called to bear on behalf of great principles? Its bearing on the consequences was always with me a secondary affair. I do not undervalue the calamity of a disruption, but I regard it as an incalculably greater mischief to attempt to cover ourselves under some vague, indistinct, imperfect measure. I would rather go out of the Establishment and maintain our principles without taint and without compromise, than remain in with the slightest suspicion of my having abandoned them. If the Government have misunderstood *our* principles, they have had enough of explanation to set them right; if they have modified *their* principles, good and well; only let it be distinctly understood that we abate nothing of ours, that we are determined to maintain them at whatever cost."

On the evening of the following day he addressed a great meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow, to receive the deputation that had been sent to London. After criticising a bill proposed to be introduced by Lord Campbell he said—

"In the first place I utterly and altogether disclaim for myself and my brethren the idea of in the least degree desiring or hoping for the disruption of the Established Church. I utterly repudiate the idea which some, even of our friends, have taken up, that I am prepared to refuse any measure whatever, however fully it may recognise our principles—so bent are we on this fine project of a new Free Church. I repudiate that idea altogether. I am not enamoured of the prospects of a Free Church of Scotland—prospects that are to be realised through that great national calamity, the overthrow of our national Constitution. I can contemplate the prospects of the Church when driven from her position without alarm. I can contemplate them in some views with cheerfulness and joy; but most assuredly, if at this moment, by any sacrifice whatsoever, I could resist the progress of that national calamity—if I could by any sacrifice short of principle preserve the Established Church of Scotland free from Erastian tyranny, I would give to the winds all my expectations of the good that may be done in after days by our exertions as a voluntary Church. I would give my opinions and everything else to the winds if by any means the noble fabric which our fathers reared, and which they cemented with their heart's blood, should stand safe and secure, that our children might enjoy the blessing.

"Then, again, in reference to this disruption, and to any proposal for healing the breach, I feel myself bound to take up this position, that any such proposal made to me must be mainly, if not exclusively, in reference to its bearing on the principles I maintain, and not with reference to the question of my being in or out of the Establishment. We are set forth as a spectacle to the churches of Christendom. We are set in the Thermopylæ of the Christian world. We have a great and noble cause committed to us by our great Head and King. And what is that trust He has given into our hands? Is it, think you, the trust of maintaining the manses and stipends and glebes which our fathers gave to the Church? Is that the trust which our great Head has committed to us? No. The trust He has committed to us is the maintenance of the principles which our fathers bequeathed to us, and which, if we surrender, we are false to all historic recollections, as well as false to higher and holier things.

"If I am asked why, after the final answer of Government and the Legislature, you are still remaining, my reply is, I am not remaining to make preparation for the crisis when it comes, or with the view of drawing back when I find that preparations have failed—I am not remaining in order to give the Government an opportunity of changing and coming down at the last hour with a measure; but I am remaining in order that what is done may be done according to Presbyterian order, and in a manner worthy of the descendants of the fathers of the Church. I am remaining during the brief interval, because I am a Presbyterian, and not an Independent or Congregationalist. I am a Presbyterian, and I have no right to act as an individual unless the law were applicable to me individually, and not to the Church to which I belong. This is a question which does not touch my conscience individually only, but touches equally the Church to which I belong, and therefore I cannot and will not act as an individual. We wish this great step to be taken in a purely Presbyterian way, and with all Presbyterian forms. This is the plain and simple explanation of our position. We put off the taking of the final step that it may be taken not by ministers individually, but by the Free Assembly of the Free Presbyterian Church.

"But, to have done: you will not vote to-night for the repeal of the Veto law. But you will give your hearty concurrence in going forward, heart and hand, in the preparation for establishing the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, if not by the coffers of the State, if not by the sanction of the aristocracy and of great men—for establishing it in the hearts of the Christian people. All the people are concerned in making preparation for that disruption which is now inevitable; for let me just remind my brethren, and my friends who are not office-bearers in the Church, that however hitherto they may have looked on as if this question were one rather for the office-bearers of the Church than for them, as if this were a war to be waged by ministers and elders, while they look on quietly—the time for entertaining that opinion is gone. Hitherto this question has pressed upon us who have been placed in the foreground. We have been fighting your battle. You can testify how we have fought that battle. We have been defeated—we have undeniably been defeated; but it is a defeat which is not irretrievable—it is not a defeat under which we are to mourn and weep as though all were lost. No; we take up the Roman cry, 'All is lost but our honour!' And under that cry we shall rally again, and that right early."

At the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which met on the 11th April, of which Dr. Candlish was a corresponding member, he spoke at considerable length regarding the movement which had originated in the West for negotiating the measure of non-intrusion, amid repeated interruptions by Dr. Leishman and others, and then went on to say—

"Some are prepared to reason that so long as they are permitted to preach the gospel, so long as prohibitions, interdicts, and actions of damages do not come down upon them in the discharge of their pastoral functions, and so long as they are not called to commit sin in the settlement of unacceptable ministers, they could acquiesce in some particular arrangement that might be come to. That is the question that is now raised by some—a question as to the extent of power, but not as to the source of power. But the question which the Church has to entertain is not as to the extent of power,—not whether she shall be allowed *ex gratia* to perform certain functions as a Christian Church, but whether she holds these functions from Christ exclusively, or whether she will consent to have them from an earthly potentate. That is the question that is now practically raised; and to my mind that is the question that has been raised by the last Auchterarder decision. In all her proceedings with reference to non-intrusion the Church has had regard to the question of her legislative functions. Even at the time when the proposal was made of a *liberum arbitrium*, I remember that the venerable man whose name has been frequently cheered in this Court, not always in a way which he would acknowledge, stood out for the principle that no adjustment should involve a surrender of the Church's legislative functions; and no proposal would have been entertained for a moment that did not provide for the protection of these functions.

"I hold, in reference to the Establishment, the legislative power of the State *circa sacra*, at least as high as the legislative power of the Church ; and I hold that now, in the face of all Christendom, we are testifying consistently both for the legislative power of the Christian Church derived from the Lord Jesus Christ, and being exercised purely ministerially in the interpretation of His word, and for the legislative power of the State on its own responsibility to God, by whom kings reign. I do not say that the Church is entitled to keep up a law after the State has disapproved of it. I say, if the Church maintains a law to which the State refuses its countenance, then there is an essential difference between the State and the Church, and there remains nothing for the Church but to seek for freedom out of her connection with the State. It is clearly the duty and right of the State to judge of our law of non-intrusion and our claim of spiritual independence. It is their right and duty to make up their minds, as we believe they have made up their minds, on our principles. They think them dangerous to the State, and we hold them to be essential to the Church ; and we are thus brought to the first elements of the connection betwixt Church and State. We are brought to say, Let the State determine the conditions of the Establishment, and let the Church determine whether she can purchase the benefits of an Establishment by submitting to these conditions. Our opponents in high places understand thoroughly that it is not the mere technicalities of the Veto law that stand in the way, but the principles we assert. And they have most unequivocally declared that neither the one principle nor the other shall receive their sanction. And what are we called upon to do? When the tide is rushing in upon us, and the enemy is coming in like a flood, instead of lifting up the standard we are called upon to take it down. Are we, when the hosts of this world are coming in upon us,—are we, instead of lifting up the banner higher,—are we, in the face of all Christendom, to take that banner down, and lift in its stead some poor and pitiful protest, the instant effect of which must be to lay open to the enemy which crowd around us the very centre of our citadel?

"I have only one subject more to refer to. I don't know whether a member of this Court referred to me when he spoke of scheming for the overthrow of the Establishment ; but on this point I take leave to say, in the first place, that I would consider myself as committing a very grievous sin if I relinquished the Establishment of the Church of my fathers on any ground whatever which would not compel me thereafter to be the opponent of that Establishment. I say that, first of all, if we are honest men, the very principle which led us to leave the Establishment must lead us to seek the overthrow of the Establishment if we continue to maintain the principles that have driven us out. Then, in the second place, I have to say, and I may be misconstrued for saying it, but Christian candour as well as faithfulness requires it—I must say, in reference to the earnest appeals which have been made to us, as though, after the separation takes place, we might continue to be excellent Christian friends and to co-operate in various ways; in reference to that, I must say that, while I will judge no man—to his own master he standeth or falleth—I cannot relinquish the impression, which will be strong upon my mind, that our brethren who remain in the Establishment after we have been compelled to leave it, have been instrumental in sanctioning, on the part of the State which establishes the Church, and on the part of the Church which continues to be established, a very serious amount of criminality; and with that impression it is vain and idle to talk of our differing on minor points and yet being harmonious on many others. I repeat, sir, that I think we differ upon the very point on which Christ is calling us to testify for the present truth. That is the point on which I think we essentially differ; and I never can forget that however much we may agree on other points, yet if we differ on the precise point of the testimony for the present truth—I am judging no man—we cannot but regard the difference as involving, on the one side or the other, serious sin. Sir, I speak these things without desiring to give offence, while it is absolutely necessary that we should speak plainly, and speak the truth. Much has been said of the schism we have committed. Very extraordinary words have been employed, not in random speeches, but in documents of Church Courts, imputing to us the sin of introducing a schism into the Church of Scotland. I won't venture to say that the sin of schism has not been committed; but let it be ever borne in mind that, in deciding on whose side the guilt lies, it is essential to discuss the question on which we have separated. Sir, *they* may be the schismatics who have consented to remain behind. Let it be remembered that the guilt of the schism is not to be determined by the question, Which party began, or which party have been most active? but simply and solely by the question, Which is the party who, on the point at issue, have acted in accordance with the Word of God—which party, I say, not in the manner of maintaining it only, but which party in the thing maintained have upheld the testimony of the Lord Jesus Christ?

At the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, on the 9th May, a case was brought up from the Presbytery of Dalkeith. It appeared that Mr. Duncan, the Assistant-Minister of Dalkeith, had complained to the Presbytery that Dr. Candlish had intruded into his parish and preached in a dissenting church, and that the Presbytery, by a majority, had come to a finding that such conduct was irregular and disorderly, and subversive of Presbyterian discipline. The Synod unanimously ordered the Presbytery to expunge from their record all the minutes relating to this case. Speaking as a member of Synod, Dr. Candlish said that the case was only important as showing that the spirit of the Moderate party was quite unchanged.

I need make no apology for quoting the following sentences from Mr. Maclagan's *History of St. George's*, showing how Dr. Candlish acted in his relation to the congregation of St. George's in the prospect of the Disruption :—

> "The anxiety and excitement of these times were trying beyond all the conception of those who only look back upon them as historical events, and who did not live through any part of them. But none of these things moved Dr. Candlish from the discharge of his duty to St. George's. The Rev. W. Hamilton, of Stonehouse, tells me that he was superintendent of St. George's Sabbath Schools for several years before 1843, and that Dr. Candlish regularly attended the monthly meeting of the teachers for prayer, when he ordinarily gave a short address. No doubt the interest he took in this part of the congregational work knit to him the hearts of all the teachers, and led to them holding a meeting on 11th May 1843, at which the Sabbath School teachers of St. George's unanimously gave in their adherence to the principles for which the Church had been contending ; and resolved, in the event of the contemplated Disruption, to continue as an association of teachers, to place themselves under the authority of, and in connection with the Kirk-Session and congregation adhering to Dr. Candlish.
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> "On 25th April 1843, the last meeting of the Kirk-Session was held prior to the Disruption.
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> "On the 4th May Dr. Candlish preached in St. George's, a sermon with reference to the Church's contendings and trials, from the text, 'Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first-begotten of the

dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth' (Rev. i. 5). He seemed as if prodigal of his powers of work at this critical time; for on 27th April, on the evening of the Fast-day, he preached a sermon for the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum; and on Thursday, 11th May, a sermon on behalf of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands—a characteristically generous service on his part, for the Society was well known to be bound to the party who certainly would remain in the Establishment.

"On the 6th May 1843—twelve days before the Disruption—he preached his annual sermon to the Sabbath School children. He had arranged with the Kirk-Session to take over from them the Rose Street school; and, like a man arranging his affairs in the near prospect of departure, he put everything in order, and calmly awaited the end, whatever it might be.

"On Sabbath the 14th May he preached his last sermon in St. George's, from the text, John xx. 21, 22, 'Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' The sermon had nothing of the character of a farewell about it, and some of the congregation, who had a warm regard for Dr. Candlish, but who differed from him on the Church question, took grave exception to this—a very unreasonable exception, as Dr. Candlish had no right to assume who were to go or stay; or whether, indeed, at the last hour, some door in providence might not open to avert what appeared a great calamity in the prospect, but what, in the retrospect, we all recognise as having proved one of the greatest of blessings to the religious life and history of Scotland. The closing sentences of the sermon referred briefly to the Church's position and its rights; and emphatically protested against any of its pulpits giving an uncertain sound on the question of the Church's freedom.

"On the evening of Wednesday, the 17th May, a meeting for prayer, conducted by Dr. Candlish, was held in St. George's Church, being his last service in that building."

On the following Sabbath the congregation assembled in a brick church which had previously been erected in Castle Terrace in anticipation of the Disruption, and in which some of the business meetings of the General Assembly 1843 were held.

CHAPTER XI.

Assembly 1843 — Disruption — Proceedings of Free Church Assembly — Speeches of Dr. Candlish—Meeting in City Hall, Glasgow—Bicentenary of Westminster Assembly—Meeting in Surrey Chapel, London—Meetings in Dumfriesshire — Presbytery of Edinburgh — Glasgow Assembly — Speeches of Dr. Candlish—Meeting in Tanfield Hall, Edinburgh—Preaching in Bute and at Kilsyth — Reminiscences of Mr. Gregory — School Building Scheme—Visit to England—Presbytery of Edinburgh—Antislavery meeting—Dr. Candlish's generosity—Meeting in Waterloo Rooms —Associate Synod.

On the 18th May 1843 the General Assembly met. The members of it, who knew that a disruption had become inevitable, assembled in Edinburgh earlier than usual, for there was preparatory business to be done. *The Protest* had to be produced and subscribed. This was done at preliminary meetings in St. Luke's Church, when it was also arranged that the act of leaving the Establishment should be done in the most decent and orderly way. On the 18th there was a very full and interested audience in the High Church to hear the sermon of Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the previous Assembly. I was seated beside one of the ministers who had concluded to remain in the Establishment, although more than half convinced that he ought to leave it. He was weeping bitterly most of the time, and when he rose to leave the church at the close of the service, he exclaimed—"Oh, what would you have me to do?" Although the sermon was as usual preached in the High Church, the meeting of Assembly was held in St. Andrew's Church. When the Moderator, and

Royal Commissioner, the Marquis of Bute, arrived there, after a brief and solemnising prayer, Dr. Welsh read the Protest, and handed it to the clerks at the table, and, along with the senior members of Assembly, who were seated on the front bench on the Moderator's left hand, began to move towards the door. The other members, as had been arranged, remained quietly sitting until the venerable fathers had passed the seat they occupied. My attention was particularly directed to Mr. Robertson of Ellon, perhaps the ablest, as he was one of the most prominent, of the Moderate party. He occupied one of the seats on the Moderator's right hand, and stood up when the movement towards the door began. There was a smile of satisfaction on his face when he observed that there was as yet no movement except on the front benches, and had evidently concluded that the confident predictions that only a very few would leave the Establishment were about to be verified; but as pew after pew was leisurely emptied, his face got elongated and ghastly pale. His case, I have no doubt, was a typical one; but I witnessed no more of what took place there, having joined the members outside, who marched in solemn procession, amid a dense crowd of spectators, to a hall at Canonmills which had been fitted up for the occasion, and there the General Assembly of the Free Church was constituted, and as their first business elected Dr. Chalmers to be their Moderator.

The proceedings of the Free Assembly were to a large extent of a business character, for the members had to set themselves to the organisation and equipment of a Church placed in entirely new circumstances. It was a time of great activity and industry, but the members, full of enthusiasm and gladness, carried through their work with wonderful rapidity and unanimity, as well as with characteristic wisdom and discretion. Their time was much occupied besides with the receiving of deputations from other Churches; for then, as ever since, the Free Church attracted the sympathy and regard of other Protestant and Evangelical Churches over the world. As might have been expected, Dr. Candlish took a prominent part in the business of the Assembly. It was he who proposed, on the first day of their meeting, that the Protest, which had already been signed by a majority of those whom they could alone recognise as members of Assembly, should lie open for further signatures, and that all ministers who subscribed a concurrence in the Protest, with one elder from each concurring Kirk-Session, should be assumed as members of the House, in addition to those who signed the Protest. It was of such elements that the first General Assembly of the Free Church was composed.

On the following day a memorial from probationers adhering to the Free Church, numbering nearly 200, was presented, and Dr. Candlish moved that the Assembly thankfully acknowledge the memorial, and adverted to the very large proportion of Theological students who were of the same mind. He said—

> "It is unquestionably one of the tokens that this cause in which we are engaged is the cause of God and His truth, that, on the one hand, we see arranged among the supporters of our principles those whose hairs are grey and whose feet are tottering on the verge of the grave; while, on the other hand, we see arranged on the same side, and preparing themselves for coming contest, those who are upheld by all the brilliant hopes of youth." He contrasted the position "of these our youthful friends, aspiring to the ministry, with our own position when we were at a similar stage of our progress. I congratulate our young friends," he said, "that they are entering on the office of the ministry, and preparing for it in times which stir men's minds to their utmost depth. I believe that if we had given way in the hour of trial, if we had compromised the rights of Christ's crown, we should have sent a thrill of disappointment and sorrow not only through the hearts of our own believing people at home but in distant lands, even amidst the darkness of Popery and on the wide Western Continent; and many would have believed that the last stronghold of Protestantism had given way. But if we now fail to fulfil the promise of our high

calling, the disappointment of Christendom will be greater still. Our young friends must help us to fulfil the duties of our present calling. They must enter into the office of the ministry, not, as many of us did, with their eyes fixed on some quiet settlement at home, but they must be prepared to go wherever the Lord sends them—to the remotest Indies, or even to the ends of the earth. They must lay aside every weight, dismissing all other care; and trusting to the protection of Providence, must be prepared to labour, whether at home or abroad, in ships or on the barren heath, in humble cottages or lonely tabernacles; proclaiming, wherever they are sent, the unsearchable riches of Christ."

On Saturday the 20th May, Dr. Candlish, in reporting on the statistics of the Free Church, said—

"You are aware that since the Convocation we have addressed circulars to various parts of the country to all adhering ministers, putting a series of questions bearing on the Disruption of the Church, which was then anticipated and has now taken place. These questions had reference to the best manner in which the means of grace could be supplied to the adhering population throughout all the land; for it was laid down by us as an important principle that, in the event of the Disruption taking place, the adhering people everywhere, should if possible have the means of grace in connection with the Free Church. We hope we have been instrumental in awakening our people to such a state of feeling that they must receive religious ordinances somewhere or other; and it is of vast moment that they should not be left to the chance of continuing to worship within the walls of the Establishment, or to the necessity of seeking supply from other Christian churches; for they have adhered to the Free Church believing it to be what, with the blessing of God, it will be, in truth and reality, the Church of their fathers. They have adhered to it, believing that, though the Church has been driven forth into the wilderness—though it is driven from the halls of the great and the countenance of the State—though it is driven from the church and churchyard where the bones of their fathers sleep, yet she is in verity the identical Church which their fathers founded, and which was reared by their prayers, their sufferings, and their blood. Our people have been taught to feel the importance of the question put by our admirable friends from the other side of the water (the Irish Deputation) when they asked—Where is the Church of Scotland to be found? We answer, She will not be found basking under the smiles of the great, but she is to be recognised once more, as in days of old, by her sufferings and her tears; and never at any time have the hearts of God's people been more strongly drawn out towards the Church of Scotland—the Presbyterian Church of Scotland—than when they have had to know and recognise her by this mark that she was a Church suffering affliction for the cause of God and His truth."

Dr. Candlish then entered into some details as to what was proposed to be done for the supply of ordinances to all the people adhering to the Free Church.

On Monday the 22d Dr. Candlish explained to the Assembly the steps that had been taken for a suitable commemoration of the bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly, and moved the appointment of a committee to correspond with commissioners named by other Churches holding the Westminster Standards, and to make arrangements for a meeting, or a series of meetings, for commemorating the day on which that Assembly sat down.

The forenoon of the day following was chiefly occupied by signing, in presence of the Assembly, the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission," and at the evening sederunt Dr. Candlish said—

"It must now appear, I presume, that we have adopted a right and suitable method in receiving the signatures of the members in presence of the Assembly. I would propose also that as the business of the day began with the offering up a very solemn prayer, it should close in the same manner. The business has been of a character, I think I may say, unprecedented, not merely in the history of the Church of Scotland, but I might almost say in the history of the Church of Christ; for I am not aware that ever on any former occasion in the history of the Church there was an association of Christian ministers engaged in a business similar to that which we have this day been transacting; that, with one heart, and at the same time individually, one by one, we have deliberately signed over all that we have on earth; we have given over all our emoluments and advantages as ministers of the Established Church, and that, as we believe, for the sake of Christ's crown and covenant. We have signed a document which makes us in form, as well as in reality, no longer ministers of the Established Church of Scotland. We have now completed the step we began to take on Thursday last, in an orderly way, and as our enemies themselves must confess, without any symptoms of hesitation or wavering. This position we cannot but feel it peculiarly responsible to stand in. It is a solemn thing, whether we look back to that state which we have now finally and for ever abandoned, or forward to the course on which we are entering ; and I believe that we will all agree that, at a subsequent stage, and before the close of the proceedings of this most eventful day, the document be read over, with the names attached to it, that we may know each other, and that our hearts may be knit together more closely in bonds of brotherly love, seeing that we have agreed to suffer personally for Christ's cause."

On Wednesday the 24th May, when the Report of the Committee on the Conversion of the Jews had been given by Dr. Keith, Dr. Candlish said—

"I do rejoice, Moderator, that the first occasion on which I have to make a motion since our final separation from the Establishment, has for its object the appointment of the Committee for carrying on the work for the Conversion of the Jews. I cannot but rejoice in the prospect which we have, if deprived of the means which have been contributed for the support of this mission, of at least retaining the men. We can well spare the means—which, however, considering the source from which they have come, and the hands to which they have been entrusted, ought properly to belong to us. But let them go. Though of all that has been contributed and accumulated we may not be able to retain one farthing, yet we may safely assume that of the men whom God has raised up for this work we shall lose not one. They all adhere to the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It is interesting to mention, and I look upon it as a striking token for good, that we have at this moment two interesting young men, one at the age of fourteen, and the other at the age of twelve, both sons of Israel, committed to us by their mother to be trained up for the missionary cause, under the care of the Assembly of our Church. These two young men are the sons of a mother in Israel, who came into contact at Woolwich with one of the most devoted ministers of the Church, and expressed her earnest desire to place her two sons as an offering, as it were, at the altar of God, to be at the disposal of the Church of Scotland. I am sure that my reverend father, Dr. Keith, will bear me out when I say that the little intercourse we have had with these young men gives reason to entertain the most sanguine hopes for the future. I cannot but think it a blessed circumstance connected with our position, that just as the crisis had arrived, just as the darkness was thickening around us, God put it into the heart of a mother in Israel to commit to us her two precious children; and now that we have started on our old enterprise in its new form, we have this as a pledge, as it were, of the favour of the God of Abraham, that two of the sons of His own people have been committed to our care."

On the evening of the following day a communication was produced from the free Dissenters in Holland, who sent a sympathising letter, written in Latin, to the Free Presbyterian Church; and in adverting to it Dr. Candlish said—

"This communication which has reached us, is calculated, on the one hand, to elevate and exalt our feelings, and on the other, to impress us with a most serious sense of our own responsibility; for it confirms the impression under which we have laboured, that the eyes of Christendom are upon us, that we stand forth as a spectacle to the Churches of the living God; that we have gone forth, or have been driven forth, not only to vindicate our liberties to worship God according to our conscience, but that we are destined to be the great rallying point round which shall be arrayed the Churches of the living God against the hosts of Antichrist."

On the same evening, in reference to a proposal to meet on the following evening for solemn prayer, Dr. Candlish said—

"We are now forgetting things that are behind and looking forward with hope and confidence to the things that are before. We are preparing ourselves, I trust in God, for a great and glorious work to be accomplished during the ensuing summer. We must all of us, to whom God has given the needful strength, take our staves in our hands, and go forth on a pilgrimage to preach the gospel over the land. In the first instance, we must devote ourselves to the planting of the Church and the gathering together of our own flocks. But all of us who are young and strong must make up our minds to itinerate for a time before the rigours of winter set in. There is such a vast demand for the preaching of the gospel that every effort must be made to supply it; and our probationers will set forth on this holy and righteous work, not as in former and peaceful times, when one here and one there was devoted to the work of the ministry, but the exigency demands that we should send forth *en masse* all those whose services can possibly be made available."

On Saturday the 27th May, when the Report on Foreign Missions was called for, Dr. Candlish intimated that there was no formal report, but expressed the belief that such a report was unnecessary, as the Assembly were informed, through the *Missionary Record*, of the work that was being done. He added—

"It will of course be the mind of the Assembly that we should repeat our unfeigned thanks to Almighty God for the blessing He has vouchsafed on the labours of our missionaries; and it will no doubt be the mind of the Assembly, that a committee should now be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the same missionary schemes in the years to come. I trust that the Foreign Schemes of our Protesting Church will be upheld and maintained with ever increased efficiency, notwithstanding the demand for funds for our home operations, and that we will give proof to the Christian world, and even to the ungodly world, of the soundness of that maxim referred to by our Moderator a day or two ago, that home and foreign missionary Associations mutually act and react on one another, and that the very increase of the sum received for our home operations will be the pledge of a large increase in the fund available for Foreign Missions."

On the last day of the Assembly's meeting, on giving in a report on the Supply of Ordinances, Dr. Candlish said—

"We have gone out, not as a secession from the Church of our fathers, but assuming the character and claiming the title of the Church of Scotland, under protest indeed, that we cannot have that character *de facto*, but still that we claim it *de jure*, as a right belonging to us. We go forth not as a secession from the Church, but as the Church itself, renouncing our connection with the State, because of the Erastian condition that Establishment has now imposed upon it. And, going forth in that character, thanks be unto God, going forth in such large numbers, with nearly six hundred available men, we never could reconcile it either with our duty or with our position to refuse the high call which God in His providence is now addressing to us, when He is summoning us to go forth in the strength of the Lord and possess the land. It is upon this principle that the report I have now to submit has been framed. The principle was recognised from the very earliest period when we began to make arrangements with a view to the Disruption. Not knowing how many of our fathers and brethren might be able to bear this testimony to principle, it becomes us all the more to acknowledge, now that the Disruption has taken place, that the most sanguine hopes of our friends have been greatly more than realised.

"It is clear to me that no faithful member of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland can give any countenance to the worship of God in connection with the Establishment. They have laid the Establishment prostrate at the feet of the Civil power, and annulled every vestige of liberty in the Church of Christ, if they be a Church of Christ. They have also prostrated in the Church the whole jurisdiction and liberty which Christ has conferred on every branch of His living Church, and we can never consent to acknowledge it as any other than an Establishment which has consented to anti-Christian terms of alliance with the State, and to an anti-Christian yoke of bondage. And their recent proceedings make refusal to hold fellowship or communion with them their act and not ours. Sir, they have virtually cut off all Christendom from their communion. And if now we find it impossible, even occasionally, to have fellowship with them, it is not our doing, but their own wilful deliberate act. But this renders it all the more important, on the one hand, that those interested in making arrangements in connection with the Free Protesting Church of Scotland should make them commensurate with all the adhering population ; and it makes it necessary, on the other hand, that our people should submit to inconvenience, and even occasional hardship, and make all possible allowances.

Towards the close of the Assembly Dr. Candlish proposed that Thursday the 15th June be set apart for solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, humiliation, and prayer, in connection with the circumstances in which the Church had now been placed, and the proposal was unanimously acquiesced in.

A meeting was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 13th June, at which Dr. Candlish was one of the speakers. On proposing a resolution regarding the maintenance and extension of the ordinances of the gospel, he said—

"The Lord has been leading us by a way that we knew not. Who among us all, when this question arose some six years ago, who, when the difficulties began to thicken in the year 1839, who among us even at that time contemplated it as a thing desirable, or even as a thing to be looked forward to as probable, that we should be in our present position this day? Sir, all our efforts, all our endeavours have been to avert this catastrophe. For this we have striven and struggled, for this we have been ready to make sacrifices, for this we have been ready to negotiate with hostile governments, to listen to every insidious proposal, to bring down our demands to the very lowest point, if by any means we could save our position in the Establishment. Now, sir, I take courage from this consideration, that the Lord has enabled us to be true to the principles we have all along avowed, and that He has brought us, in maintaining these principles, into our present position, not by our own seeking, but by His ordinance and guidance, and against our own wills. For, sir, it is a subject of thankfulness in tracing the history of this great controversy, that much as men are apt to charge us with rashness and precipitancy and violence, those who have been really, as I may say, behind the scenes, those who have known the principles and proceedings of the Church, will bear testimony, that so far from any precipitancy or rashness, there was nothing but reluctance in anticipating this catastrophe; that we grasped at the slightest shadow of hope, and were ready even to hope against hope. But the Lord hath brought us hitherto, and we have cause to acknowledge this day that the Lord's ways are just and true. Whatever chastisement hath been in His recent dealing with us, whatever severity, whatever trouble and trial, we have indeed cause to say the Lord is righteous, and we have sinned. But we have cause in the midst of judgment to know that the Lord remembers mercy. We may sing more of mercy than of judgment this day; for the Lord hath indeed dealt bountifully with us. He hath not only enabled us to maintain our principles without compromise in the face of all temptations—for which glory be to His name—but He hath so ordered all the circumstances of this event, so ordered all the minute details of this occurrence, that we were enabled to make the transition we have now made from the Establishment to our present position without confusion, without disorder, without division, as one band united in the Lord, and prepared to stand fast in the cause which He hath given us to maintain.

"And this, sir, being our present position, while we give thanks to God for the way by which He has led us hitherto, we cannot but entertain now the inquiry, What the Lord would have us to do? And I trust it is in the heart of every one now present to entertain that question honestly and sincerely. It cannot be for any light or trivial purpose that the Lord has brought us hitherto. It cannot be for any slight or unimportant object that God has caused such great events in these last days in our country. Without pretending to interpret the design of Providence, we cannot surely go wrong when we consider all the leadings of God's providence as pointing to this, that He hath set us as a sign, that He hath set the Free Church of Scotland as a sign, it may be for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, it may be for the testing of men's spirits and the searching of their hearts, but that He hath set us as a sign that a standard may be lifted up, and further, that He hath consecrated this Free Church of Scotland as an instrument for the evangelisation of the whole land, and for the bearing of the everlasting gospel to every country.

"But a few short years ago the Established Church of Scotland was awakened to a sense of her guilt in past times, and her duty now, in respect to the spiritual destitution of this country of Scotland; and the Established Church, under the guidance of a master mind, was enabled to chalk out a scheme or plan for accomplishing the great object of carrying the gospel of Christ to every village and to every house in the land. The Church of Scotland made it then her prayer that she might be instrumental in communicating the benefits of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence to the whole population. She endeavoured quietly and unobtrusively to accomplish this object by multiplying her churches and schools, her ministers and elders, and by subdividing large parishes, and so bringing the gospel near to every one of the population; but in the accomplishment of this great object the Church was interrupted. She was going on in her noble career of Church extension, and proceeding to plant churches and ministers in all the destitute localities of the land, with her mind filled with the Christian imagination of the spectacle of a thoroughly Christianised people, leavened all through with the grace of the gospel; but the Lord did not see fit that this end should be accomplished in this way. 'His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts.' He interrupted this bright career; He interrupted the Church in this glorious undertaking; and the Church was ready to mourn over this sad controversy about the non-intrusion of ministers and the headship of Christ as interrupting her in prosecuting a great scheme of Christian philanthropy. But how wonderful are the ways of God! Do we not now see that God hath thus been answering our prayer through these terrible things in righteousness; not in the way we might chalk out, but in the way which seems good to Himself, and which therefore ought to approve itself the more to us. He is now enabling us to accomplish the very end which the Church was set to accomplish by other means. And in this season of excitement and awakening, when the providence of God has stirred men's minds to their utmost depths, and all men are compelled to think, now when we are driven forth into the wilderness, is it not plain that God is giving us the opportunity of elevating the masses of the community much more thoroughly and effectively than we could ever have done before?

"On the subject of the arrangements made for the supply of ordinances, I really cannot detain this meeting with any details. It were altogether unsuitable that I should enter into particulars as to the arrangements which the Church is making for supplying the means of grace to her whole adhering population. I would just advert to one or two general features in the plan which we have been led to propose; and, first of all, we have been led, as I think in the course of providence, to lay down as our plan that we shall endeavour to supply ordinances to the whole adhering population; that we shall endeavour to send the gospel to all the people in every parish who will hear it, and appoint ministers who shall dispense among them the word and sacraments of the living God. We have done this, because we believe the question which caused this great event is not a partial but a national question. We have done this, because we believe that the Church we now belong to is not a sect, but the National Church. We have done this because we believe we are still the Church of Scotland—the only Church that deserves the name—the only Church which can be known and recognised by the maintaining of those principles to which the Church of our fathers was true when she was on the mountain and on the field,—when she was under persecution,—when she was an outcast from the world. And believing that we are not seceders from the Church, but are the Church separated from the State,—believing that we are not a sect separated from the Established Church, but that we are the Church of Scotland separating from the State, we hold ourselves entitled, without any disparagement to other religious bodies, to assume and act upon the principle that we are to maintain the character of the National Church of Scotland. To the very last, and so long as we remained in the Church,—so long as the Church was allowed to perform her functions freely,—to the very last the Church did her duty. The last act of the Church which we can acknowledge was the appeal to Parliament for an answer to the Claim of Rights; that claim was adopted by the suffrages of the large majority of the last Assembly which we can acknowledge. We are the Church, therefore, and down to the last moment we have maintained the character of the Church of Scotland. It was as the Church of Scotland that, in the Assembly of 1842, we presented that Claim of Rights to Government. It was as the Church of Scotland that in the Commission we resolved to make our final appeal to Parliament. It was as the Church of Scotland that we protested against the enslaved Assembly of 1843, and formed ourselves into a Free Assembly, in a hall of our own. And in all this, I say, there is no disparagement to other religious bodies. We have done only what the fathers of the Secession would have done in our circumstances. We have done that of which every true Presbyterian in Scotland cordially approves. We have on this very platform, and around me at this moment at which I am speaking, the living evidences that we are the Church of Scotland. And, sir, we are even something more ; we are the Church of Scotland, recognised as maintaining the principles of the Church of Scotland not only by the seceders from the Establishment under the Revolution Settlement, but by those even who disapprove of the Revolution Settlement—by those who have been denominated Cameronians. And we are recognised as the Church of Scotland, now once more, by her testimony to great principles, and her suffering for great principles. It was in this character, as maintaining and suffering for great principles, that the Church of Scotland attracted the eyes of Christendom in former times. It was in this character that the Church of Scotland formerly became, as it were, the stone which was to destroy the kingdoms of this world that disowned the Lord. It was in this character, as maintaining great principles, and suffering for them, that the Church of Scotland became a rallying point of union to all the churches of the Reformation ; and God has brought us into this position again. Let our prayer then be that we may feel our responsibility,—that we may consider not only that the eyes of the world are upon us, but that the eyes of Christendom are upon us. Oh that God would indeed impress our beloved Church, all her office-bearers, and all her members, with a sense of the peculiar solemnity of the position which He hath called us to occupy ! And may the Lord grant us grace to be faithful, that because of us many Christians throughout all the world may have good reason to glorify God."

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, held on the 5th July, Dr. Candlish detailed the methods adopted, and recommended by the Committee of which he was Convener, for the supply of ordinances, and read a circular they had issued for the information of the Church, at the same time urging the need of patience and forbearance while the utmost was being done to meet the demand for supply of ordinances.

On the 12th and 13th July, according to previous arrangement, meetings were held in Edinburgh, in Canonmills Hall, to commemorate the bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly. At one of these meetings Dr. Candlish spoke at great length, and concluded by saying—

"I should most heartily rejoice if, in consequence of this Commemoration, there should take place periodical or yearly meetings of the several Evangelical Churches uniting in a protest against prevailing errors, for mutual consultation, for the revision of their several codes of opinion, and for endeavouring to come to a common understanding. But above all, we have now got hold of a principle of which the Westminster Divines did not seem to be aware,—at least the practical application of it was not before their minds,—I mean that of Christian Churches coming ever nearer to one another in point of doctrine and discipline, yet still deeming it right to keep up their different forms of Church Government, and their separate modes of transacting business, and yet co-operating in extensive works of usefulness, without compromising any of their differences or sinking even minor points, but considering what they can do together for the glory of God and the good of a fallen world. Let us contemplate such expedients for promoting Protestant union; let us remember that now, if ever, we ought to look for an answer to the Saviour's prayer, for surely the time draweth near when He shall accomplish His own work. Meanwhile let our prayer be that, by the outpouring of His Spirit, we may be one at last, that the world may believe He is sent of God."

On the 18th August a meeting was held in Surrey Chapel, London, to hear a deputation from the Free Church, and among others it was addressed by Dr. Candlish, who said—

"That in the sacrifice they had made they had done what they were enabled to do to convince the unbelieving world that men could act on some higher principle than a mere regard for dross; and he could not but think that God had permitted this event to occur in Scotland because He had seen that Christendom and the world at large needed to be reminded of this solemn truth—that there were things in the world worth living for, suffering for, and dying for, beyond base lucre. There was only one thing which appeared to him in the proceeding to be more humiliating than even the exaggerated terms in which the sacrifice they had made had been spoken of; it was the acknowledgment amongst men of Christian as well as worldly politics, of their scepticism upon the point of that sacrifice ; they doubted if it would be made ; and the least reparation they could make now was to have more faith henceforward in the force and reality of great principles. He trusted that the example which had been given in the Scottish Church of the reality and power of great principles would force the people of England to believe in the sincerity of those principles which a struggling minority in the communion might avow,—to give them credit for their sincerity, and bid them God speed ; *that* they were entitled to claim, as the Free Church would have been entitled before this event took place.

"He was anxious to impress upon the meeting the fact that they were not now engaged in a course of reckless agitation, a fierce crusade against the Establishment, or an inflammatory excitement of the people. On the contrary, they were actively employed in peaceably propagating amongst the people the great doctrines of the gospel. The excitement produced was not political or secular, but deeply spiritual and religious. This great controversy had gone on and not one drop of blood had been shed ; not one breach of the peace had been committed. What they wished the people of England to do now was, not to inquire into their past proceedings, but to aid them in reaping the fruits of what had taken place, by providing people with the means of grace, and the placing among them pastors whom they could reverence and love. They did not intend to come making periodical appeals. They had great difficulty in providing for the large number of desolate congregations, and would not the Christian people of England help them over this first great obstacle ? The Church of Scotland had been the first to be cast into the furnace. God knew whose turn might come next. The singular coincidence of the time could not be overlooked. The present century and the present year could not be compared with the century and the year in which Charles reigned. The present revolution had been the greatest since the Covenant, and yet it had passed on silently, yet in a manner equally trying to the spirits of men. The troops were mustering on both sides, and the remnants of Protestantism were gathering in opposition to the common enemy."

Dr. Candlish, on his way to and return from England, devoted several days to active and unwearied labour in Annandale, Eskdale, and Nithsdale. He presided at laying the foundation-stones of the churches of Dryfesdale, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, and Dumfries; preached at the communion-stones in Irongray; at the grave of the Martyr Hyslop; at Ruthwell, Annan, and Ecclefechan. He concluded his labours in the South with large and most enthusiastic meetings in Half-Morton, Eskdalemuir, Castleton, Canonbie, and Langholm.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh held on the 6th September, Dr. Candlish took occasion to advert to the principles on which the Free Church was proceeding in the supply of ordinances, in reference to certain accusations preferred against them. He said—

"The principle with which we set out in our new position, as a Church no longer connected with the State, and which is ever to be borne in mind, as I understood it, was this, that the reason of our separation from the Establishment was a vital question as to doctrine, discipline, and government; that we separated not upon any trifling or subordinate point, but for no other reason than this—that we held the Establishment so constituted now that it implied sin to remain in connection with it. I wish this were more borne in mind both by our friends and our opponents. Of course we are not entitled to judge of the motives and opinions of those who have remained in the Establishment, but they who have done so should bear in mind that the testimony we have borne in leaving the Establishment of necessity implies that, in our view, the present constitution of the Establishment is an unscriptural—a sinful constitution, and that, without judging of the men, we cannot but adhere to our testimony that continuance in the Establishment is in our view sinful. If this were borne in mind it would go far to remove those misapprehensions which some of those who are even disposed to be friendly to us seem to entertain, and explain some of our proceedings which some seem to have misunderstood. If that were kept in view it would shield us greatly from the charges of uncharitableness which have been cast upon our procedure. Let it be kept in mind that we judge no man. To his own master every one standeth or falleth. But we are bound to testify against what we hold to be corruption and sin in a professing Church of Christ, and therefore it is altogether out of the question to expect us to look with complacency upon an Establishment which we regard as vitiated on a point essentially affecting the honour of Christ, and His right to reign in His own house.

"The principle upon which we proceed in all our arrangements, then, is, that it is our bounden duty to give to all the people of Scotland who wish to receive them at our hands, the means of grace. I hold it to be our duty to go to the people of Scotland to tell them why we have separated from the Establishment, and to tell them, moreover, that they ought to see their duty in the same light as we have seen ours, and then do our utmost, God helping us, to enable them to act on their convictions of duty, as we have acted on ours. And if this be persecution of the Establishment, I cannot help it. The ground of our separation was, as we regarded it, a vital one, and we are bound to place before the people of Scotland the same opportunities for separation as were afforded to ourselves. We are bound to give them the opportunity of worshipping, if they wish it, in a Church free from those corruptions to which the Establishment has submitted. But, at the same time, I would fain hope that the motive by which we are actuated in so doing is not a feeling of rivalry or hostility against any body, but rather an earnest desire to promote the glory of God and win souls to Christ. And, so far as I know, the Free Church, since the Disruption, has in a wonderful manner kept herself free from questions of controversy, from irritating discussions, from attacks on the existing Establishment, and has simply, and with a single eye, devoted herself to the cultivation of that field which God in His providence has opened before her. God has opened a wide door for her in Scotland, and I am thankful that, since her work began, so little of the spirit of animosity, so little of the spirit of controversy, has been manifested against any institution, and that so much desire is evinced for the promotion of God's glory and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

"Reference has indeed been made by some to the Free Church as a Church extension scheme,—a sort of appendage to the Establishment and as standing in the same relation to the Establishment as formerly the Chapels of Ease stood to the endowed churches. The idea is absurd, and I would beg leave to remind all who talk in that way, what always, over and over, and over again, we have brought prominently before the view of the Legislature, of statesmen, and of the whole people of the land, namely. that the same strong principles which led us to separate from the Establishment would also lead us to oppose the remaining Establishment, and to desire its downfall. It would be utter folly in us, as honest men, to say or do otherwise. The very circumstances of our separation from the Establishment, and of our protest in separating, imply that we desire and aim at the downfall of the Establishment. Far be it from me to say that we are to make that our business, our first aim, or that we should be always driving at it, without any regard to propriety either of time or circumstances. But undoubtedly our position is one of hostility to the Establishment; for unquestionably, and we need not disguise it, the Scottish Establishment,—and substantially the same thing, I fear, must be said of the other Establishment,—these Establishments, constituted as they are, are as mountains that need to be removed that the kingdom of God may be advanced."

On the 11th September Dr. Candlish addressed a meeting in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, called to express sympathy with Dr. Halley and other sufferers in the persecution of Protestants at Madeira, and detailed the facts of the persecution, and urged the duty of our Government to protect the preaching of the gospel.

In the view of the many things that had to be deliberated upon and determined in the new and very exceptional circumstances in which the Church had been placed by the Disruption, it was wisely resolved that during this year there should be two meetings of the General Assembly, and that the second meeting should be held in Glasgow. The Assembly accordingly met in that city on the 17th day of October. One of the earliest matters that fell to be considered was the subject of Foreign Missions. Dr. Wilson of Bombay was present and addressed the Assembly, and it was believed that all the missionaries in the foreign field would adhere to the Free Church. This expectation was realised so soon as intelligence could be conveyed; and it was soon ascertained that all the missionaries to Jew and Gentile were Free Churchmen, a circumstance that providentially constrained the Free Church to carry on the missionary enterprise under circumstances when she might have been tempted, if not to abandon it, at least to abridge the sphere of her operations.

Dr. Chalmers reported that addresses and congratulations from various Churches, amounting to twenty in all, had been received by him. On receiving these addresses Dr. Candlish said—

"It is not at all wonderful that our brethren in England who hold the voluntary principle should hail the movement that has taken place in Scotland as a step in advance towards the ascendency of that principle. And we are not required to criticise very minutely the expressions of sympathy they address to us. It is quite natural, quite reasonable, it is altogether in accordance with the frank and friendly interchange of opinion, that they should express to us their conviction that the movement we have made is towards Voluntaryism. And for our part, while we are bound to view these expressions of sympathy with the utmost consideration, we feel that nothing further is due towards them in return than simply to say that we are thankful for their sympathy on the common ground of resistance to 'State captivity,' I think they call it; but that we do not see, we never have seen, and trust never will see, that the movement we have made is at all a step in advance to the Voluntary principle. On the contrary, our conviction is that never in any age of the Christian Church has a more decided, a more substantial, a more effectual, testimony been lifted up for the duty of the Magistrate, the whole duty of the Magistrate, in reference to the Church of Christ, than in the recent contendings and sufferings of the Free Church of Scotland. This is all the reply it is necessary for us to address to our sympathising friends of every evangelical denomination who favour the Voluntary principle. It is to say that we are still distinctly and unequivocally of opinion, as a Church, that the Voluntary principle is not a principle which this Church sanctions, that it is not a principle ever maintained by the Church of Scotland, and that we are separating from the Establishment testifying that the State, in attempting to enslave the Church as the recompense of her endowing the Church, has sinfully failed in its duty in two respects,—sinned both in the attempt to assert an Erastian supremacy over the Church, and in failing to discharge the duty of countenancing and favouring the Church, while leaving her in the enjoyment of her spiritual freedom.

"My friends will bear me witness that I am the very last person who would stand on the rigid assertion of the mere theory of Establishment for the purpose of keeping up division or schism in the Church. So far from that, it appears to me that the distinct refusal of the states and kingdoms of this world to recognise the only principle on which we can consent to have the Church established—their refusal to establish the Church of Christ, while they recognise her spirituality and freedom—leaves us to a very great degree of practical liberty, and a large measure of practical discretion, as to the terms on which we should stand with other Churches. Is the division and schism of the Christian Church to be kept up by a question as to the duty of another party over whom we have no control? Let it be that we maintain our different opinions as to the duty of the State to support the Church, and the duty of the Church to receive support from the State when it is given consistently with spiritual freedom, still shall that question, which has become a mere theoretical question in the Church of Christ, and which, so far as we can judge, seems destined to be a mere theoretical question till the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ,—shall that question prevent cordial co-operation and harmony among ourselves, and our united action in defence of our common Protestantism against the common foe?"

The Assembly, on the evening of Thursday the 19th, having taken into consideration the state of the Highlands, Dr. Candlish said—

"I shall not dwell on the various kinds of minute and petty persecution which it is alleged the adherents of the Free Church in Sutherland and the neighbouring counties have been called upon to endure, such as being threatened with the loss of situations or the loss of employment, or threatened, it may be, with expulsion from their lowly dwellings, for no crime but harbouring a venerable father grown old in the service of the Lord. I have more especially to bring before this Assembly that particular and special kind of persecution of which the county of Sutherland has most reason to complain. The other kinds of tyranny, vexatious and harassing as they are, are yet covered in such a manner that it is not easy to deal with them; and thus they prevent such a decided expression of opinion as that system of oppression with which we are at present to deal calls forth and demands. That system of oppression is the refusal to the inhabitants of the entire county of Sutherland of the exercise of the right of private judgment, and the liberty to worship God according to their own consciences, none daring to make them afraid; for, disguise it as they may—place it on the grounds of the rights of property as they will, and on the title of every man to do what he will with his own—it is vain to set up the right of any man to any portion of God's earth as a competing right to His whose is the earth and all its inhabitants—to His right to see His people protected in the full enjoyment of their liberties—the liberty, especially, of worshipping Him according to the dictates of His law and their own consciences. This, I say, is not so much the right of

His people as it is the right of Him who is His people's King and Head, and who, as the Head of His Church, claims to have the earth for His possession, for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and it would be well for those who thus stand upon their rights of property, and press them to such an extreme as to warrant them in excluding from the worship of God the population of an entire county in our native land—the worship of God, I say, in freedom, for there can be no worship of God in bondage—it would be well if these men who thus stretch the rights of property would seriously consider how difficult and complicated are the questions which they are forcing calm and reflecting men to entertain—questions which wise and prudent men will always leave, if they can, in abeyance—questions regarding the origin, extent, and limits of the rights of property—questions which, if I mistake not, the wisest statesmen and politicians of the last age advised our landowners and aristocracy not to raise, and not to do anything that was calculated to raise in the minds of others."

On giving in the report of the Committee on Missions to the Jews on Monday the 23d, Dr. Candlish said—

"I have the pleasure of reporting to the House that all the missionaries, and all the agents employed by the Established Church in the conversion of the Jews, have declared formally their adherence to the Free Church of Scotland. I have the pleasure of reporting, secondly, that, as it has pleased God to honour this Church by giving to us the men whom He has raised up and sent forth into this field, so, since our separation from the State, He has put it into the hearts of His people at home to contribute so liberally that the Committee are now in possession of funds for the support of the Jewish Mission on the same scale as it existed before, during the present year."

On the question which was raised in the Assembly as to the right of females to vote in the election of ministers Dr. Candlish said—

"My impression is that the whole subject of determining questions in Christian Assemblies, whether of congregations or of office-bearers of the Church, by an appeal to the vote, demands reconsideration. I feel that it would be a more Christian thing to postpone the settlement of a doubtful question rather than to have recourse to the summary and abrupt mode of determination by a vote. I cannot help thinking that, in the early days of the Church—in her purest and best times—the mind of both members and office-bearers of the Church was signified, not as our Church was accustomed to collect our opinions in the days of her schism—for our connection with the Moderates was the time of our schism—not by regular divisions and calling of the roll and marking of votes, but by calling upon God—by prayer and the study of His Word—till by God's Spirit the whole were brought to one mind. We trust that by the good sense and the good feeling of our congregations, under the moderation of the Presbyteries of the Church, especially in the present exigencies of the Church, ministers will receive their calls on a general and harmonious indication of the mind of congregations, without the formality of calling the roll or marking of votes."

In reference to the recent commemoration of the bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly Dr. Candlish said—

"Our hope is that this commemoration may lead to great results; and, in particular, that it may lead to meetings for mutual intercourse of a similar kind at other times, by which we may best of all advance the great cause of Christian union. And I cannot doubt that this Church will cordially enter into any plan proposed for co-operation between the various evangelical bodies—co-operation in the meantime, which in God's good time may lead to a closer union. All the Assembly has to do, I suppose, for the present, is substantially to approve of the proceedings of the Committee, and to appoint a Committee with instructions to promote these objects. I am glad to intimate that two Committees have been appointed by the United Secession Church, one to sit in Edinburgh and one in Glasgow, for the purpose of holding converse with our Committee on Education, or other Committees of our Assembly, with regard to the objects in which we can co-operate. We cannot be behind hand with our brethren of that Church. We should rejoice to meet their advances, and, without any sacrifice of our principles, agree to promote along with them these great objects of Christian usefulness."

On the subject of the Supply of Ordinances, I give only one brief paragraph of Dr. Candlish's speech and statement—

"It has been truly said, on more than one occasion, that the difficulties in which the Church is involved are mainly to be ascribed to the unexampled and unprecedented success with which it has pleased God to crown our labours. We are not here this night to complain of the embarrassments in which we find ourselves involved in consequence of the excessive demand which we find ourselves unable adequately to meet. We proclaim to the Assembly and to the Church that the excess of the demand for labourers over the supply, the excess of the thirst for the waters of life over and above the fountains which we have it in our power to open, is the cause for which we are thankful to Almighty God, and we regard it as a token for good that may well lead us to go on in the good work of the Lord. We are called to consider as a token for good the readiness which the people have manifested all over the land to receive at our hand the gospel of Christ. We indeed are, in consequence, involved in embarrassments from which we do not see very clearly how we are to extricate ourselves. Both in respect to the means of support and in respect to the men to be supported, both in regard to money and to labourers,—we are reduced to straits and difficulties ; but let us remember that this of itself is a ground of confidence and encouragement, that God has spread before us a wide and boundless field of usefulness, and that He has reduced us to the necessity of saying, Help, Lord, for vain is the help of man. In this position we now stand ; and I trust this Church will have grace given her to acknowledge her position, and, amid all her devisings and all her schemings, to know that she is doing no more than her duty. Let us remember that we are now, in the providence of God, brought into the position in which we are called to say, The Lord alone can provide ; the harvest is the Lord's ; the Lord's also it is to send forth labourers into the harvest."

On the 14th December a very crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in Tanfield Hall, Edinburgh, in connection with the visit of deputations to England. At this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

"Our manner of putting our principle was somewhat in this sort : We are not here to defend national Establishments ; we are not here to defend the Voluntary principle ; we are not here to discuss the question whether the Church ought to be, or can consistently be, in connection with the State ; but we have to state this principle, that, whether in connection or not, whether Established or not, the Church of Christ ought to be free, and to be a kingdom not of this world, even as Christ had declared her to be. We admitted that there might be difficulties here ; some might say such a connection is impossible, some that it is unreasonable, some that it is impolitic, and some that it is unscriptural, and some that it could never be realised. My impression was that it was our duty to say to our English friends, We are here neither to defend the Establishment principle nor the Voluntary principle, but our present business is to defend the principle that the Church ought to have entire freedom and independence. This is the principle which we were called to set forth before our English friends. We represented ourselves as a spiritual Church, claiming toleration and liberty of worship from the lordly proprietors of the soil. The rulers of the earth seem resolved to put down the spiritual kingdom of Christ, to put down the Free Church, and to enforce upon her restrictions and conditions incompatible with her allegiance to Christ.

"I anticipate from this movement, and, I think, all my friends also anticipate it, a great and growing spirituality on the part of the Church, not of spirituality merely as a kingdom conducting its own affairs apart from the interference of the secular power, but as a Church growing in spirituality in the highest and holiest sense, the spirituality of her ministers and her members. It has often struck me, in looking back to the late events—it cannot fail to strike every man—that this is for Scotland pre-eminently the time of her visitation. We cannot but entertain feelings of anxiety and alarm lest all this exuberance should pass away without producing fruit in the conversion of souls to God, and in quickening and raising God's people. This, I apprehend, calls for deep humiliation, it calls for earnest prayer; and it is right and fitting that, assembled as we are on the present occasion, we should rejoice that we have been called upon to maintain high principles; yet it does seem to me as if the time were come when Christians in Scotland would require to give themselves to much prayer, lest the season of awakening and exaltation and excitement should pass away without any fruit. This would, indeed, be the signal of approaching judgment; for, beyond all question, when God sends forth these awakenings into His Churches, it is not to incite a passing stir, a passing sensation; but it is to awaken men to a serious consideration respecting the state of their souls, and to stir up Christians to a discharge of their duty to Christ their King and Head. I look, and long for, and pray that there may soon be a wider line of distinction between the Church of the Lord and the world. I look, and long for, and pray that there may be a higher tone and standard of spirituality among the families and members of our several congregations; and oh, I look, and long for, and pray that there may be more earnest concern for the state of a world that lieth in wickedness!"

On the 15th December Dr. Candlish preached at the opening of the Free Church, North Bute, and on the evening of the same day addressed a meeting in Rothesay in the temporary place of worship occupied by Mr. Craig's congregation. On the following morning he was present at a public breakfast, attended by 300 people, whom he addressed; and after breakfast laid the foundation-stone of Mr. M'Bride's church, and addressed a very large assembly. On the 29th he preached at the opening of the Free Church at Kilsyth.

The Rev. Alexander Gregory of Anstruther has noted some reminiscences of Dr. Candlish, embracing the period at which we have now arrived, although extending before and after it. I record them here, at the beginning of 1844, almost entire, as I have received them.

"I first became acquainted with Dr. Candlish in the winter of 1840-41, when I was attending the lectures of Dr. Chalmers during my last session at the Divinity Hall. As I was a stranger in Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish most kindly gave me permission to sit in his family pew any time I wished to worship in his church, and although I usually heard the venerable Dr. Gordon of the High Church, I often availed myself of the privilege, which I valued highly, of hearing the younger and more energetic minister of St. George's.

"Dr. Candlish allowed me also to see him not unfrequently in private, when the 'new views' regarding faith, the atonement, the work of the Spirit and election, sometimes formed topics of conversation. On this subject I remember he spoke strongly in favour of the 'fiducial' element in faith,—making use of that expression,—and regarding the difficulties connected with God's sovereignty, the liberty of man, and the freeness of the gospel, his remark was, 'The question is, Where to place the *nodus ?*'

"In the summer of 1841, I was one of six students in Divinity who were examined by the Presbytery of Edinburgh with a view to being licensed to preach the gospel. Dr. Gordon and Dr. Candlish were among the examiners; and a very slight circumstance, which attracted my notice even amidst the anxieties of an examination, still dwells in my memory as characteristic of the two men. The room at one side was entered by what are called folding-doors. Dr. Candlish had entered by opening one of the folds, but on trying to shut it, he failed. In his quick nervous way he tried again and again, increasing the energy of his efforts at every attempt,—in vain. At last he gave it up; whereupon Dr. Gordon rose from his seat with his usual modest dignity, and advancing slowly towards the door, raised one of his hands and pressed with it the higher part of the refractory fold, while with the other he shut the door at once in the quietest manner, and then slowly and with the utmost gravity returned to his seat.

"The examination was partly in writing, and extended over two days. This was quite new, being intended to make the Presbytery's discharge of this duty more of a reality than it had formerly been, and indeed forming the germ which, in the end, developed into our Examination-Board system. We were the first set of students examined on the improved method, which Dr. Candlish was understood to have suggested. At all events he took a leading part in the examination; and he was a capital examiner; there was none of the haste and impatience of the folding-door incident; all was calmness, deliberation, and considerate allowance for us, while he was at the same time both suggestive and appreciative. He and the other examiners seemed to take the most lively interest in their work; and, if I may judge by my own feelings, we on our part enjoyed it thoroughly. One of the six students was my old school-fellow at the Elgin Academy, George Innes, who afterwards became the Free Church Minister of Canobie, and I may say the martyr of Canobie. He and I belonged to the north of Scotland, and had previously studied at Aberdeen; the other four belonged to the south; and it is a curious circumstance that George and I, who were at first regarded as Moderates, were the only two out of the six who came out at the Disruption; the other four, who were professed Evangelicals, stayed in.

After I was licensed I had much kindness from Dr. Candlish —kindness which continued for a course of years, and of which I cherish a lively and grateful recollection. The first Sabbath on which I officiated in Edinburgh, I preached by his request in his Church,—Old St. George's. He took a great interest in my settlement in Roxburgh Church: he introduced me to my flock, preaching from 2 Cor. v. 11. His solemn and earnest tones still sound in my ears, and I remember that the last words of his address to the congregation, in kind consideration for me, were these—'Let no man despise his youth.' He came all the way from his home in the north side of Edinburgh to my session-house in the south side, on a dark night, to be present with me at my first meeting with young communicants, and to commence the work of examining and instructing them.

"I remember two walks which I had with him about that time, one in the country in company with Dr. Gordon, and another down Leith Walk in company with Dr. Cunningham. On both occasions the chief subject of conversation was the impending Disruption; and he showed the greatest interest about the removal of any difficulties which occurred to me in regard to those final steps which the non-intrusion party were taking preparatory to that event. On the day on which it at length took place, I had the privilege of walking up alone with him from the hall at Canonmills, after we had signed the Deed of Demission, to his own house; and he expressed to me in earnest terms the relief and happiness he felt at that termination to the long controversy in which his talents and eloquence had done so noble service, and his joyful anticipation of the great blessing which it would be to Scotland by the free preaching of the gospel in every part of the country.

"After the Disruption Dr. Candlish thought that, owing to the great demand which there was for ministers, I ought to accept a call from some congregation which was larger than the one which I had in Edinburgh, and he made great efforts to bring me over to his opinion. But when he saw that I was decided against leaving my congregation in their difficulties, he acted in the most generous manner. 'I could understand your chivalry,' he said to me one day, 'if there was a *plethora* of preachers;' and with no other reflection on me than that, he exerted himself in every way to help me in what he knew to be a great struggle. He preached at the opening of my new church; he more than once preached an evening sermon for some special purpose; and he stirred up in his own congregation such a lively interest in my church and school, that large sums were again and again most kindly contributed by them towards reducing our debt and defraying our school expenses. Dr. Candlish delighted in doing kindnesses. His generous nature led him to yield readily to requests for his services, and it has been said that sometimes, in consequence of this, he made more engagements than he could fulfil. He gave me many promises of help in a variety of ways, but never one which he did not keep.

"Speaking of the generosity of his nature, I was often struck by the quickness and heartiness with which it responded to any appeal made to it; it awoke and kindled at the slightest touch. At the time of the temporary coldness between him and Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Candlish and I happened to address a meeting in St. Andrews, on the subject of education, I think. I had not seen Dr. Candlish for some time; and in the course of my speech I ventured to remark on the beautiful sight which we had all once enjoyed so much, of our two great champions standing and fighting side by side, and the joy which it would give us to see them standing side by side again as of old. I spoke first, Dr. Candlish followed, and in the very first words which he uttered he referred to the sentiments which I had expressed, and declared his cordial concurrence in them. On a different occasion, the same thing appeared in another way. In one of the most eloquent speeches of his later years in the General Assembly he was very severe to one or two parties on the other side of the debate. When he sat down, happening to be next him I took the liberty of remarking on the exceeding severity of his speech, which in other respects I liked extremely. At once he responded, by saying eagerly, that he would not have been so hard on them had it not been for a certain circumstance which he mentioned.

"'Admirable practical logician,' Professor Macdougal whispered to me at the close of one of Dr. Candlish's early speeches, to which we had been listening while standing in the crowd. And while Dr. Candlish surpassed most men in unravelling sophistries, and conducting a subtle argument in a powerfully convincing manner, he was distinguished also by a spirituality of mind, which, at the same time that his genius lighted up every subject which it touched, gave to his eloquence, both in speeches and sermons, a lofty tone and a peculiar power. Associated with him for many years in the Education Committee, of which he was convener, I had opportunities of seeing how this quality appeared in business matters also, for which I thought he had a peculiar talent. He always offered a short prayer at the commencement of our meetings, as is usual in such cases; and however brief that opening prayer was, the expression 'the godly upbringing of the young' was almost invariably in it, uttered in tones of impressive earnestness, as indicating the great object of the educational efforts of our Church. A most earnest and devoted spirit was also visible in all his deliberations and plans connected with education; and the patience with which he persevered for years, working that scheme amidst the greatest difficulties and discouragements, never bating heart or hope, was most wonderful—a patience which I believe was inspired and sustained by his high aims, and by a conviction that great and sacred interests were involved.

"I had the misfortune once to differ from him in that committee. I thought there was some danger of too large a part of our funds going to the higher class of schools, including Normal Schools, in proportion to what was paid to the teachers of common schools over the country. In consequence of this he wrote a letter to me on the subject, which was distinguished by the finest feeling, while vigorously arguing his view of the matter. I need not say that we continued to co-operate in the most cordial manner in the work of the committee. Some years after, when I had less active connection with it, a circular was sent to ministers requesting their special services in aid of the scheme. The copy sent to me came from Dr. Candlish's own hand, with this bit of pleasantry in it—'For auld lang syne you must help in this,' written by him on the top of the page.

"A pleasing candour sometimes delighted me in Dr. Candlish. Coming to the word 'solicitous' on one occasion, he said to me, 'Do you know that's a word I always feel inclined to write with a double l?' I said, 'So do I; and do you know the reason?' 'No,' he said. I replied; 'I think I can tell you. The edition of Virgil which I used had the corresponding word in Latin spelt with two l's; and I have no doubt it was the same with yours.' He was amused with this classical explanation of a faulty orthography.

"Though he was not a man of great height or large build, yet Dr. Candlish had a strong *physique*. When I took hold of the upper part of his arm I found its girth surprisingly great and square and muscular; it felt like a solid bar of iron. A strong nervous system and an iron frame sustained his irrepressible energy. I remember once he met with a slight accident, which injured a foot. On going to see him I found him stretched on a sofa, but partially sitting up. There was nothing like a murmur or complaint—the very opposite of that. But both body and mind seemed to chafe against the irksome restraint imposed by the pained foot, which he could not venture to move from one spot, and which consequently tied him to the sofa. I could compare him to nothing but a chained eagle.

"On one occasion he astonished me in another way. By his invitation I spent a pleasant time with him at North Berwick in the summer of 1851, and, along with part of his family and some friends, we paid a visit to the Bass Rock. Landing on its south side, we ascended the slope, looking into the cells of the persecuted Covenanters on our way, till we came to the summit, across which we walked to the north side of the great crag, where it descends perpendicularly to the sea. I advanced towards the edge. On this Dr. Candlish said, 'You don't mean to go there; I couldn't do that;' and drawing back, he looked on with some alarm, while, with the huge sea-birds whirling and screaming about me, I stood on the brink of the precipice looking down to the weltering deep hundreds of feet below. It was certainly a discovery to me that I could do anything which he shrank from, who seemed to have nerve and self-possession equal to any daring. And no doubt I had a strong head; yet perhaps, after all, it was a piece of foolhardiness to make such a use of it.

"With great capacity for work, Dr. Candlish had also a versatility of mind which turned with lively and sanguine interest to the most unlikely subjects of speculation. This appeared not only in connection with such writings as those of Morell and Maurice, but also on the first excitement occasioned by biology and mesmerism some years ago. He read everything he could find on the subject, and thoroughly informed himself upon it. Happening to dine with him one day at that time, and sitting near him at table, he expressed to me in a very earnest manner his sense of the importance of the experiments which had been made, and of the possibility of these yet throwing light on some of the mysteries of mind and spirit. Dr. Cunningham was one of the company, and, on Dr. Candlish trying to draw him into conversation on the subject, I was amused at the way in which the difference between the two men appeared. Dr. Cunningham scarcely responded to Dr. Candlish's remark. It was plain he had not given a thought to the subject. Taken up with what was solid and clearly ascertained, like the accurate and deeply-read theologian which he was, he almost seemed offended at being supposed to know or care anything about such a matter. What was a subject of the keenest interest to the one was an object of something like contempt to the other. So very differently constituted were these two powerful minds.

"Dr. Candlish was kind enough to preach at the opening of my new church at Anstruther in 1859. His visit recalled a former one on the eve of the Disruption, when the object of his coming was to deliver an address on the non-intrusion controversy. In consequence of an accident in Largo Bay, which put his life in danger for a short time, he came to Anstruther in a very weak state. His bedroom, to which he was confined, was incurably smoky, so that he was nearly suffocated; as he jocularly said, he was in danger from water at Largo and from fire at Anstruther. In his visit to me in 1859 everything went well. He preached eloquently from Isaiah li. 5, 8, dwelling chiefly on the Divine righteousness in awful majesty going before God's salvation; and when a heavy calamity, a few months afterwards, fell upon a part of our community, and prepared the way for a great religious awakening, his solemn and powerful words were recalled to mind, and seemed to us, looking back, like the unfolding of a prophet's roll.

"One of the last times I saw him was at the Perth Railway Station, when he told me he was passing from Aberdeen to Crieff on visits to members of his family. I had occasion to inquire about a Bible Class in connection with his congregation for two of my sons who were then in Edinburgh. He took the greatest pains to give the desired information, hurrying after me a great way along the platform to add something which he had forgotten at first. His thoughtful and loving interest in those nearest to himself as a father sometimes appeared in unexpected ways for one so engrossed with work of all kinds. Speaking of the best season for ministers' holidays, he told me more than once that he preferred the later months of autumn for going to the country with his family, because, he said—and he seemed to attach great importance to it—the shorter day secured the gathering of the family together for some time each evening.

"I have referred to his spirituality of mind. It seemed to me to have increased with his advancing years. I was much struck with the evidence of this in the last public prayer which I heard him offer. Every passage of Scripture bearing on the particular subject of supplication appeared to be present to his thoughts, giving form and expression to his fervent petitions in the most devout, appropriate, and beautiful manner.

"He was a fine spirit, unique in many respects, and his genius, wisdom, zeal, and eloquence have left us a large legacy of good, and a large debt of gratitude and responsibility."

On the 3d January, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish supported an overture to the Assembly proposed by Dr. Begg, and which ultimately led to the adoption of the "Model Trust Deed," in terms of which the titles of all buildings of the Free Church are framed.

He presided at a meeting held in his own church on 17th January in connection with the scheme projected by Mr. Macdonald, now Dr. Macdonald of North Leith, for building 500 schools, and warmly commended the scheme to liberal support. He said they did not intend their schools to be sectarian. It was their desire to adopt the most liberal sentiments with regard to other evangelical churches. The masterships of the schools would be free to Christians of all denominations; and all that would be required of teachers would simply be that they would undertake to teach the doctrines of the Shorter Catechism. At the close of the meeting it was announced that £6587 had been subscribed in Edinburgh for the scheme.

Along with many others Dr. Candlish, in the month of March, went to England, and preached and addressed meetings in various towns. In Cambridge he addressed two meetings on successive evenings, expounding the position of the Free Church, and stating its distinctive principles.

After Dr. Candlish had delivered his addresses, one of the University men present said he would like to know, since

Dr. Candlish spoke so strongly of the rights of the Church, what precisely he understood by the Church? Dr. Candlish replied at once, "I accept without qualification the definition given in the Thirty-nine Articles." Another then said that he could not understand how the Free Church claimed to be the Church of Scotland when they were separate from the State and another Church was established? "I would reply to that," said Dr. Candlish, "by asking my friend another question. Where was the Church of England during the Commonwealth?" After this there was no further interruption.

The *Cambridge Independent Press* of the day says—

> "Dr. Candlish appears peculiarly adapted for the task of advocating the claims of religious freedom against a powerful and persecuting party. Small in stature, and apparently in delicate health, when he presents himself before an audience the high expectations which have been formed respecting him, from the eminence of his name in this controversy, experience some disappointment. His voice falls at first slowly and harshly upon the ear; as he proceeds, however, it gathers force and volume; his slight figure appears to distend its proportions; his gesticulation becomes vehement, his utterance rapid, and his tones loud. His style of language rises as he proceeds, and the effect he produces upon his hearers is exhibited in the intense attention, broken only by loud and simultaneous bursts of applause when the orator reaches the climax of his subject. His oratory is fascinating from its originality and wild fervour. His appeals to the feelings are characterised by a daring boldness. He does not so much excite compassion as move to indignation."

At a meeting in Exeter Hall, London, on 11th March, Dr. Candlish said—

> "There had been brought before them that night a vital principle, which should unite as one man the scattered hosts of Protestantism against the Man of Sin. Next to the fundamental truth of man's salvation by grace alone, which was questioned by the advocates of Rome, the stirring question of the age, in a religious point of view, would soon come to be a spiritual ministry against a ministry of form; a spiritual, and therefore a free Church, against a corporation enslaved by priestly

tyranny or secular domination; or, what was more likely still, enslaved to both. It was not his part to give counsel and direction, it might be presumptuous to give a hint, but he must say that were he at this time living in England, and did he hold as strongly as many of his dissenting brethren to the Voluntary principle, and could he cherish the faintest hope that the views of a Christian Church, which had been set forth with a clearness and ability unparalleled (by Baptist Noel),[1] could be carried out, he for one would be content to say, 'If we can agree as to what the constitution of a Church should be, we are agreed upon what is vital, and can postpone the rest till Christ comes to settle it.' If he saw any prospect of sound views regarding the rights and Scriptural constitution of a Church of Christ spreading amongst our brethren who conscientiously adhered to the principle of an Establishment, then there might be some reason for keeping up the question; but, for his own part, he did see in this one solemn idea, that the Church of Christ, be she favoured, or tolerated, or persecuted by the State, must be subjected to Christ alone; in that one principle he did see a form of union, of hearty unity, which he would be slow to interrupt or arrest by any other question whatever."

After his return from England he wrote, on 16th March, to Dr. Henderson of Glasgow, saying—

"I have just returned. The Cambridge row (alluding to an interruption at the second meeting) was nothing, and did not at all interfere with my addresses. I got about 200 gownsmen to listen to both my addresses with profound attention, and many of them with ardent earnestness. The row was a sort of farce after the serious part of the affair. What think you of Noel? You cannot conceive the effect of his testimony and noble speech. Is it not, taken with other signs, like the opening of a new act in the drama?"

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 21st March, Dr. Candlish proposed that they should petition Parliament against a bill then before the House of Lords, which would have the effect of enabling the Unitarians to retain possession of property which, having been left by orthodox and evangelical individuals to orthodox and evangelical churches, had been unjustly and illegally taken and kept possession of by Unitarians.

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[1] Mr. Noel, at the time a minister of the Church of England, was one of the most powerful defenders of the Free Church position. He felt constrained afterwards to abandon the Established Church, and became minister of a Baptist Church in London.

He also proposed an overture to the General Assembly to take steps for a regular system of consultation with other churches. His idea was, he said, that the unity in the Christian Church which ought at present to be aimed at, was not the unity of immediate incorporation, nor yet so much in co-operation as to different schemes of usefulness, but in something more visible than this,—a unity of consultation. If the different Christian denominations would meet annually by their representatives, and sit for eight or ten days in consultation, having, of course, no ecclesiastical authority nor right to interfere with the affairs of the different churches, he was persuaded it would issue in most blessed results.

A meeting, called by the Magistrates and Town-Council of Edinburgh, was held in the Music Hall on the 29th March, condemnatory of the sentence of death on a young man (John Brown) in South Carolina, for aiding the escape of a female slave. At this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

> "Let us go on with our sympathy, called forth by this instance of injustice and cruelty—having it as our first aim, if God grant His blessing, to deliver this young man from the jaws of death. Let us go, subordinating every other consideration of policy or principle, to tell our brethren in America to let that young man go; for it is our first object to get him delivered—to prevent, if possible, the consummation of this great crime. Let us go to them, and implore them to reconsider this young man's case, and to pronounce him, as he is already pronounced by God, wholly innocent and scatheless. At the same time we will do well, with all faithfulness and tenderness,—confessing that we deserve the righteous judgment of God as much as they,—that we, too, were long guilty of their sin,—that we provoked God by our guilt, and might have suffered more as a nation at His hands than we did,—to go to our American brethren and tell them that God gave us time for repentance,—that we availed ourselves of

the opportunity,—that we did repent and let the slave go free,—and that we never have had cause to regret the step which we then took; and that, amid the many causes of offence which abound in our land, —amid the many sins and crimes which might provoke the bolt of divine indignation against us,—we do look on this single act, the emancipation and liberation of the slave, not with complacency as an act of merit, but as a measure of hope, as a good sign, a token of God's favour toward us. And so let us say to them, We sinned, we repented, and God blessed our repentance; we urge you to make the same trial of God's kindness as we have made, and see if the same God who smiled propitiously upon our late and tardy repentance, when we disowned the sin, will not crown you with tenfold, nay, an hundredfold blessings, if you arise and do likewise."

I find, in the *Witness* newspaper of 4th May of this year, a statement which illustrates at once the enmity which Dr. Candlish was exciting in some minds, and the somewhat Quixotic generosity of his character:—

"For months past enemies have been asserting over the whole kingdom that Dr. Candlish had pocketed £1000 for his last year's salary, while so many of his clerical Free Church brethren were suffering severe privations. The accounts of Dr. Candlish's congregation have been now printed by the treasurer. Excluding collections for *other* purposes, and subscriptions still unpaid, amounting together to more than £1200, the sums contributed to *Free Church* purposes since the Disruption have exceeded £9900. Of this sum Dr. Candlish received £200, he having refused to accept of more. But of this £200 he afterwards returned £50, besides declining his share of the general Sustentation Fund."

Addressing the United Associate Synod as one of the deputation from the Free Church Assembly, Dr. Candlish earnestly urged unity of action and of energy in the work of the Lord. He observed that

"At the present time the powers of darkness were vigorously at work in the land; the enemies of truth were presenting a front which ought to be met with equal vigour and determination by the friends of Christ. In many respects the aspect of the times exhibited a wide and too favourable field for the growth of error, and the promotion of false and dangerous views of religion; but the very circumstances which gave the enemies of the cross room to erect a standard of error and ungodliness, were also the circumstances which opened up a way for the friends of Christ to unfurl His banner and to proclaim the blessed truths of His gospel. There was danger, in the estimation of many, from the growth of open and undisguised infidelity ; but, in his view, the danger from infidelity was little to be dreaded unless we unhappily found ourselves in the circumstances of the first French Revolution, in comparison with the flood of insidious and ruinous doctrines which threatened the extinction of all that was pure, and godly, and rational, in our common Christianity, whether these were to be regarded as exhibiting themselves in Puseyism and in insidious Spiritualism, which might involve us in all the destructive errors of Pelagianism. Against these, and every other form which error might assume, the friends of truth were bound to combine ; and in this part of the kingdom he hoped much from the united efforts of all evangelical denominations, even though they might not go forward as an incorporated body."

CHAPTER XII.

Assembly 1844 — Cheap Publications — Powers of Commission — Admission of Ministers of other Churches — Law Expenses — American Slavery — Waldenses—Sabbath Observance—State of Religion—Meeting for Prayer and Conference—Deputations to England—Progress of Church—School Building—Plantation of Churches—Associate Synod—Report on state of Religion — St. George's Parochial Arrangements — Irish Assembly — Commission of Assembly—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Sabbath Travelling—American Slavery—Scheme for Examination of Students—Missions in South Africa — Home Mission of Irish Presbyterian Church — Death of Dr. Abercrombie — Church in Canada — Refusal of sites — Continental Churches — Persecution in Tahiti — Letter to Mr. Paul — Progress of Popery—University tests—Bereavements.

The General Assembly met this year (1844) at Edinburgh on the 16th May, and, as was usually the case, a large share of its business was in the hands of Dr. Candlish. He proposed the approval of overtures on the issue of cheap publications, and the preparation of a Presbyterian Catechism; and on his motion a Committee was appointed "to superintend the issue of such of the practical and other writings of the Scottish Reformers and the divines of former times as may seem suitable to these days, and at a rate which may bring them within the reach of the people; and also with authority to prepare suitable tracts and catechisms in Gaelic as well as in English for circulation among the families of our land."

On a subsequent day he moved the appointment of a Committee to prepare an Act defining the powers of the Commission of Assembly, and to provide for its meeting statedly as it had done previous to the Disruption.

He reported on the admission of ministers and probationers from other Churches, and moved a series of resolutions on this subject, which were unanimously adopted by the Assembly.

At a later period of the Assembly's proceedings they agreed to his proposal to levy a per centage on each congregation, according to the amount they had contributed to the Schemes of the Church, including contributions for building, to clear off a debt of £5000 incurred in law expenses and the payment of damages to which Presbyteries had been found liable by the Court of Session.

The Assembly agreed, on his motion, to appoint a Committee to consider an overture transmitted by the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale on the subject of slavery in America, that the question might be taken up "in a spirit of true friendship to the Churches in America, and yet in a spirit of faithfulness to the cause remitted to it."

Towards the close of the proceedings he addressed the Assembly on an overture relating to the state of the Waldensian Church, and on the state of Christianity in the Turkish Empire, and moved the appointment of a Committee to open a correspondence with Continental Churches, and to receive and administer whatever funds might be intrusted to their care.

On the Report of the Committee on Sabbath Observance, he moved, "That the Assembly gratefully acknowledge the efforts made by the friends of Sabbath sanctification, in connection with the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, to induce the shareholders to discontinue running the trains on the Lord's day, and express an earnest hope that they would continue to persevere in that course until the end sought was obtained."

But the most outstanding and characteristic act of this Assembly was the setting apart a whole day for exercises of humiliation and prayer in connection with the state of religion in the country, which was proposed by Dr. Candlish, who spoke as follows:—

"I say it with all sincerity, that I approach this subject with great fear and with great anxiety. The only consideration which reconciles me to the task which I now undertake is, that I have to bring before the Assembly to-night not so much the topics which would occupy our attention if we were entering into the merits of the overtures, but rather the reasons which ought to weigh with the Assembly in inducing it to give to these overtures a far more serious—a far graver—a far more devout and deliberate consideration than we are accustomed to give to ordinary overtures on matters of business; for, at the outset, I beg to mention that, after consultations held with many of the brethren, I intend to propose not only no substantive resolution upon the overtures—not even the appointment of a committee to consider what steps the General Assembly ought to take in regard to them—but that I mean to conclude with proposing that the General Assembly should set apart a convenient day of next week for waiting upon the Lord our God, to ask counsel of Him in reference to this important subject; and therefore, sir, it is not my province now to spread out before the Church, and before the great Head of the Church, the existence of the evils, and shortcomings, and sins, and deficiencies, of which we are all so conscious; nor is it my province to suggest remedies, to suggest expedients, which might be resorted to in order to lessen or remove them; but rather my province this night is to show that God is calling on the Free Church of Scotland, in this crisis of her history, to search and try her ways in the sight of her great all-seeing Head; to examine into the controversy which he may have with her; to ascertain the reasons why His Spirit is in any measure straitened; to wait on Him alone and implicitly for counsel and for guidance.

"I am far from imagining that the present peace, auspicious as it may be, is a peace which is long to last. I believe that the principles involved in our testimony—principles, I hope, that we never can compromise or conceal—are so offensive to this world, and to the god of this world, that the latter is but taking time to marshal his forces for another and a fresh onset. And further, I believe that the work in which we are now engaged, or are now called on to engage—the work of evangelisation—is making such inroads on the kingdom of Satan, as cannot fail to provoke the strong man armed to put forth his utmost efforts. But, sir, it is ours to watch the dealings of God's providence, not so much for the purpose of anticipating our future destiny as of discerning our present duty. And, whatever may be in the womb of time, whatever coming events may be casting their shadows before, of this much at least are we aware, that we have in God's providence, as a Church, a breathing time, an interval of repose, a suspension of judgment, which, if we do not improve aright, when the chastening time again comes, woe be to us because of our unfaithfulness. Now, sir, not only has God brought us to this position, and evidently set before us this duty, but he has given us large encouragement to the discharge of that duty. It is not in any spirit of despondency, not with any wish to depreciate what the Lord is doing on our behalf, but rather the reverse, because we are profoundly impressed with a sense of God's great goodness in His past dealings, that we ought to feel constrained now to come before the throne and say, 'Lord, Thou hast enlarged our way ; Thou hast brought us into a large place ; Thou hast dealt bountifully with us ; Thou hast disappointed our fears ; Thou hast given us peace in the presence of our enemies. Lord, to what end hast Thou dealt thus graciously with us ? Lord, what wouldst Thou have us to do ?'

"It is not the first time the Church of our fathers has been in this position ; it is not the first time that she has testified for great principles and been honoured by God in suffering for these principles ; it is not the first time that the fathers and brethren of our Church have met together, after some signal deliverance or grievous persecution, to mourn over the low state of spiritual godliness in the land ; it is not the first time that the Church has been called upon to ask the question, Why is it that the Lord's work is not prospering more in our hands ? and I believe all we have to do is to enter more into the mind of our fathers, to confess our sins as they confessed and mourned over their sins ; and to go about the use of ordinary means and influences, as they did ; not expecting to cast out devils by any power of their own, but looking for the Lord's work prospering, in His own time, and in His own way, by the manifest power of His Spirit."

On Tuesday the 21st May the Assembly met for the special purpose of prayer and conference on the state of religion, and the Rev. J. C. Brown, at the Assembly's desire, preached on Habakkuk ii. 1. At the meeting in the evening Dr. Candlish said—

"If any of us in this Assembly feel, as I confess I feel myself, as if now, more than ever, we shrank from undertaking the vast and weighty task of preaching the everlasting gospel, yet we have heard enough this day, by the blessing of Almighty God, to teach us where our real strength lies, and to encourage us, with all humility, to make a new surrender and dedication of ourselves to the Lord our Maker. Sir, the penitential exercises of this day will indeed end in vanity if they do not lead us, washed anew in the blood which cleanseth from all sin, to cry out in the spirit of the prophet of old, 'Lord, here am I, send me.' I trust that every one of us whom God has honoured to be put in trust with the ministry of His Son is this night prepared, as it were beginning his course of duty anew, and forgetting all the past save only for the purpose of deep humiliation, to come anew before the Lord and say, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' It is not that I wish to make any profession of my own feelings, but that I think I am only giving an utterance to the feelings of my fathers and brethren in this Assembly when I venture to say that this night we are called on, in the providence of God, and by the outpouring, as I trust and believe, of His Holy Spirit, to a new dedication of ourselves, soul and body and spirit, as in a solemn covenant to God, declaring our purpose, by His grace and strength, to be His servants,—to spend and be spent in His cause. Oh! let it not be any rash resolution, let it not be a resolution flowing from the impulse of transitory excitement. Once and again have these words burst from the lips of God's servants this day,—'the place whereon we stand is holy ground;' and if it be so, and if in any measure, standing on that holy ground, we have been enabled to put our shoes from off our feet, and to behold the Angel of the Covenant in the bush burning but not consumed, may we not, sir, led by the Spirit, and constrained by the mercies of God, present ourselves anew to Him, and say, 'Lord, we are Thine,—Thine, for Thou hast made us,—Thine, for Thou hast redeemed us,—Thine—(shall we say?)—Thine, we trust, because Thou hast revived us? And now, Lord, take us, and make us instruments in Thy hand; Lord, enable us to enter into Thy mind."

When the report of deputations to England had been read, Dr. Candlish, among others, spoke. He said—

"It is matter of thankfulness that since our separation from the Establishment, and it may be by means of it, God has been bringing us into a position in which we have been led into habits of closer intimacy and friendship with all the branches of Christ's Church. This, we cannot help thinking, is one of the lessons which we have yet more fully to learn from the great event that has taken place, namely, that there is more of Christian work and excellence in other branches of Christ's Church than before, perhaps, we were prepared to expect. And, besides, I cannot but hope that this mutual intercourse will be the means of great good being both communicated and received. We have heard, on the one hand, how Christian Churches in other lands have been impressed by our testimony and example; and, on the other hand, I cannot but think we have yet not a little to learn from our acquaintance with them from the sympathy they have manifested with us, and the admonitions and reproofs which they have addressed to us. For, sir, let us never forget that while we have been directed and enabled by the providence of God to take a step which has drawn upon us the eyes of all Christendom, we have but too many faults and blemishes, both in character and in conduct, to permit us at all to dwell with any measure of complacency on what God has enabled us to do. Let us rather cherish a feeling of humility, and in our intercourse with other Christian Churches let us consider what we may learn from them in reference to the affairs of our own Church. In every country Christianity may be said to have a peculiar character and phase; and perhaps in Scotland it has more of an aspect of sternness, and severity, and honesty of purpose, of faithfulness, even to the death; while in England we cannot but have been struck with this circumstance, that evangelical Christianity does wear something more of an aspect of freshness and outspoken frankness than perhaps is to be met with in the colder climate of Scotland."

The Financial Report was submitted to the Assembly on the 23d May, and, adverting to it, Dr. Candlish said—

"We have, during the past year, had a great work thrown upon our hands, not merely having had to provide for the ministers who left the Establishment, but also for the whole population who left the Establishment along with us, in so far as our means would allow us to do so. Upwards of 120 additional ministers have been ordained during the last year; and a large number of preaching stations are now in the course of being fostered into fixed charges. The care of superintending them, and fostering them, and bringing them to maturity, will now be, to a large extent, devolved on the Committee, of which that venerable man (Dr. Chalmers) is the Convener, who so long conducted the affairs of the Church Extension Committee when we were in the Establishment.

"Let us go to our several flocks, remembering, in the circumstances in which we are placed, we must not be too delicate or too sensitive in our appeals to our people, but to go to them and remind them that they are not proprietors but stewards of God's bounty. And much as we have already seen, I cannot but think that it is only the beginning of what may be witnessed of Christian effort. I hope our people will not be contented that out of their abundance they give for the cause of Christ, but that they will give systematically, and out and out, upon the principle that they are not proprietors but stewards of every mite and farthing which God has given them."

When the Education Report was brought up Dr. Candlish, referring to the scheme for building 500 schools, said—

"He could not but express the feelings which he entertained towards his friend Mr. Macdonald in reference to the matter which had that evening been before them. He had opened the springs of faith in the divine promises among a large class of our people, and it were inexcusable in us to omit acknowledging the good hand of God in the success with which he had begun, carried on, and completed in faith this good work. I will take this opportunity of saying what, as convener of another committee I am able to say, that we are doubly indebted to the labours of Mr. Macdonald, not only in reference to the scheme he has been the instrument of promoting, but for the great aid he has given us in preaching the gospel, and administering ordinances in various parts of the country. In the present scarcity of ministerial labourers, and in the demand which exists for the preaching of the gospel, wherever he has gone he has served a double purpose, not only emptying the pockets of the people, but filling their souls with the bread of life."

On the plantation of churches Dr. Candlish observed—

"When the Committee was appointed last year, their object was to supply, as far as possible, all those who adhered to the Free Church with the means of grace; but it was found almost impossible to draw the line between existing churches and Church extension, for 200 more congregations came out from the Established Church than ministers. After the labour of the past year, however, they would now go back to the old rule and practice of the Church, which, in the sanctioning of new charges, required that the Presbytery of the bounds should make every necessary inquiry, and then bring up the case, when ripe, for the decision of the Assembly.

"We started on the principle of giving supply to all who adhered to the Free Church, whether the ministers went out with the people or not. Now, in these circumstances, the duty devolved upon the Committee was a duty very different from merely considering in what manner the Church might be best extended among the out-field population,—I mean the portion of the population lying beyond the reach of the means of grace. Theirs was a very different duty, and a very difficult duty I may say, and one which the Committee set themselves to discharge with very inadequate means, inasmuch as the population throughout all parts of Scotland adhered to the Free Church in a far larger proportion than did the ministers or probationers. The total number of ministers who left the Establishment, including those who have since adhered, is 479. This number includes professors of divinity. Of these 479 there fell to be deducted forty-two ministers who have retired from their charges, besides professors of theology who have no pastoral charges, and ministers who have since been translated, and whose charges are not yet supplied. Since the time of the Disruption till now the new charges which have received the sanction of the Church are 213, so that the existing extent of the Church amounts to about 650 fully sanctioned charges or congregations. Now, of these 650 charges 550 are supplied with ministers, and 100 are vacant. This is the report of the charges which are now fully sanctioned; 550 of these are full, that is, have ordained ministers settled in them; and 100 are vacant, and not yet supplied with ministers. In addition to these it is reported to us that there are 145 preaching stations.

"I have also to report that 118 have been ordained since the Disruption, and that at present, so far as can be ascertained, 84 are still unordained; but from these 84 we must deduct so large a number as 20 who are probationers, only able to give occasional supply, being otherwise occupied, so that we have about 64 probationers who may be regarded as ready to receive calls."

Reporting on the part of a deputation that had been sent to the United Associate Synod, since their Union in 1847 with the Relief Church, designated the United Presbyterian Church, Dr. Candlish stated—

"I have nothing particular to report of our intercourse with the Synod, except the feeling of high satisfaction which we had in addressing them and our deep sense of the friendly manner in which they welcomed our intercourse with them. I trust this is but the earnest of more enlarged intercourse with them, and with all the evangelical

Churches throughout the world, thus drawing closer and closer the bonds of brotherly love amongst us, so that if Popery has uniformity without real unity, Protestantism, on the other hand, may have that real unity which is preserved by the Spirit of the living God dwelling in all the branches which hold the Head, Christ Jesus."

Towards the close of the Assembly, when the report of the Committee on the State of Religion was brought up, Dr. Candlish said—

"If God has been opening the windows of heaven upon us here, oh that He would make each of us to go forth from the Assembly filled with the same gracious influence—full of the same spirit, and cherishing it not merely for our own improvement, but to be poured out on all the congregations to whom we minister! It is proposed that on a stated day all the congregations of this Church should be convened for prayer; then shall we go down to tell our people what we have seen and felt here, and to remind them of their duties and responsibilities in connection with the revival of religion. Let us, sir, go down telling them that we lean on no arm of flesh—that we are resting on no human expedients—but are looking up to Him who alone can make effectual the sword of the Spirit. Let us tell them that we have no new doctrine to teach—no new gospel to proclaim—no other method of salvation than what He has set forth in His own blessed Word to make known—no means beyond what He has given to recommend. Let us tell them that we have no more glorious Saviour to testify of than before—no freer or fuller gospel than we have before preached to announce to them. What then shall we tell them? That we come to preach the same Christ—the same free and full salvation—the same glorious gospel of the kingdom—but to do it under a sense we never before felt—that the excellence of the power is of God, and not of us. We are to tell them that we need their sympathies, and to urge upon them with new earnestness and tenderness the apostle's desire, Brethren, pray for us."

In endeavouring to adjust parochial arrangements it would appear that some difficulty had arisen between the office-bearers of St. George's and St. Andrew's congregations as to the spiritual supervision of Rose Street. I advert to it here simply for the purpose of indicating how desirous Dr. Candlish was that the old parochial machinery should be kept in operation. With a view to a conference on the subject, he wrote Mr. R. Paul on the 28th June—

"I leave the annexed with you, wishing it to be considered by our elders and deacons, and shown to the St. Andrew's people if you approve. We have been the only session and congregation in town almost, who have resolved and acted on the resolution to go on occupying our parish, which is not now too large, as effectually as before—nay more so. We have been anticipating Dr. Chalmers's revival of the parochial economy or district system, and all the recompense we get is to be put aside to make way for a congregation who cannot do the work better than we (I mean in respect of this locality), and who surely might do a greater service by taking up untrodden ground. I am clear that they should at all events take all our portion of Rose Street or none."

The annexed statement for the Deacons' Court of Free St. George's is as follows:—

"1. The Kirk-Session have, from the very time of the Disruption considered themselves as charged with the superintendence of Rose Street, *quoad spiritualia*, as much as when established; and, accordingly, they appointed a catechist to act as missionary, and encouraged the formation of a Ladies' Visiting Association throughout the district. The elders and deacons also have undertaken small sections. 2. The entire body of Sabbath-School teachers, as well as the Week-day School teachers in the parish, adhered to the Free Church and to the congregation of Free St. George's, and Mr. Oliphant, the teacher of the Normal School since opened in the parish, is a deacon of St. George's congregation. He and his assistants conduct Sabbath Schools in connection with an association of Sabbath-School teachers. 3. We have a day-school in West Rose Street entirely supported by St. George's congregation, besides the Normal School in the eastern division. The idea of establishing an additional dayschool between the two is a matter of indifference to the Normal School, but is ruinous to ours. Then, Heriot's Hospital has bought ground in West Rose Street for a school, which will be ready by the time our lease is out. There is, therefore, no room whatever for St. Andrew's congregation doing anything in Rose Street for education, except by securing our school in the meantime, and ultimately their being forced to yield to Heriot's School. Educationally, Rose Street is well provided for now, and will be still better when Heriot's School is built. Our Kirk-Session are prepared to keep up West Rose Street School for any number of years. 4. From the very time of the Disruption we have considered ourselves as still connected with the parish ; and, in fact, we have done more for it than ever we were able to do before. Besides employing a missionary or catechist, we have had more Sabbath School teachers than formerly, and these more diligent in district visiting ; we have had visitors besides, named for small sections of the street; and the ladies, each taking a few families, have thoroughly pervaded the district. In fact, without boasting more than is now forced upon us, I may say that we did not wait to be stirred up by recent appeals, but we were among the few sessions and congregations which, from the beginning, worked parochially as much as before, yea, much more than before, and now we have a better standing in the parish than we ever had. We have been acting on Dr. Chalmers's views, and are doing so more and more. Now it is surely important to make it appear, as far as possible, that we are not changed, *quoad spiritualia*, by the Disruption. St. George's church and parish continue as they were in that respect. I feel that we are more thoroughly recognised in Rose Street as parish minister, elders, Sabbath School teachers, etc., than we ever were before ; and besides the hardship of our being thrust out of the district on which we were effectually telling, merely because another church has been built near us, I think it concerns our claim to be the Church of Scotland identically and in all its integrity the same as before, that parochial arrangements should not be needlessly disturbed. 5. We have not more of the poor under our charge than a congregation such as ours should undertake, especially as its members are now beginning to exert themselves in the work. Putting William Street and Rose Street together, and deducting the families in these streets not needing our services, we have not more than about 2000. In fact, if our present parish be diminished in Rose Street, we must add to it, if we are to do our duty, in another direction. 6. Our new church has been built, in point of size, with an express view to the setting apart sacredly of 300 sittings from the first for parochial occupants, to be reserved for such exclusively. No seat rents are charged. I have agreed to the building of a large church, and of late have insisted upon it, solely for the purpose of having that portion of it, 300 sittings, at once available for Rose Street and William Street, to be reserved unallocated for their use, and I know that the people are relying on this arrangement. In the allocation also of the other sittings, as they become vacant, a preference will be secured to parishioners. 7. In point of situation, our new church (north end of Lothian Road) is at least as convenient for Rose Street as the West Church or old St. George's to which it formerly belonged. From long experience and knowledge of Rose Street I am satisfied that the distance between Rose Street and George Street, crossways, is, morally and spiritually, in the ratio of ten to one to the distance along Rose Street from east to west. I venture to say that our new church is, in point of locality, more likely to be recognised as the church of Rose Street, especially with old associations and new exertions to back it, than the church in George Street. The people will come along Rose Street to the west, and to our locality much more naturally than go round to George Street. 8. The labourers in Rose Street, ladies, Sabbath School teachers, visitors, etc., are altogether opposed to the change, and indeed are in the utmost alarm regarding it ; so also are the intelligent among the people, and the teachers.

"On the whole, it seems very hard, and neither fair nor reasonable, that when (1) a congregation has been quietly and unostentatiously doing its duty, or trying to do so in its old parish, not neglecting or forsaking it as the Disruption has caused others to do, but cultivating it with increased assiduity, and carrying out the principle now again brought into prominent notice by Dr. Chalmers, through a subdivision of the district among a variety of agents under the missionary and the elders and deacons ; and (2) the district already occupied by us is confessedly not more populous than what we ought to undertake ; and (3) our church has been built as to size and situation with a view to it ; and (4) no educational movement can be made save on the ruins of existing institutions—I say it seems strange that, merely from the circumstance of their having got a site in George Street which, as to moral and spiritual influences, is not more connected with Rose Street than with the markets in the College parish, another congregation should wish to displace us and enter into our labours, rather than break ground in some district contiguous to their own old parish in which they would really make a fresh inroad on the heathenism of the city, and would find the people as easily induced to come to their church as those in Rose Street would be.

"I am willing that the opinion of persons in East Rose Street, acquainted with the people and with our proceedings, should decide this point. I would submit it also willingly to the arbitration of Dr. Chalmers. Only I would suggest, from intimate knowledge and experience, that Rose Street, west of Hanover Street, should not be broken into fragments. It is a little *isolated* city of itself, all of one character, and all the people knowing one another. If St. Andrew's people take one division they should take all the three, including the West Rose Street school, and I would be disposed, and indeed determined, to give it all up, and seek a district elsewhere. They should then take our name of Free St. George's. For I am satisfied there is much importance in the *prestige* of our old nomenclature and organisation, and it is worth while to keep up the parish of St. George's, now reduced by St. Luke's being taken off, to a compact and manageable size."

On the 3d July Dr. Candlish addressed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland met in Londonderry as one of the deputies from the Free Church Assembly, and expressed the obligations of the Free Church for the many services rendered to her by Presbyterian Ireland, both during her conflict and subsequent to the Disruption.

The Commission of the Free Church Assembly met on the 14th August, and on the evening of that day Mr. Macfarlane of Renfrew reported on the state of religion. In moving the approval of the report Dr. Candlish said—

"With one thing stated by Mr. Macfarlane at the close I was exceedingly struck ; I mean the testimony referred to as borne to the importance of our present position by a respected and venerable father of another denomination. It is exceedingly remarkable that it seems to have fallen, in the providence of God, to the Free Church, to attract on various accounts the attention of other bodies ; and we cannot but feel that this, among other circumstances, puts this Church in a situation of peculiar responsibility. If we are as a city set on a hill ; if it has pleased God to make us a spectacle to men and to angels ; if we have been so moved and directed in the adoption of our measures as to call forth the regards and attract the sympathies of other bodies of evangelical Christians ; and, above all, if we have any reason to believe, as others are ready to believe, and some of us are constrained to feel that, as a Church, we have in some measure experienced the presence and power of the Spirit of God ; all these considerations are fitted not to fill us with elevated feelings of complacency, but rather make us sensible of our deep unworthiness and heavy responsibility. If the private Christian feels that the nearer he is brought at any time to God the more is he in danger of the temptations of Satan, and the greater is his responsibility in his daily walk, how ought a Church to feel if, as a Church, she has been brought in any measure nearer to God, and God has been coming in any measure nearer to her ? Ought she not to feel that never was she in greater danger, or in a position of greater responsibility, than precisely at such a crisis? For if we know not the time of our visitation; if, with so many tokens of the good providence of God toward us; if, with the hand of His good Spirit evidently upon us, we allow ourselves to sink into lethargy and indifference; if we suffer such a season to pass away without producing its intended effects on our hearts and on the hearts of our people, we will but incur the heavy guilt and responsibility of having been exalted like Capernaum to heaven, and may entertain the fear of sharing Capernaum's doom."

On the following day he wrote to Mr. Dunlop as follows:—

"If all is well I hope to be at Blairadam on the first Sabbath of September. I shall proceed thither as early as I can in the course of the previous week, and stay as long as I can during the following one, that I may have a few days of idleness and play. We missed you much at the Commission yesterday, especially in a matter that did not occur to me till this morning, when it filled me with unavailing regret. Your enthusiastic loyalty might have stood us in good stead. We positively forgot to address the Queen on the birth of a Prince! Even Dr. Macfarlane forgot it!! You see what a set of rebels and discourteous traitors we are without you. The Home Secretary must mourn over the absence of a pathetic and patriotic effusion to which he might have had another opportunity of returning a characteristic reply."

The Commission of Assembly met again on the 11th September, and Dr. Candlish addressed them on the subject of Railway Travelling on Sabbath, deprecating the increasing violation of the rest of that holy day. He also submitted a report on American Slavery, and the principle which ought to regulate the intercourse of the Free Church with the brethren in America. "The Committee," the report stated, "cannot but consider it the duty of Christian Churches, as such, to set themselves against the manifold abuses of slavery, and to aim decidedly at its abolition; nor can they conceive of Christian Churches giving their sanction to this institution without a painful apprehension of the responsibility which they must in that case incur in reference to the laws which regulate it and the calamities which flow from it."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 2d October Dr. Candlish submitted a detailed and elaborate scheme for the examination of students of theology in the different stages of their progress, which he proposed should lie on the table for mature consideration. This was a subject in which Dr. Candlish manifested a deep interest during the whole period of his ministry, and in regulating which he took a leading part.

At the end of the same month a meeting was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, for the purpose of dissolving the Glasgow Missionary Society, whose field of labour was South Africa, and of placing their mission under the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church. At this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

> "In various points of view the adherence of the brethren and converts in Africa ought to be hailed with satisfaction, with gratitude to Almighty God, and with thankfulness to them. When the missionaries themselves and their converts have been allowed to occupy the honourable position of leading the van, it was fitting that these holy men, and those whose souls God has given them for their hire, should be the advanced post in our progress to union; and it is for this reason in great measure that we have so much satisfaction in hailing and embracing them as the agents of this Society which had the honour of maintaining them. I dread nothing from this extension of the Foreign Missionary operations of the Free Church of Scotland. All experience is in favour of Societies and Churches acting, under this dispensation, on the impression that the field is the world; obeying the maxim laid down in the Old Testament, 'Sow beside all waters,' as well as the express commandment given in the New, 'Go into all nations.'"

At a meeting held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on behalf of the Home Mission of the Irish Presbyterian Church, on the 18th November, Dr. Candlish said—

> "Let us never forget that while other modes of redress are proposed for the evils of Ireland, other plans of improvement broached, whether it be called Federalism or whatever other name it may bear, we think and know that the only true remedy is the effusion of God's Spirit and

the light of His Word; that there is no other remedy for the ills of Ireland but the free circulation of the Word of the living God, and therefore it is our duty, during the years that may yet be allowed us—the years of forbearance and long-suffering patience on the part of God—to be up and doing. And I trust that the thanks we now present to the deputation from Ireland will not be the mere formal offering of the lips, but that we will thank our brethren, and thank God on behalf of Ireland, that He has raised up men who love her; that we will remember Ireland in our prayers at the throne of grace, and that we will give of our means and substance to our brethren in Ireland, who enable the natives to hear what great things the Lord hath done for them, every one in his own tongue."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly, on the 20th November, Dr. Candlish called attention to the loss which the Church had sustained by the death of Dr. Abercrombie, "a man, eminent in the honourable calling which he exalted and adorned, eminent in almost every walk of literature and in all the departments of science; eminent in sound wisdom and social worth; eminent, above all, in the possession of the grace and Spirit of God, and in the blameless and unblemished consistency of a holy conversation becoming the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the excellency of the knowledge of whom he counted all things but loss."

On the 18th December a meeting was held in Canonmills Hall to receive a deputation that had been sent by the Free Church to Canada, and in reference to that Dominion Dr. Candlish said—

"If we allow the season of awakening and excitement in Scotland, which has been occasioned by the agitation of our Church question, to pass away without the fruit of a great spiritual revival—without a great conversion of souls to Christ—then, so far as man can perceive, we have been frustrating the end of God's dealings with us. And so with Canada. It, too, has been visited with a time of awakening; but if we do not strike in now, that time of awakening will soon be over, and men's minds will again settle down in the old routine and jog-trot of formality. But I do trust that the effect of such meetings as this will be to put into the minds and hearts of our students and preachers more of the evangelising and missionary spirit than at present seems to animate them. We have reason to bless God that there is so much of a missionary spirit among them ; but, oh ! would that there were more ; would that we saw many of our preachers and students offering themselves as volunteers to go to Canada, to go to Australia, to go to India, to go to New Zealand, to go to the very Antipodes—if the Church chose to send them. And for every man the Church so spared, in the exercise of a true faith in her great Head, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, He would raise up children to her from the very stones ; we would receive a tenfold blessing from our great Head ; a tenfold blessing on the labours of the men who remain at home ; and a tenfold increase of such labourers."

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 5th February 1845, Dr. Candlish spoke on the subject of the refusal of sites for churches. He said—

"It was a common practice to reproach the Free Church with the use of hard names ; but had these gentry no idea of the reproach which was implied in resorting to harsh and unjust deeds ? A great movement had taken place affecting the religious welfare of a very large portion of the people of Scotland. It had taken place without any breach of public order. The members of the Free Church were as good members of society, and as faithful payers of taxes, as any class of their fellow-countrymen ; it had been accomplished without tumult, or riot, or disorder. Therefore, this question ought to force itself upon the consideration of the nobility, and they ought to be aware of what they were doing. It was not an isolated case of persecution ; but they were seeking to put down one of the largest sections of the Christian Church in Scotland, and one that was of the greatest importance to the maintenance of social order ; they were trying to put down an institution that in times of rebellion and civil commotion would be the surest bulwark against the tide of revolution. For he would say, that should such a necessity arise, those members of the community composing the Free Church would be the most likely of all to attach themselves to the laws and institutions of their country. He hoped that, in this land of toleration, it would not be held sufficient for a landholder to say that the Free Church was tolerated while they were refused sites for churches and schools. They must give the Free Church toleration out and out. It was indeed a question which he trembled to discuss. A question as to the right of toleration on the one hand, and the rights of property on the other, was the most difficult that could possibly be raised in connection with the tenure of property. And let it be remembered that if this question was to be raised, it was not the Free Church that was to be blamed, as they had resolved to bear much and long in support of their principles."

At the same meeting of Presbytery, in proposing a collection to be made for Continental Churches, he said—

> "It was a remarkable fact, that when Popery was advancing all over Europe, and threatening to carry everything before it, these great religious events had taken place, 'referring to the progress of evangelical religion both in France and in Germany.' It would seem as if, when the enemy was coming in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord was lifting up a standard against him. Under such circumstances as these it was of the utmost importance that all our congregations should have an opportunity of hearing of these great religious movements, and of contributing for the advancement of the Redeemer's cause on the Continent."

The London Missionary Society held a Jubilee meeting in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 11th February, at which Dr. Candlish spoke, expatiating chiefly on the persecutions of native Christians in Tahiti and Madagascar, and indicating the lessons that might be deduced from such trials as these in the history of mission enterprise.

On the 4th March he wrote to Mr. R. Paul, then in London, regarding the accounts for building his new church, which, as usual in such cases, had exceeded the estimate and the amount of subscriptions by a considerable sum, and expressed his anxiety, disappointment, and regret. He concluded by saying, "Remember me to London friends, and be sure to bring me James Hamilton's freshest gems and flowers."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March he called their attention to the increase of Popery, the workings of Jesuitism in foreign countries, and the favour shown by our Government to Popish endeavours, and concluded by proposing a petition to Parliament against increasing the endowment to Maynooth. At the meeting of the Edinburgh

Presbytery in April following he proposed a petition to Parliament to the same effect. And again, at a public meeting in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, on the 8th April, he supported a resolution against the Maynooth endowment, and said that sooner than see Popery endowed he would wish there were no endowments whatever.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in May he supported an overture for the Abolition of University Tests, by which Professors were obliged, if required, to subscribe the formula of the Established Church. At the same time, he expressed his opinion that religion should not be dissociated from education, and that some security should be had as to the religious opinions of teachers. At the same meeting he proposed an overture on the constitution of the New College.

In his family register there is the following entry:—"Filiam Agnes natam 3 Aug. 1842, baptiz.—Mortuam 24th April 1845. Eodem die mortuus est Dr. David Welsh. Domi luctus et in ecclesiâ. Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus, tam cari capitis."

The early and unexpected death of Dr. Welsh was felt by Dr. Candlish as a sore personal bereavement. Dr. Welsh was one of his early friends, and from the time when he commenced his labours in St. George's, had been closely associated with him in labours and in counsel.

CHAPTER XIII.

Assembly 1845—Sabbath observance—College appointments—Aberdeen College—Refusal of sites—State of religion—Home Mission—Education scheme—Sanctioning of charges—Speech on Christian union—Manse building—Sustentation Fund—Tour in Highlands—Inverness Assembly—Foreign Missions—Education—Refusal of sites—Supply of ordinances—Visit to Shetland—Evangelical alliance—Canton de Vaud—Manse building—Canton de Vaud—Bible Society—Sabbath observance—Monument to Knox—Gaelic Schools—Sites for churches, manses, and schools—Assembly 1846—Christian union—Relations with Churches in United States—Continental Churches—Sabbath observance—Appointed Convener of Education Committee—Speech on Education Scheme—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Commission of Assembly—Evangelical efforts on Continent—Stopping of Sunday trains on Edinburgh and Glasgow railway—Famine in Highlands—Education Scheme—Ordination of Danjibhiah Nowroji—Sustentation Fund—Home Missions—Sabbath observance—Continental Churches—Free Church principles—West Port Church—Destitution in Highlands—Government scheme of Education.

THE General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 22d May 1845. It is not my purpose to chronicle all the transactions in this or in future Assemblies in which Dr. Candlish took a part, for this would very nearly amount to giving in detail the whole proceedings of many successive Assemblies.

On the subject of Sabbath Observance, when the report of the Committee on that matter was under consideration, he said—

"It did seem to him that, if the Committee on this subject were to turn their attention to the inquiry, whether the Sabbath might not be better observed in their closets, in their families, and in their congregations, and by this means not manifesting merely a negative aspect in opposing the evil but a positive aspect, striving after higher good, it might by the blessing of God be the means of yet recalling our beloved country to a right sense of what was perhaps her best birthright by far—the high and holy esteem for the holy day of God."

When an overture from the Presbytery of Edinburgh regarding Divinity Halls and the New College, Edinburgh, was called for, Dr. Candlish proposed the appointment of a select Committee to consider the whole subject; and on their report at a subsequent meeting Dr. Cunningham was appointed Professor of Theology and Church History in room of Dr. Welsh, deceased, and Dr. James Buchanan was appointed to succeed Dr. Cunningham in the Chair of Apologetics. Authority was also given to the College Committee to nominate a professor of Logic, subject to the approval of the Commission. The Assembly resolved besides that an institution, consisting of a professor and lecturers, should be established in Aberdeen for theological training.

On the subject of the Refusal of Sites for Churches Dr. Candlish said—

"The statements brought before us this evening are such as to awaken just indignation in every right-thinking mind—such indignation that one does not like to trust himself to speak upon them. They rend the heart when we hear of such instances of patient suffering, and they excite feelings in reference to those whom we desire to reverence as occupying the higher grades of society, which we are anxious, for their sakes and for ourselves, to repress. But, coming to the practical measures, I would dismiss at once that which has been hinted at, of putting ourselves in the attitude of making applications to the landlords for sites; and I dismiss this idea not only on the ground that it would imply loss of time, but also because it seems to me that it would place this Assembly, as the Assembly of the National Church of Scotland, in an altogether false position. I hold that it is not for us, as the General Assembly, to renew applications to the parties interested, but to make an appeal to the higher Court of Parliament.

"We will ask no boon—no contribution to the erection of our places of worship—no assistance in the support of our ministers—all which the Premier is too willing to give to truth and error indiscriminately; but we will ask simply that the landlord should sell, or convey to us for a price, the merest pittance of ground on which to erect a house for the worship of our God. Along with a petition to Parliament, I think the time has come when we should again knock at the door of Parliament by means of an influential deputation. I had hoped that the days of deputations to London were gone by. I had thought we were done for ever with waiting on those who sway the destinies of this country in St. Stephen's. I had looked for a tranquil time, for a season at least, after the great question was decided against us ; and I confess it was after long delay, and with much reluctance, that I brought myself to contemplate again the possibility of our being called to send a deputation to London ; but it does seem to me that whatever may have been our weariness of such expedients in time past, and whatever may have been our experience of the unprofitableness of these expedients, and whatever may be our anxiety to avoid troubling their high mightinesses with deputations any more, yet the duty we owe to ourselves, and, above all, the duty we owe to our Christian people, who are groaning under tyranny and oppression ; and, still further, duty to the landed proprietors themselves ;—all these considerations urge us to make one final attempt, if it be possible, to persuade them that it is alike their interest, their policy, and their highest and sacred duty, to desist from a course that must inevitably lead to consequences ruinous to themselves. For I cannot but take this opportunity of repeating what I have said elsewhere, that I never approach the subject of the refusal of sites without a feeling of alarm at the extent to which, in discussing it, we might be compelled to go. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the continued assertion of the rights of property, to the effect of infringing on the rights of toleration, does raise a question that might soon become a practical question as to the whole nature and foundation of the right of property itself. I shrink from the mooting of these questions and their agitation ; and, therefore, it is to avoid the risk of their being agitated, and, above all, becoming practical questions, that I would move this Assembly to make one attempt to win the attention of Parliament to a right sense of the pending danger as regards this country ; for we cannot shut our eyes to the inevitable results of the system of oppression going on at this moment. Why, sir, what is it but a deliberate warfare against conscience,—a deliberate and systematic attempt to debauch the consciences of men by bribery, and corruption, and oppression ? And when they have got their consciences debauched and enslaved,—when they have got them to be their unscrupulous agents,—I ask, Are these the men on whose faithful attachment they would depend if times of revolution should come? Is it the men whose consciences they have, first of all, systematically violated and oppressed,—is it these men whom they have rendered the unscrupulous tools of whatever party may choose to buy or coerce them,—is it these men that will rally round the nobles and rulers of the country in times of peril and danger? Sir, it is a miserable and infatuated course such persecutors are pursuing. Far better let the rights of conscience be recognised, and let them trust to the good old maxim, that to fear God is the best security for honouring the king.

"With regard to the proposal for holding an Assembly in the Highlands, it seemed, when first stated in private, to be a startling one; but after considering the proposal more and more, I have, along with others of my brethren, become more reconciled to it. We were first inclined to think of the Assembly appointing a Commission for the purpose; but gradually we came to feel that if the thing was to be done at all it had better be done well; that if we were to attempt to get at the bottom of the evils of the Highlands, we should do it thoroughly; and that if we go to Inverness at all we should go down with all the authority of the Assembly itself. And I cannot but think the time is come for such a proposal as this, if we consider not only the cases of persecution, but the appalling facts that have been pressed on our notice in the discussions on translations and by our Committees, in regard to the extraordinary thirst of the people for the Word of life, as compared with the scantiness of our supply."

In connection with the subject of the state of religion there was reference made to the claims and progress of Popery, and in reference to this Dr. Candlish said—

"The day has gone by, I trust, when any of us dreamed for a moment of Popery having lost its power and subtlety. The dream of its giving way before the advancing tide of civilisation and the dawning light of a gradually developed millenium, has also passed away; and now the universal impression of all of us is, that even in our own day, if God spare us but for a few years, another lustrum or so, we shall be landed in the very same struggle that our ancestors had to maintain, and we shall need the very same weapons they had to employ. It cannot but strike observing men, as a strange symptom of the subtlety of this system, that the grossest of its delusions are yet palatable, not merely to the ignorant vulgar, but even to enlightened philosophers and wise statesmen. It cannot but strike us as remarkable that Popery does not need to furnish herself with new armour. The law uses the same weapons for this age of civilisation and enlightenment that she used in the day of darkness; and this is in part our encouragement. We shall have no new battle to fight, but just the old battle over again; we shall have no new paths to seek, but just to seek out the old ways, and walk therein.

"We have spoken of ministers and elders going forth and converting souls by the preaching of the gospel, and by teaching under the Spirit. But we have forgotten the solemn truth that Christ sends forth as His apostles and missionaries into the world,—as the Father sent Him forth, so does Christ send into the world,—not the eleven only, but all those, to the end of time, who should believe in Him and testify of Him. This is the apostolic succession in which we rejoice,—this is the hereditary transmission of the faith of which we boast. Christ sends His missionaries into the world in the very same sense, and for the same ends, for which He was constituted a missionary of the Father. In the same way does He constitute His apostles and their successors, namely all believers to the end of time, missionaries, that they may carry the bread of life to every sinner, and that they, through the Spirit, may believe. When we look abroad on this country of ours, when we regard its multitudinous population, never can we discharge our duty till every good man, woman, and child, who have a care for their own souls, shall also be engaged in caring for the soul of another. If our Christian people would give themselves individually to the work of God—if, not content with supporting our great schemes in our large cities—if, not content with this, every good man were to care not alone for the kingdom of Christ at large but for his next door neighbour; if every good woman, not merely satisfied with supporting schemes of Christian philanthropy, were to care for her poor sister, living apart from God in the next street; if every living soul were to stir up one which is dead, the blessed work would go on by a geometrical progression till believers would soon be increased by a hundredfold. Surely this is no visionary expectation; for with the God whom we serve is the residue of the Spirit. Let us remember that, as the time is short, so will the work of the Spirit be short; but before that day of the Lord comes there shall be abundant outpouring of the Spirit. Oh that every member of our Church were found relying on Christ, feeding on Christ, and growing in Christ, to the salvation of his own soul and that of his neighbour!"

On Thursday, May 29, Dr. Candlish, in the absence of Mr. Sym, gave in the Report of the Colonial Committee, and verbally communicated the substance of it.

When the Assembly were engaged with the Report of the Home Mission Committee, Dr. Candlish said—

"During the past year the Home Mission has been very little in the eyes of the people. I hope it will be prominently brought under the notice of the whole country in the course of the present year, and I would suggest that those who take charge of the Committee, whether they be our Highland or Lowland brethren, should be men willing to give much of their time, and, if possible, much travelling from place to place, so as to ascertain the relative wants of different parts of the country, and adjust the supply to the circumstances of such places, so far as it may be practicable. I look to the working of this Committee as one of the most important of all the operations in which the Church is engaged. It is our great Church Extension Scheme, adapted to our present circumstances. It is our plan for nursing young congregations till they take root in the land, and become strong and vigorous ; and if the attention of the Church be properly called to this Committee and its operations, I have no fear whatever of its being abundantly supplied with pecuniary resources, and my only anxiety is about providing a large supply of men. The case of the Highlands has again and again been brought before us in this Assembly, and it cannot occupy too much of our time. If there be any difficulty in working the Committee's plan of operations during the summer, let the whole subject be reconsidered ; and in regard to what ought to be done instantly and without delay, to meet present and pressing exigencies in the Highlands, I think we should be contemplating a very full discussion of the subject when we meet in Inverness. I own to you that I have formed a somewhat grand idea of what that meeting ought to be, not only in point of show, but in point of reality ; and I am exceedingly anxious that Lowland ministers, as well as elders, should, with their own eyes, become cognisant of the wants of the Highlands. Perhaps such a plan as this might be resolved upon, and I think it might be carried out at little expense. Whatsoever time may be fixed for the meeting at Inverness, arrangements should be made for sending off a variety of deputations, some ten days or a fortnight, or longer if necessary, before the day of meeting. Let them start from various parts of the country, taking a wide circumference around Inverness—some from the far north in Orkney and Shetland—some from the east, from the south, and the west. Let them have their various radii from Inverness as a centre ; and, noting what they see and what they hear, let them all meet in Inverness at the appointed day, and give themselves to consultation on what they have seen and what they have heard. Some such plan as this might very easily be originated between this time and the meeting in Inverness; and I cannot but anticipate some better fruits from such an arrangement than we have hitherto derived from our Highland operations."

The Education Scheme of the Free Church originated in the ejection of the parochial teachers who adhered to the Free Church; and for whom the Free Church felt herself bound to provide. It was continued and extended to meet the educational wants of the country. From first to last Dr. Candlish took a warm interest in it, and for many years took the leading part in promoting it. Speaking on the subject at this Assembly, he said—

"I think it is due to the schoolmasters who have adhered to the Free Church, as well as to those who are coming forward for that office, that something should be done in the form of a pledge—at least so far as we can do it—in the most unequivocal manner, to a systematic and thorough plan for the support of the schoolmasters throughout Scotland. It is all very well to tide over the exigencies of the ensuing year with some such plan as that which has been proposed, namely, that the collection of from £3000 to £4000 shall be supplemented to £7000, out of subscriptions of £1 or upwards, from the members of our congregations. But, sir, this plan is an inadequate way of meeting the call upon us; and it is quite plain that it is due to the teachers, as well as to the people throughout Scotland, to let them understand that this is by no means the plan we propose ultimately to adopt, or with which we expect them to be satisfied. Let it go forth that this is just a year in which we must have recourse to some extraordinary method of meeting the demand. But I feel strongly that if this great scheme of education is to be prosecuted on the scale and to the extent which the circumstances of the country demand, that it ought to be enjoined on the Committee, and it ought to form part of the deliverance of the House this day, that it is enjoined to come up to next Assembly with a fully matured and prepared plan, if they are able to make one, as to placing the schools of the country on a thoroughly safe, effective, and comprehensive plan in all time coming."

Dr. Candlish gave in the Report of the Committee on the Sanctioning of Charges, and recommended the sanctioning of thirty-seven. He also reported, on the same day, on the Admission of Ministers into the Free Church, and on the Trials of Students. On his reporting the recommendation that the Assembly should meet at Inverness on the 21st August, the Assembly resolved accordingly.

A public meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, for promoting Christian Union, at which Dr. Merle D'Aubigné was present. In supporting one of the resolutions at this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

"On such an occasion as the present, one could not but ask what had brought about the intense interest now felt on the subject of Christian Union, what had made them so much more alive now than they had been a year or two ago to the desirableness and importance of Christian Union? And, looking for the causes of this, he thought he could discern simply these three. In the first place, he traced it to the providence of God, and His recent dealings with the various branches of the Church of Christ. They might take shame to themselves on this subject, as on many others; and for himself and for his brethren, he dare say they could not but own that to a large extent it must be ascribed to that Providence which drove them from the Establishment, that to-day they were in circumstances heartily to unite with their fellow-Christians.

"Another reason which accounted for the present desire for union, or rather for the prevalent disposition to give effect to that desire—for he could not but believe that the longing was dormant in the minds and hearts of Christians for many days gone by — another reason which brought them into the course they were now pursuing was the policy of the adversary; and by adversary he meant the great antagonist, the great opponent of Christianity, who was a deceiver, a liar, and a murderer from the beginning.

"He would say that it would be sinful, in his opinion, were he to notice the subject of the causes of the desire or yearning after Christian union, without adverting to the third; and he could not but think that, without presumption, they might ascribe the yearning after Christian union mainly and chiefly to the direct and special operation of the good Spirit of God. All other union would be forced and ineffective—forced either by the hand of power or the coercion of events; or ineffective, being a union of speech, lip, and inaction, without a union of the heart, faith, and love. The only union worth seeking after was that which was brought about by the direct living agency of the Spirit of God. He attached very little importance, comparatively, to meetings like this, or any merely external demonstration of Christian union, if it did not issue in something practical. And allow him just to say, in connection with this, that he saw several practical ways in which this yearning after Christian union could find vent. He was prepared for one, to say that he desired from the bottom of his heart that from time to time the ordinance of the Lord's Supper should be made more a badge of union and less a token of separation ; and while he was not prepared to say to what extent the terms of communion in any Church ought to be relaxed, he was prepared to say that it was the duty of Christian Churches, and the Christian men in those Churches, while continuing separate, to mark their common sympathy with each other in the Lord, by sitting down together at His holy table."

At a meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, for promoting the building of Free Church manses, Dr. Candlish said—

"The privations of many of their brethren, consequent on the Disruption, had been too long kept in the background. The aspect of the Free Church, ever since her emancipation from the State, had been, to a large extent, an air of hilarity, and cheerfulness, and triumph, and joy which, in some degree had blinded the eyes of onlookers to the sufferings of those brethren who had been exposed to much hardship and trial ; and now, when the full extent of their privations was brought before the public, it was done without their concurrence, he might rather say against their inclination, for none had contributed so much to keep up that aspect of hilarity and joy which had characterised their Church as those brethren who had endured the sufferings which they had heard described. It was, however, high time that measures should be taken to secure for them such domestic comforts, in dwellings of their own, as would relieve them for the future from the evils to which they had been exposed, and enable them to live, with their children around them, in the midst of their flocks."

On the 23d July, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish said—

"There was one point in regard to which the attention of their people could not be too strongly called, he meant the disproportion between the number of their adherents, and still more the disproportion between the number of communicants and the number of contributors to the Sustentation Fund. It was something incongruous to become members of a Church which was destitute of all endowment, and yet to continue indifferent and to provide inefficiently for the sustentation of the gospel ministry. He thought they were sometimes very apt to speak too delicately on the subject, much more so than the Apostle Paul was in his epistles, in which he treated of the duty of Christians to support the Church. Now, unquestionably, with such a scheme as the Sustentation one, which was utterly free of any element that could be construed as sordid, he did not see why they should not very clearly and unequivocally give it to be understood that it was a matter of Christian duty—quite as much so as that of praying for a blessing on the gospel ministry—to contribute, as God has blessed them, to the sustentation of the gospel ministry ; and therefore he thought it very desirable that the attention of their people should be called to this, that it was a point of duty, unless in the case of poverty, that every individual in communion with the Free Church should consider not merely that he was enjoined not only to pray for the blessing of God on the gospel ministry, but that he was required to contribute directly of his means to its support."

In conformity with a plan he had sketched at the meeting of Assembly in Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish made a wide dètour in the West Highlands previous to the meeting of the Assembly in Inverness. He was accompanied by Dr. Beith, who has published a graphic account of their proceedings. In the Assembly at Inverness Dr. Candlish himself entered into some details as to what he had witnessed in his wanderings, both as to the state of religion among the people and as to the great hardships some of them were enduring from the refusal of sites in the island of Skye, at Kilmalie, Killean, and Iona.

The General Assembly met at Inverness on the 21st August, in a large pavilion which had been erected for the purpose.

When the subject of Foreign Missions was under consideration Dr. Candlish said—

"The question might well be asked of us, Can nothing be done for China ? The circumstances in which that vast country is placed are such as to call loudly for Christian exertion on its behalf. The efforts made to propagate the doctrines of Popery are such as to call for strenuous efforts on the part of the Protestant Churches ; and I believe a movement has been made by the Presbyterian Church in England bearing upon this very point. A resolution has been taken by that Church to institute a mission of their own. They have contributed liberally of their prayers and their alms to the support of our mission in India, and they have seen it their duty, in a recent meeting of Synod, to establish a mission of their own. Now, I think this movement comes very seasonably under our notice at this time, when we have been considering the subject of India. It would be impossible for us, as a Church, in present circumstances, to undertake the wide field of China ; but it would only be performing our duty to enter upon record the great delight we feel at the movement in contemplation by our brethren in England, and to offer to them all the encouragement which this Church can give them in prosecuting this work. I think it is a token for good that God has put it into the hearts of our brethren in England to think of China ; as, while it in one view supersedes the necessity of this Church undertaking the missionary work there, so, on the other hand, it lays us under the duty of reciprocating with our brethren the obligations we owe to them to state the interest we feel in China, our sense of the critical position in which that country is placed, and our delight at the movement which our friends in England have taken, together with a resolution to encourage them in the work which they have undertaken."

On the subject of Education Dr. Candlish said—

"He had not the slightest doubt that, by means of their normal institutions, and by having adequate salaries secured to their teachers, they would be able to provide for the whole population adhering to the Free Church, and for the whole population besides, who might take it at their word, a style of education at least as high in intellectual attainment as that of any other denomination, and higher by far in respect of religious and spiritual requirements."

Speaking on the subject of the refusal of sites, he said—

"It is one of the darkest and most ominous features of the present times, that now, in the House of Commons, composed of the representatives of this great country, freely chosen under the Reform Bill, we have literally no party at all,—no, not even a shred or vestige of party,—that holds anything like sound principle in reference to establishments and endowments. Furthermore, it is melancholy to think that both the great parties in the State seem bent upon a system which, when freely interpreted, is neither more nor less than a system of ruling this great country, not by principle, nor even by power, but by bribery and corruption; for there can be no doubt that it seems the policy, both of Conservatives and Liberals, to obtain the command over men's consciences by the most sordid of all arguments,—an appeal to the selfish interests; and when we think that all parties in the State, Liberals and Conservatives alike, are now inclined and determined to work what they hold to be the principle of an Establishment as an engine of statecraft and government, we cannot but anticipate that some such game may possibly be tried as that to which Mr. Sheil pointed; we cannot but think it likely that they will try to prop up existing Establishments by offering a bribe to other denominations; for the alternative has been frankly and clearly put by the leader of the Opposition, and acknowledged by the head of the Government, that in Ireland—and, if in Ireland, it occurs to me that it must be the same all over the empire,—the question now is between the abolition of all establishments and the establishment and endowment of Popery. Beyond all doubt to this we are coming. Some of my friends are very sanguine in anticipating the speedy downfall of all establishments. For my own part, my fear is rather that establishments will continue and stand; ay, that they will continue to stand, supported by such wretched triumphs over conscience as our rulers are seeking to achieve, until they have been worked by the Man of Sin as an instrument for the accomplishment of his ends."

Then, speaking more directly to the question of the refusal of sites, he said—

"I cannot close without expressing, I trust with all possible calmness and moderation, my deep feeling of the extreme injustice which has been done to the people of Scotland not only in the refusal of sites, but in the cause assigned for that refusal. I care not for the injustice that may be done to some individuals among us,—I care not for the injustice that may be done to myself,—I care not how we may be branded as agitators and disturbers of social order,—I care not for the violence of expression that has been used to designate alleged violence of expression on our part—I have been familiar with them all for years—I have had the honour of being maligned in high places before now, and I care little, and my friends care just as little, for the imputations that have been unjustly cast on us; the great day of accounts will reveal the purity of motive and the purity of principle. I care not to be judged by man's judgment,—to my own Master I stand or fall. But I cannot but express the deep sense I entertain of the wrong that has been done to my fellow-countrymen, to my fellow-

Christians of Scotland, by having the refusal of what was so justly their claim imputed to me, and to those who have been called, like me, to bear the brunt of the battle,—the heat and burden of the day. It is a sad thing for us to think that we stood between our beloved people of Scotland and the attainment of their just, their inalienable rights. It is a cruel thing to be branded as the sowers of sedition when we preached all over Scotland that gospel which—and none should know it better than our own Scottish proprietors—is the only security for peace on earth, for loyalty to the Queen, as well as loyalty to Christ. But it was more cruel still that these oppressors of the people—these deniers of the people's rights—should turn round and say to us that we are standing between the people and what they ask. Let them make a sacrifice of our characters, if that will serve their ends; let them make a hecatomb of our bodies, if that will satiate their malice; let them prostrate my name in the very dust, but for the sake of honour, for the sake of high principle, for the sake of the Scottish name, let it not be said that the nobles, and princes, and great men of Scotland were so affrighted by a few hard speeches, uttered by a few headstrong men, as if there was cause of danger to the Commonwealth, that they should turn to the people of Scotland, who were not responsible for our hard words, and visit on them our sins and our condemnation. It is miserable cowardice these men are betraying. Why, what are we? Let them call us rebels and disturbers of social order to as great an extent as they choose to allege. Where, I would ask, is our power? Why, it is in their tyranny, their oppression. They may call us Dan O'Connells if they please. What gives us the power in Scotland to disturb the peace,—if we were bent on disturbing the peace,—but the very system of oppression which they are blindly pursuing? Let us who have taken an active part in these proceedings be branded with infamy, if it will please these noblemen, these men of honour. Let them cause our name to descend dishonoured to the latest posterity, but oh! let them for their own sakes, for the sake of the honour they profess to reverence, for common honesty, if they will not have the imputation of cowardice resting upon them, if they will not confess that they are affrighted by a few poor preachers of God's Word,—I say, let these men, if they are not accessible to higher motives, be moved by such considerations as I have stated. Let them come forward frankly and say, We defy your preachers to do your worst; we defy your demagogues to agitate the land; we care not though you go over all our estates, and agitate among all our tenants; the constitution is too strong to be shaken by them. We will not, through such fear, do injustice to our tenants, nor any longer refuse them their true and inalienable rights."

In reference to the supply of ordinances in the Highlands and islands, Dr. Candlish said—

"We cannot too thankfully acknowledge the steadfastness, the devotion, the faithfulness of our Highland congregations. They have been very inadequately supplied with the means of grace. They have been rarely visited by ministers or preachers of the Church. They have, in many cases, had no stated minister among them, and frequently no preacher visiting them, excepting at rare intervals. But still they continue meeting from Sabbath to Sabbath, associated together in congregations, and when exposed to many temptations to forsake the Church of their fathers,—for there is no question with them about the Church of their fathers,—there is no question in the Highlands and Islands about our being the Church of Scotland. There is no room for doubt about it, no sort of hesitation, the people never call it in question; they have got a better name for the Establishment than some of our friends in the south, who gave it a name which I confess I never much liked. In the north they keep to the old name, and always speak of the Establishment and its adherents as the Moderates; but they never doubt that ours is the Church of their fathers. Well then, although exposed to many temptations to leave the Church of their fathers, visited it may be by persons of other opinions, and they have been exposed to temptations to adopt sectarian views, still these people have remained fast and firm in their attachment to the Church of Scotland, trusting that, when our present embarrassments are at an end, we shall be able more adequately to provide for them.

"And does not this impress upon us a very deep sense of responsibility, and that in two points of view? Why do these men not doubt our being the Church of Scotland? Whence their entire confidence in us, amidst their manifold privations, but just because they have seen this Church maintaining the principle of the Headship of Christ? And, oh! does not this impress our minds with a solemn sense of the importance of the position we occupy? We have the hearts of the Highland population,—we have their confidence,—we have their esteem; but is it to be the same sort of tie by which the Church of Rome and the Church of England hold their people attached to them? Is it merely by the attraction of a name, or any superstitious respect for the mere Establishment? No, sir, we hold the confidence and the esteem of our Highland population, not because they confide in us and esteem us, but chiefly because they love the Lord Jesus Christ, His gospel and His crown. We may not trifle, therefore, with the attachment of our Highland people,—we may not presume upon or strain it too much. Sir, if they see us declining in our zeal,—if they hear of our missionary spirit languishing,—if they perceive our trumpet giving an uncertain sound, will they blindly continue devoted to us? No, sir, their attachment to us is intelligent, and conscientious, and spiritual; and the moment they witness any decline of holy zeal in us, that instant they are open to the inroads of any body of men that will profess to preach the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ."

When the labours of the Assembly were concluded Dr. Candlish went north to Shetland, arriving in Lerwick on the 31st August. On the following day a correspondent wrote to the *Witness* as follows:—

"The Rev. Dr. Candlish and the Rev. Messrs. Cairns of Cupar and Elder of Walls arrived here yesterday morning by the 'Sovereign' steamer. Messrs. Cairns and Elder immediately proceeded to the parish of Coningsburgh to preach there, and at other places in the south end of the country. Dr. Candlish, notwithstanding his arduous labours during the last month at the Assembly and otherwise, and the fatigue of travelling from Inverness, preached three times to overflowing audiences, forenoon and evening in the Congregational Chapel, and afternoon in a large room occupied by the Free Church congregation; after which he met with the young communicants, it being intended (*D. V.*) that the Lord's Supper be dispensed to the Free congregation in three weeks. The eloquent, affectionate, and faithful discourses of the Doctor were listened to with breathless attention, and the heart of every Christian present, of whatever name, must have been warmed with love, and gratitude, and joy, while listening to the grand exhibition of divine truth,—the unsearchable riches of Christ—the solemn majesty, the free grace, the love, the holiness, the glory of the eternal Jehovah. This morning the Doctor, with a few of the friends, sailed for the north in the Free Church yacht 'Breadalbane.' He preaches to-night at Brae in Delting, where there is a large Free Church congregation. Dr. Candlish returns to Lerwick to-morrow evening, when he holds a meeting for the purpose of explaining the present position and prospects of the Free Church. On Wednesday morning, to our extreme regret, he takes his leave for Edinburgh."

Mr. Bell furnishes the following memorandum of this Shetland journey:—

"After the close of the Assembly he went to Shetland, accompanied by Mr. James Crawford junior, W.S., and the Rev. Mr. Cairns of Cupar. I had a kind letter from the Doctor pressing me to join the party; but circumstances prevented me from doing so. On their voyage back in the 'Breadalbane' they were becalmed; but as he was expected to preach in St. George's on the 7th September, he landed in a small boat at Portsoy; rode thence on horseback to Huntly, where he caught the Mail, and so reached Edinburgh early on Sunday morning. In spite of his hurried journey and fatigue he preached two admirable sermons on the three following passages: Gal. v. 6; Gal. vi. 15; and 1 Cor. vii. 19. At the monthly congregational meeting on the following night, September 8, he gave an interesting account of his missionary labours in Islay, Skye, and Shetland. He had been particularly interested with the people of Skye and their one pastor, the Rev. Rod. M'Leod, formerly of Bracadale, then of Snizort; and expressed a strong desire that the congregation of St. George's should enter into an intimate relationship with that island. He hoped that we might be favoured by personal visits, from time to time, from Mr. M'Leod, and, at all events, that a correspondence would be maintained with him and his people, which, with the Lord's blessing, would prove mutually beneficial. He expressed his conviction that, if we could become acquainted with living Christianity, as it appears under varied aspects, in different places, our hearts would be enlarged and our souls enriched."

On the 15th October, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish adverted to a Conference which had been held at Liverpool a fortnight before, for forming what was afterwards known as the Evangelical Alliance, and in which he, and many other ministers of the Free Church, had taken part. He said—

"I may state, generally, that the brethren there convened, belonging to no fewer than seventeen different denominations of Christians, met, as you may suppose, under very deep feelings of anxiety and concern, and with a lively interest in the great object contemplated—the promotion of a more visible and effective union among the different members of the Church of Christ, but at the same time all of them deeply sensible of the difficulties and embarrassments attending any such attempt, and many of them full of apprehension. I may state, however, that at the first sitting of the Conference, we spent the first two hours in devotional services, of a kind and character so very peculiar, as altogether, or at least in a large measure, to dissipate the apprehension which our brethren entertained, and to give all of us the feeling that this movement was about to be owned and countenanced by the Head of the Church ; and further, that the Conference went on at subsequent diets without the least concealment on the part of any individual present of his difficulties, his feelings, his views of all sorts,—nay, with the most frank, full, and friendly consultation,—the issue of which was a harmony and entire unanimity of sentiment and feeling which not the most sanguine amongst us dared to anticipate."

Subsequently, at Stranraer, and in the City Hall, Glasgow, he spoke in the same strain on this theme.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November Dr. Candlish read letters giving an account of the Disruption in the Canton de Vaud, and moved an expression of sympathy with the brethren then on their trial, to be presented to them by the Rev. Andrew Gray of Perth. In relation to Home Mission efforts he also suggestd an arrangement for the better supply of ministers in the Island of Lewis, and in connection with the scheme of cheap publications he laid on the table, with a strong testimony of his approval, the Catechism on Free Church principles prepared by the Rev. Andrew Gray.

At the Ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in December he expressed his disapprobation of introducing into the Presbytery a discussion on the Corn Laws, at least without previous understanding and consultation.

On the 11th December a meeting was held in Tanfield Hall in connection with the Manse Building Scheme, presided over by Mr. Fox Maule. In moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, to whom the Free Church owed manifold obligations, and supporting the proposal of increasing the Manse Fund to £150,000, he said—

"Let us by all means, and that readily and speedily, have done with this enterprise, for it is unquestionable that God has much for us elsewhere to do. And this, I take it as Christian men, will be a still stronger argument than if we were to tell the people that soon their liberality will be taxed no longer. If men come and complain to us that we are constantly assailing them with appeals to their pockets,—if our friends in the Establishment make it a reproach to us that ours is a money Church,—if their people are taught to value the Establishment mainly and chiefly on this ground, that they do not need to put their hands deeply into their pockets, let it be remembered that, if any man comes to us and says, that there is no need for this scheme,—that we are ever like the horse-leech, crying, Give, give, as if there was to be no termination to these continual appeals to them, our reply is simply this, Can you, as a Christian, ever look for any termination to those bounties which Almighty God has showered upon you,—can you afford to let God give up His benefits and bounties to you,—can you cease drawing daily from the fulness of Him who, though rich, yet for your sakes became poor? then, and only then, when God may cease to give to you, may you cease to give to God, and to His cause."

A meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 22d December, to express sympathy with the evangelical ministers of the Canton de Vaud who were subjected to severe persecution, and Dr. Candlish urged that liberal contributions should be raised in Scotland for them, and that Government should be petitioned to use their legitimate influence to bring the persecution to an end.

He spoke on the same subject at the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in January 1846, and, adverting to the distinction attempted to be drawn by friends in the Established Church between the case of the Free Church and that in the Canton de Vaud, he said—

"They seem disposed to say, or to let it be said or insinuated on their behalf, that they would have come out of the Establishment, if the interference here had been as gross as the interference with the brethren in the Vaud. Now, how stand the two cases, and what is the comparison between them? They say they were left to preach the gospel here,—that there was no interference with the liberty of the pulpit. Let me tell them that neither was their any interference with what the brethren preached from the pulpit in the Canton de Vaud. There was no sort of interference with the doctrines which the brethren there were preaching; they were not interfered with in the liberty of preaching, or hindered from declaring the whole counsel of God. What was the nature of the interference in the Canton de Vaud? It was twofold. It consisted, in the first place, in their being required to read from the pulpit a political proclamation of which they did not approve; and it consisted, in the second place, in having limitations imposed in regard to the times and places of their preaching—not the matter of it; for they could still every Sabbath proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ. Now, I would just like the Christian public of Scotland to compare this interference with what our friends in the Establishment have submitted to. They have submitted to an interference whereby ministers, solemnly deposed by a spiritual court and by an ecclesiastical sentence from the office of the holy ministry, are received and treated as being still ministers of the gospel, and that without the intervention of any ecclesiastical Act whatever, but simply because of the decree of the Civil Court. They again submitted to an interference whereby ministers, declared by themselves entitled to bear rule in the Church of Christ, are deprived of the privilege of bearing rule, by a simple act of the Civil Court. They also submitted to an interference whereby, in large districts of the country, the exercise of discipline was stayed,—whereby they were forbidden to assign the care of souls in a particular district to a particular minister; and all at the instance of the Civil Courts. It will not do to draw a distinction between our case and the case of the Canton de Vaud, just that the men who have tamely submitted to all kinds of interference at home may shelter themselves when seeming to show sympathy with our brethren abroad; it will not do to draw this distinction, just that they may say, We sympathise with you in the Vaud, and we think you have done that which is quite right; and if our case at home had been as clear as yours, we would have acted precisely as you have done. This method of attempting to draw a distinction between the two cases reminds me of the policy of those Jews of old who endeavoured to cover over the adoption of the principles of those who slew the prophets by building the tombs of the prophets."

On the last week of January, at a meeting of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Dr. Candlish proposed a resolution for taking steps towards constituting one Bible Society for Scotland by the union of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies, a movement which has now been happily accomplished.

On the 4th February, at the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, he explained the reason why he and others had asked a conference of the brethren on the 3d March, stating that their relation to the Established Church was such as might affect their co-operation in any alliance in which the Established Church might take part.

A meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, at the end of February, on Sabbath Observance, and Dr. Candlish adverted to the increasing desecration of that holy day by railway travelling, and its effects upon the character of the people. He vindicated the perpetual obligation and universal authority of the Sabbath, and adverted to the method in which Christ dealt with the question as against the Pharisees.

The Commission of Assembly met as usual on the first Wednesday of March, and Dr. Candlish spoke on various matters which came before them for consideration; among others, on a proposal for a monument to John Knox in the form of two churches at the Nether Bow, one as a territorial mission, and the other for the use of the Gaelic congregation. He stated that the property of Knox's house had been acquired for the Free Church. He also advocated the employment of advanced students of divinity as missionaries among the numerous railway labourers employed in different parts of the country. He proposed a recommendation to ministers to offer up special prayer to God in regard to His dealings with the country, in apprehended scarcity, and on account of war in India. On the part of the Committee on Sites, he stated that all other measures being now exhausted, nothing remained but an appeal to Parliament.

He spoke at a meeting of the Gaelic School Society held in the Hopetoun Rooms on the 18th March. A somewhat acrid controversy had arisen as to the admission or exclusion from the direction of the Society of ministers of the Established Church. Dr. Candlish moved a resolution expressive of thankfulness for the continued prosperity and usefulness of the Society, and adverted to the matter controverted, and argued that those who were appointed Directors should be selected, not because of the denomination to which they belonged, but because of their interest in the Society and in the cause of evangelical truth.

Mr. Bell has noted, in his memoranda of Dr. Candlish, that in the beginning of April this year he was confined to the house for ten days with his *first* unequivocal attack of gout in the foot.

At the stated meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale at the beginning of May, Dr. Candlish proposed an overture to petition Parliament in favour of a measure to enable congregations to purchase sites for churches, manses, and schools, to be based upon the broad principle of religious toleration—not a Free Church measure, but a measure proceeding on the assumption that all religious bodies tolerated by the State ought also to be tolerated by the proprietors of the soil.

In the General Assembly which met in Edinburgh on the 21st May 1846, there were two discussions of great public interest at the time. They were on subjects somewhat cognate, more or less involving the relation of the Free Church to churches of other denominations, and in both discussions Dr. Candlish took the leading part. The first debate was under the Report of the Committee on Christian Union; but the question at issue was as to the part which several ministers of the Free Church had taken in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. Dr. Candlish spoke at great length and with his wonted power in vindication of these ministers. A single extract from the close of his speech will serve to show his line of argument.

"The Alliance is not at your bar, neither are we at your bar. But we are here to put it to you, knowing that such a measure is in progress, and that some of the fathers and brethren in your Church have seen their way to take part in it :—Are you prepared, as a Church, to take the solemn responsibility of condemning that movement, or our share in it? That is the real question you have to dispose of. I am not one of those who anticipate very sanguinely great results from this same Alliance. I am not one of those who look upon this Alliance as if the whole fate of Christian union depended on it. Why, sir, I say at once, that many contingencies may occur, ere a few months are past, that may scatter the Alliance to the four winds of heaven, and we may see and hear no more of it. But even if it should be so —if, in the course of a brief space, the whole experiment should turn out to be fruitless—if God should so rebuke us for our sin and for our folly in prosecuting this work, as to confound us, as He confounded the builders of Babel—unlike to these builders we will ascribe the failure, not to the sinfulness of the tower we have been building, but to our own sin and our own wretched folly. For we may be scattered and confounded, but I will venture to say that we have not been building a tower to reach to heaven in defiance of the God of heaven; but we have been seeking, erroneously it may be, sinfully it may be, but in good faith—humbly and devoutly to survey, if possible, the ground—to look about for the foundations upon which God Himself may one day build the glorious tower which is to be the centre of union and fellowship for all the followers of the Lamb. It never entered into our heads that Christian union is to be the result of human contrivance. All that we have been aiming at in meeting together is just that we might consider what hindrances may be in the way, and how they may be removed, and, above all, that prayer might be offered up to God for the outpouring of the Spirit of unity and love. And if, after all, this attempt should fail— if God should put a stop to it—shall I say that I would regret the part I have taken in it? No; though it should turn out that in this attempt I have made a great mistake, and committed a great sin, I should consent, I trust, to bear whatever disappointments and whatever chastisements God on that account might appoint me; but never, never, I believe, can I be made to look back with any other feeling than that of gratitude to God for having permitted me to meet with holy men in this cause. Sir, there has been much in those meetings to which I can never look back without adoring gratitude. We do not ask you to approve of this Alliance; but we do ask of you, at a distance from the spot, and without such means of obtaining acquaintance with the subject as we have had, to pause ere you make it incumbent on us, as good sons of the Church, to stand aloof and turn our backs on the Alliance. No harm, as it seems to me, after all the consideration I have given it, can arise from the Church pausing. I do not here set up any claim to personal confidence. I disdain any such thing: but I do think that, considering who they are in this Church, who, with much fear and trembling, have taken this matter in hand—and considering that they come and tell you that they have not in any measure compromised the truth of God or the principles of this Church—and considering, moreover, that they tell you that they are alive to the dangers of their position, and will be on the watch for the first symptom of any attempt to compromise the truth—I say, considering all these things, I do think it will be to an exhibition of suspicion on the part of this Church, which I trust she will never exhibit, if she should come, at the very outset, and put her interdict on our continuance in the Evangelical Alliance. To this extent I speak with confidence, because the Church may have her eyes upon us from year to year and from day to day. We are not going out of the way; you will need no warrant to apprehend us on any suspicion of our desire to escape; we will still be within your reach and jurisdiction; and, if so, what reason is there for dealing in haste with such a matter as this? When we are the only parties on this side the Atlantic who are really in any practical way showing a desire to consult and pray together for so great an end, it surely must require a far stronger case than, I venture to say, can possibly be made out, to justify this Church in interdicting us from our attempt.

"I have spoken of a possible failure of the movement, but I would anticipate other results—I would anticipate a growing confidence among the members of the Alliance—a growing freedom, a growing manliness, a growing boldness, a growing readiness to face difficulties, to meet contentions, even in that Alliance. All these I would anticipate—and, moreover, that through the interference of this Alliance, the giant strides of Popery may be arrested, and the churches of Christ stirred up in the cause of Protestantism, and education, and missions. I would anticipate as the result, even although the Alliance itself were ultimately to perish, a great revival throughout all the branches of the Church of Christ, and a great advance in missionary zeal and Protestant enthusiasm. I might draw a picture like this, and set it up before my fathers and brethren, but I attempt no such thing, and only say, if there be the remotest possibility of any such result—if there be but the faintest hope, under God, of any such issue—will this Church, at this stage of the proceedings, without cause or warrant, take the responsibility of stopping, or doing what she can do to stop the movement?"

The other question debated in this Assembly to which I have referred, was as to the relation of the Free Church to the Presbyterian churches of the United States, which admitted slaveholders as members. Preceding the meeting of the Assembly there was a good deal of public agitation and excitement on the subject. I can only give a few fragments of the speech with which Dr. Candlish commenced the discussion in the Assembly.

"I confess I am anxious on this occasion to have an opportunity of calling the attention of this House, and, through this House of the Church at large, to the actual state of a question, which has got involved in considerable embarrassment from no fault of ours. Now, I say, at the very outset, that I will never consent, as a minister of this Church, as a Christian minister and a Christian man—I will never give my consent, and I trust that this Church will never give her consent, to the discussing of this question, either here or in other places—in the inferior Courts I mean, for there alone will I discuss it, —I say I trust that the Church will never consent to the discussion of this question as a Church, on any other footing than that of a grave, religious, Scriptural question, as to the relation that ought to subsist between Christian Churches. The question is one of such a character as to require that those who come to the consideration of it have right views, and views upon which they are substantially agreed, as to what a Church is—what a Church of Christ is—what its duty is in reference to its intercourse with other Churches. Those who come to the consideration of this question—a question bearing entirely upon the Word of God, and upon what the Word of God teaches respecting the character of a Church and the responsibility of a Church, and the mutual relation of the different branches of the Church of Christ to one another—I say, those who come to the consideration of this question ought to be men of one mind and of one heart in reference to what the Church of God is—in reference to what her standard of duty is, and in reference to what the principles really are upon which the question is to be decided—the principles, I mean, of catholicity among the different branches, here and elsewhere, of the one visible Church of the living God.

"We cannot consent to put the question raised within our Church on this matter, as it seems to me, upon any other footing. The question really turns upon this, Are we, or are we not, justified in keeping up and maintaining a friendly intercourse with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America? That question, and that question alone, will I consent to consider, and no other. Any other question that may have been raised involves considerations altogether, as it seems to me, beyond the range of the legitimate discussion of this Assembly of our Church. What I mean is, that this is the real question—the keeping up of intercourse at all. The kind of intercourse is not material, so long as it is the ordinary intercourse which, according to the Standards of our Church, we are commanded by the Word of God, to keep up with other Churches. It is expressly stated in our Standards that we are bound to keep up a connection of a friendly nature with other Churches, and with Christians all over the world; and one mode of keeping up this friendly intercourse is stated to be the giving and receiving of counsel and aid. Now, in these circumstances, we are plainly required to limit our attention to this single question, if question there be, as to the keeping up of an intercourse with the Presbyterian Church or Churches in the United States of America.

"I shall not argue that question at great length, because I do not as yet see that it is open to any argument at all. For having been brought by circumstances into friendly intercourse with the Presbyterian Church of America—let that Church be ever so guilty in any particular matter that may be urged against her—we are not yet at that stage in which the question arises of our ceasing to have friendly intercourse with her; for the very last step which any Church should take, or is entitled to take, in the way of dealing with a sister Church, with which in the providence of God she has been brought into connection—I say, the very last step the Church is entitled to take, is the step of renouncing friendly intercourse. She has a variety of duties incumbent on her to that Church with which she has been brought into connection, and she may not even listen to the proposal of breaking off all friendly intercourse, except as a proposal in the last resort, and after she has discharged all her other duties to that Church. No one who believes in the oneness of the body of Christ—no one who believes in the catholicity of the visible Church of Christ—no one who understands what is the relation of one Church to another, and one Christian community to another—can for a moment call this in question. If we are brought, in the course of God's providence, it may be inadvertently,—it may be in a manner on which we look back with regret—I put the case, though it is not the case here; but should it be so, even supposing that we regret having got into connection with that Church, and supposing, if we had it to do over again, we would avoid that step—I am putting the case in the strongest way, even assuming that we did wrong in entering into that connection—I say, having been brought into that connection, unless we are prepared to allege at once and summarily, that it has ceased to be a Church of the living God, we have other duties to discharge before we can even dream of breaking off the connection.

"I trust we are prepared to allow their remonstrances with us, as we take the liberty of addressing ours to them. I trust we are in a position to say, and maintain, and testify before all the world, that the Christian Churches in that land are not such as they have been represented to the people of this country to be, that they are not such as some here suppose them to be; that they do contain a large amount of piety and godliness among their ministers, and that the number of converted men among their ministers and congregations is, I believe, greater in proportion than will be found in almost any other Church in all Christendom. We are prepared to give credit to such representations as these, made as they have been on the best authority. We are prepared also, which is another advantage, to consider the circumstances in which they are placed, and to make allowance for the difficulties of their position, and to extend to them a measure of forbearance in dealing with a difficult question, in peculiarly difficult, irritating, and exciting circumstances. It is very easy for any man—it would be very easy for this Church—to get a great deal of popularity and a great deal of favour, by at once summarily taking up some high watchword, some strong and stern denunciation. It is very easy to get rid of a difficult question on a practical point of duty, to cut the knot, as it were, by some exaggerated and extravagant assertion of pretended principle which is to waive all the details of a plain common-sense dealing with the actual relations of life, and, leaving the Bible behind, is to go straight on to a new pitch of perfection in morality, never before dreamt of; that, I say, is abundantly easy, but that is not the task which this Church has to discharge. She may not thus evade the duty of calmly considering the question as it practically stands. It might be a refuge for us, if we needed a refuge, it might be a retreat, if we were ashamed or afraid of our position, at once to fall back upon some short and summary watchword that is supposed to have a potency that carries all before it; but that is not our duty. I would remind the Assembly and the Church that that is not our duty. We have to put ourselves, by sympathy, in the position in which those with whom we have corresponded are placed, and we have to consider the circumstances that weigh with them, and we have to form our own deliberate judgment as to what, all things considered, is their present duty in the matter, and we have then temperately to express to them our opinion.

"Let me just state, in a single sentence, the sort of principles which, I think, we ought to bring out in regard to slavery itself, and the mode of dealing with it that should be adopted by Christian Churches. I am glad to find that there is no difference of opinion, so far as I can see, among the Christians of America on the point that slaveholding is *prima facie* to be viewed as a sin, requiring it to be made clear where the sin lies, and whether the slaveholder is doing all that he can to keep himself clear of the sin, and not be a partaker of the sin of another. I say at once, in regard to the discipline of the Christian Church, the safe principle on which to proceed is this, that slaveholding demands explanation. Slaveholding ever involves sin. The only question is, Where does the sin lie? and has the individual slaveholder done all his duty in reference to this sin? Never, never let this Church, or this country, cease to testify that slavery is sin, and that it must bring down on the sinners, whether they be in Congress assembled, or as individuals throughout the land, the just judgment of Almighty God. Slavery is sin; and if I find a man a slaveholder I roll upon him the burden of making out to me that he is not a sinner. And, sir, it is on this principle, and this principle alone, that we can ever maintain that a man may sometimes be a slaveholder in circumstances in which he cannot possibly help it, in which he has no alternative but just to protest against the evil, and to seek, as we did, for its removal. Why, cases have been put in reference to America, which I suppose will be acknowledged and admitted even by some who take other views on this point, cases in which men are in the position of slaveholders in such circumstances that to get out of it would be to commit sin against God, and sin against these very slaves. But still the *onus probandi* lies with the slaveholder. To him it belongs to make out that he is not a sinner; and, *prima facie*, on the first blush of it a slaveholder presenting himself for Christian Communion is to be dealt with, to be asked why he is a slaveholder, and he must satisfy the Church that he is a slaveholder against his will, because he cannot help it, because God, in His providence, has been pleased to place him in circumstances in which he has no alternative but to continue a slaveholder, or to sin.

"I say, further, in the second place, it is another obvious principle upon this point, and perhaps I have been dealing too much with general principles, but really it seems to me that this subject having been brought before a Christian Church and this Christian Assembly, it would be idle and childish if we did not go into it fully and frankly. I say, it appears to be a clear principle of Christian duty—I am not going to quote texts of Scripture, although I could do so if necessary—but it seems to me to be a plain principle of Christian duty, that for men, whatever be their legal right of property in another, to treat him as if he were a slave, is a positive sin, contrary to the mind and will of God. If a man first shows, with satisfaction to my mind, as a Christian minister, that he is in circumstances in which he must be a slaveholder, or else sin against God, then I say to him further, You may be a slaveholder in the eye of the law, but what are you in your own eye? You may be a slaveholder so far as legal relation is concerned, but what do you think yourself to be? Do you regard yourself as a slaveholder? Do you sin against God by making your brother a piece of your goods and chattels?

Deputies from France, Belgium, and Holland having addressed the Assembly, Dr. Candlish observed—

"How much, under God, depends on its being manifested to all Christendom, that the movement in Scotland has been a movement right in the principles which originated it, but blessed also in the results which have followed it! I may speak of prosperity of an outward kind with which God has been pleased to bless us. I may say we stand forth as a Church encouraging those in other lands to the same step which God led us to take—to stand forth on the ground that they have to bear testimony before their God—before Him who has given us the promise that the man who walketh uprightly shall be provided with bread and water, and that he shall not be suffered to lack the good things of this life. We are an encouragement to others to maintain the same principles. I think it may be an encouragement even in the Canton de Vaud, where the state of popular feeling is very different from what prevails with us; for we in this country can bear testimony to this great and blessed truth, that if the pastors are enabled to be faithful to their King and Head, they may for a time seem to be left alone—they may for a season seem to lack followers among the people—but God will bless their example, as He has blessed their ministry, and by and by multitudes will be found flocking to their standard. On this ground I cannot but rejoice on account of the position which the brethren in the Canton de Vaud have taken up in resolving to remain at the posts assigned to them in their own country.

"But there is another and a higher view in which we ought to feel our responsibility as a Church. When we consider and see to what an extent the Churches of the Continent have their eyes fixed upon us,—when we consider to what an extent our example is operating in encouraging other Churches to do what we have done,—when we consider with what warmth of heart and clearness of understanding such men as our friend Dr. Cappadose (Dr. Cappadose had addressed the Assembly) appreciate and apprehend our principle to be allegiance to Christ alone,—oh, sir, when we think of all these things, have we not to reflect that God has laid on us the solemn duty of vindicating the movement which He led us to take, by the blessed fruits which He enables us to bring forth to His praise and glory? And, in this view, connecting our present meeting, and the subject of our present consideration, with the exercises in which we were engaged this forenoon (exercises of humiliation and prayer), can it fail to strike any member of this House, that after what we have this day heard, there is an additional, a solemn and affecting appeal made to us to go and seek to gather up in our several spheres, and among our several flocks, the spiritual fruit of the blessed movement that God led us to take, when He brought us out of the Establishment? Sir, we have not yet reaped the full spiritual fruit of our testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ. It was well put before us last night (by Dr. Cappadose) in a statement of our principles, that, I venture to say, I have never seen equalled in point of clearness by any statement from either side of the Channel which divides us from the Continent—it was well said that the principle for which we are contending is not a principle of liberty, but a principle of loyalty,—that the cry which we raise is not a cry of freedom, but a cry of loyalty to Christ our King; and all that we ask of our fellow-men is not that we should be free to do our own will, but free to do the will of Christ—free from all human authority, that we may be subject to the authority of Christ alone. And, can we ever forget that Christ is exalted a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance to Israel and the remission of sins? Can we ever forget the connection between the exaltation of Christ our King and the pouring out of His Holy Spirit on us? And it is not according to all analogy to believe, as I most firmly do believe, that this testimony on earth to the supreme headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, now exalted in heaven, is connected with this as its appropriate and blessed reward—an abundant out-pouring of the Spirit, which He has been exalted on high to give."

On the subject of Sabbath Observance Dr. Candlish said—

"We all know that those who plead for Sabbath travelling are not destitute of plausible arguments. They could not carry the consent of the ungodly men of the world without plausible arguments. The worldly man does not like the imputation of being openly irreligious, but he would gladly receive some plausible argument that such worldly practices are not inconsistent—not very seriously inconsistent with the Word of God; for even worldly men require plausible arguments to reconcile them to an evil system. The arguments used are so plausible that they begin gradually to approve themselves to the mind of the servant of God himself. Now I cannot but fear that some of the arguements appealed to—derived from charity, natural feeling, and humanity—by giving to it a natural show of deference to religion, keep the ungodliness of the system out of view, and, I greatly fear, are beginning to make an impression on God's own people; and, if we shall see in a few years south railways and north railways running one or two trains on the Sabbath, can we possibly anticipate any other result but that, by and by, we shall just see here, as on the Continent, good men who will look with indulgence on this Sabbath profanation, and by thus lowering the higher standard which they have been accustomed to raise, the whole country may come to think that the running of trains must be tolerated? It is our bounden duty to warn our people against listening to any plausible arguments on the subject, and to warn them against those temptations to which we all are exposed; and I would even hope and believe that in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland there may be among the proprietors of our railways enough of Christian principle to raise once more the contest which has been decided in one instance against us; and I feel assured that our first victory in favour of the cause of Sabbath observance will turn the tide in our behalf."

On the argument which was raised in the Assembly as to seat-rents forming part of the revenue of the Sustentation Fund, Dr. Candlish said—

"My great fear is, that the moment you take away from the Sustentation Fund what I take to be its distinguishing, its glorious feature, namely, that it implies an appeal to every man's conscience to judge for himself what he ought to give for the maintenance of the ministry of God's Word in the land, you take away, as it seems to me, the great charm, the great power of that institute. For when a man is charged a seat-rent, a part of which goes to the Sustentation Fund, and we go to him to put it to his conscience what he ought to give directly to that Fund, he can thereby evade the plea to his conscience; and it is quite notorious that the effect of seat-rents in former days was, that when the people had paid them, they had paid their *quid pro quo*, they thought they had paid exactly what could be expected of them. I believe that the instant seat-rents should be adopted in my congregation, that instant would be the signal for a decrease in their contributions to the Sustentation Fund; for very much of the liberality of my people turns on the fact that, without any exaction whatever, it is left entirely to their own consciences to judge what they ought to do and give for the cause of God."

In presenting the report of the Home Mission Committee, Dr. Candlish detailed at considerable length their mode of operations, and adverted to what they proposed to aim at in their future proceedings.

By this Assembly Dr. Candlish was appointed Convener of the Education Committee, and this constituted an epoch in his life; for through many subsequent years much of his energies and time were expended in the work of that Committee—a work which he carried on with marvellous success amid many discouragements and much opposition both within the Church and outside of it.

On the first day of July, at a special meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish expounded at length his views on the Education Scheme, expressing the opinion that the Free Church was in such a position as to be peculiarly fitted for imparting a thorough education to the youth of Scotland, pervaded by religion, and that probably about £23,000 annually would be required for carrying on the scheme, to provide adequate salaries for teachers and support the Normal Schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

On the 30th July he wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

"I preached at Grantown on Sabbath to about 3000 people—most attentive and impressed. I am to be from home on Sabbath first, and thereafter I must be in my own pulpit for two Sabbaths before I go south. I much fear, therefore, that my visit to you, and my exchange with Alexander, must stand over till later in the season. Now you must allow me to be very urgent and importunate in beseeching you to go to London (Evangelical Alliance meeting). We shall be miserably represented as to laymen. Spiers and Monteith would both go, but for their Registration Courts. Now it is really of vast consequence that, in such a gathering from all the world, we should muster a respectable body; and there will be difficult questions on which we need to consult one another. Let me implore you for once to be docile. It is a clear call of duty, and will be a privilege too. I feel deeply anxious on this point, and so do all our friends whom I have seen. I think you must see you ought to go. I intend to leave home on Monday morning the 17th August. Let us arrange to travel together. You may be home as early as you like on the following week."

At the ordinary meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August he moved a remonstrance to the directors of the North British Railway in regard to their Sabbath trains, and referred to the multitudes who were thus induced to travel on the Lord's day, and to scandalous scenes at Portobello and Musselburgh. He also at the same meeting spoke on behalf of the Education Scheme, and defended it against the charge of sectarianism.

On the 2d October a public meeting was held in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, on behalf of evangelical efforts on the Continent, and was addressed by the Rev. Adolph Monod. Dr. Candlish, on moving one of the resolutions, said—

"We assuredly have to take blame to ourselves, in presence of Almighty God, that so many years of peace and tranquillity should be allowed to pass—years so full of precious opportunity as regards the Continent, and that it is only perhaps towards the close of that appointed period of tranquillity that British Christians have been awakened to a sense of their duty. No sooner did peace return—no sooner had the Continent opened—than crowds rushed to it for the purposes of pleasure and enterprise; and I cannot but look on it as a somewhat signal proof of our lukewarmness and sin that it is so far in the day that we have been awakened to make a beginning in this great work. Individuals, indeed, as you have already heard, have been made instruments in the hands of God of doing great things for the Continent, but the Churches of Christ in Britain have been comparatively supine, and we cannot but feel that, should we even now be moved and led by the Spirit of God to put forth those efforts which might have been begun so much earlier, it will not be a wonderful thing, even judging from the present aspect of matters on the Continent, or judging from the ordinary course of the Lord's providence, if He make it manifest, that since we came not to His help at an earlier part of the day, He has no need of us now. But let us hope better things; and let us remember also that the future is His, and that the present alone is ours. The door is open now, and the call is loud for labourers to occupy the field; and all that is asked of us is simply our sympathy, our aid, and our prayers."

The directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway having resolved to cease running trains on the Lord's day, Dr. Candlish adverted to the fact at the ordinary meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale as an encouragement to Christians to persevere in striving against sin. He said—

"Some men were apt to think that the beginning of railway travelling upon the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was a very serious evil, and that the encouragement thereby held out to desecrate the rest of the Lord's day was the beginning of mischief to Scotland; but they considered that the thing was done, and that it could not be helped, and that they must be thankful if it did not get worse. Observe how God is rebuking this—how He is showing us that we must never sit down contented with the idea that when evil is once accomplished it is accomplished for ever. So long as God rules over the affairs of men His people are bound to struggle. We dare not seek peace at the expense of principle. We dare not let matters alone for the sake of quietness. We will not have peace on this side the millenium—we will not have peace until the Lord Himself shall give it. Our business is to continue to strive until our very testimony is put down by the violence of men."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November their attention was called by Dr. Mackay to the famine in the Highlands, caused by the total destruction of the potato crop by disease. Dr. Candlish said—

> "They were the Church of these districts, practically and beyond all question. They were the Church of the people of these districts. The prevailing destitution had come before them in a shape that awakened not only their sympathy, but a thrill of horror within them; and would it be possible that they could feel they were discharging a plain and manifest duty if they did not go to the only party who can administer relief, and testify to that party of the obligations lying on them? And he had no fear whatever that the adoption of such a course would have in the least the effect of raking up old sores, or of doing anything to irritate or offend in any quarter. He could not conceive that what they were proposing to do would be liable to any misconception. It was plain and obvious that, by adopting this course, they would be discharging the duties of patriotism, of charity, and of plain humanity; and he could not imagine that there was the slightest risk of any misunderstanding in any quarter; but be that as it might, they had just to go forward in the work which God had given them to do, and leave all the rest to him. He did not mean to reflect on the Government of this country; it was not their business here, and it would not be kindness to their suffering brethren. If, however, they were to judge from what the Government had done, and were doing in this matter, they must be miserably ill informed as to the real state of the case. That was all they could say, and he thought they were bound to say it. With such a population asking for aid, let them go at once, and appeal frankly and without reflection or blame to the Government of the country; but let it be an effective appeal to Government at headquarters—an appeal to the Government in London, supported and substantiated by ample masses of the most satisfying evidence—an appeal enforced by the most intelligent men that this Church could send to London. Let there be an appeal in all these respects, cogent and forcible, and he could not doubt that the Government would feel it to be their duty to come forward on behalf of our starving countrymen."

Afterwards, on the 18th November, a meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, called by and presided over by the Lord Provost, in regard to the destitution in the Highlands. It appears that the Lord Provost had been waited upon by a deputation, chiefly of Free Churchmen, with a view to his calling a meeting of the citizens to interest them on behalf of the starving Highlanders. They received no encouragement from his lordship. Four days afterwards, however, a new requisition was got up, which Free Churchmen were not asked to subscribe, and the meeting was called. No Free Church minister was invited to the platform, or asked to speak. The first resolution was moved by the Rev. Norman M'Leod, then minister of Dalkeith, and seconded by Lord Cuninghame. When the resolution was put to the meeting Dr. Candlish rose in the body of the hall, and was received with bursts of applause. He was requested to go to the platform, but refused. After adverting to the urgency of the case, which pressed those who knew of the destitution to take immediate action, he said—

> "My lord, I take leave humbly to say of the body to which I belong—that if they have committed the fault of making a movement by themselves and alone, it was for the reason I have just given, that they did not conceive that the public at large were sufficiently informed to go on with them ; but I venture to say for that body—I venture to pledge myself for all connected with it—that they will right heartily throw themselves now into any general movement that may be made—such a general movement being that which from the first they had desiderated. Further, I will take leave just to say, that I pledge all with whom I am accustomed to act, as I am perfectly sure I safely may, that whatever may have been already done by them for attempting to relieve the destitution in the Highlands, will not be suffered in one iota, or in one single farthing, to detract from what may yet require to be done. I am deeply persuaded that the exigency is one which no body in the community has yet adequately realised or understood. I am persuaded that what has been already contributed is but a drop in the bucket ; that it is not one-hundredth part of what we, one and all, will be called upon to sacrifice ere the next gloomy twelve months go over our heads. Such being the case, I am fully persuaded that the friends to whom I have referred will be ready again to open their purses as widely as they have done already. Nay, more than that, I believe most firmly, with the mover of the resolution,

that unless God in His merciful providence interpose—I would almost say miraculously—a few months cannot have gone over our heads before we are called upon to make such sacrifices as even at this moment we do not contemplate.

"It would indeed be a curse, instead of a blessing, to the Highlanders of our country, if we were compelled to occupy still the position of having two separate agencies for the same work. I am quite prepared—for my part—and I am certain that I may speak for all those who have moved in this matter along with me—to hand over our money, our means, and everything else, to an agency of so broad, and catholic, and comprehensive a character as will warrant the confidence of every man in the community. I will only say, before I sit down, that, over and above all the solemn reasons, which Mr. M'Leod has so well stated, for supporting the resolution, the Christians of this empire have this satisfaction, that, in relieving the wants of those destitute districts, they are ministering to not a few of the hidden ones of the Lord—His own chosen and redeemed people. God forbid that in such a calamity as this I should affect to decide between sect and sect, or between God's people and the world at large. No; we must go forward to minister to the relief of all men, whether they be Christians or not. Our cause is the cause of humanity, of our common humanity, and we must spread our relief indiscriminately. I am sure you will do this, without asking whether they whom you relieve are indeed members of the body of Christ or no; but it is a satisfaction, nevertheless, to think, that in this indiscriminate relief of so great destitution, we know that there are among them the Lord's chosen ones; and that we may therefore take to ourselves the consolation of knowing, that inasmuch as we do this to the very least of His brethren, we do it to the Lord Himself."

On the 24th November Dr. Candlish gave a lecture in the Tron Church, Glasgow, under the auspices of the Presbytery, on the Education Scheme, explaining and defending it. The Free Church was compelled by the action of the Establishment in expelling Free Church teachers to commence it, and the fact that in many parts of the country the population was committed to the Free Church constrained her to provide for the religious training of the young.

On the 11th December, by appointment of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish presided at the ordination to the ministry of Dhanjibhiah Nowroji, a Parsee youth from Bombay, who had been under training in the New College. It was an occasion of very peculiar interest and solemnity.

On the 6th January 1847 a large meeting was held in Canonmills Hall in the interests of the Sustentation Fund. Dr. Candlish was one of the speakers. After adverting to the danger of a conflict between the extension of the Church and the maintenance of the existing ministers, he said—

"Something has been said to-night about the impulse that was given at the Disruption. The impulse then given was said to have carried on this great scheme of a central fund, without any proper care having been bestowed upon it. Now, I say that the same remark applies to bringing forward young men for the ministry. The Disruption gave an impulse there too, and many a scion of many a godly house then devoted his son to the work of the Lord, to the ministry of the gospel; but that matter, too, has been left almost to itself. What effort has been made to persuade godly parents to devote their children to the ministry of the gospel? What prayer has been offered to the Lord of the harvest that He would send forth labourers to the harvest? What supply of men has been coming forward at all adequate to the emergency? We must look to this department as well as to the other; we must look to the providing of men as well as to the providing of means; and as something has been said about the importance of a day being appointed for preaching upon the great Home Mission Fund, so I hope that a day will also be appointed for preaching and praying in reference to the bringing forward of young men for the ministry. I fear that our godly youth and our godly parents in the upper and middle classes of society, have never adequately considered their duty in this respect. I feel that it will never do for us in the Free Church to depend for our supply of ministers of the gospel upon those who are merely induced from ordinary and secular considerations to come forward. I speak without disparagement of the humbler classes of society; but I say that we must have ministers of all classes, as we have people of all classes, and we must have parents and guardians moving in the better circles of society seriously laying to heart both these questions, namely, what of their funds they must give to Christ, and which of their family also, by God's blessing, they must give to him. And taking these two means together, I would fain hope that ere long we will be in a position, as a Church, to meet the demands made upon us for foreign service, and also fully and adequately to provide for carrying on a great missionary work at home."

On the 11th January Dr. Candlish addressed a meeting held in Edinburgh on behalf of the Home Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and commended the object to the hearty sympathy and support of the audience.

On the 22d of the same month he addressed a meeting in Manchester on behalf of Sabbath observance in connection with railway traffic, appealing to English shareholders to support the policy of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the beginning of February Dr. Candlish adverted to the serious inconvenience to which the General Assembly's Continental Committee was subjected from want of funds—

> "He greatly feared that the Church was not sufficiently alive to the vast importance of the Continental field, to the singular openings in providence that God was presenting to them, to the singular acceptance that God was giving them wherever their agents went on the Continent, and to the precariousness as well as the preciousness of the present opportunity. For a long period the most of the Popish countries on the Continent had been hermetically sealed against their efforts in the promotion of the cause of God ; but it was a singular fact that now, to a large extent, these countries had been opened to them ; and the Church, he believed, had yet to have her attention called far more decidedly than it had yet been to the imminent and very urgent duty of attending to the cause of God in Popish lands. This duty was intimately and inseparably connected with all their efforts against Popery itself ; insomuch that he thought there was an incongruity in the Assembly having a committee on Popery and another for the Continent. He thought that they ought to be one and the same committee."

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 10th March Dr. Candlish proposed an overture to the General

Assembly, on the distinctive principles of the Free Church. In supporting it he concluded by saying—

"I trust I am actuated, in bringing forward this subject, by no desire to promote the dispeace of Christ's Church, and to keep up needless controversy, or the needless heat of controversy, but rather because I feel that our important principles run some risk of falling out of sight and out of mind. So long as we had outstanding cases of intrusion and coercion, and so forth, men's eyes were upon them, and men's minds were exercised; but now there is some danger of men settling down into quiet indifference about the whole matter, as if the controversy were past and gone. Now, I desire to identify the history of our Church with the past, and to make it tell upon the future. I say that I would identify it with the past. I think the time has come when we should more unequivocally than we have yet done identify ourselves with the Church of Scotland from the date of her reformation from Popery; that we should, in a more unequivocal and formal manner than we have yet done, identify ourselves, out and out, with full approbation and full cordiality, with her covenanted reformation from Popery, and her covenanted resistance to Prelatic and Erastian supremacy. The time has come when we should clearly identify ourselves, more unequivocally than we have ever done since the Revolution Settlement, with the Church of Scotland from the beginning, not in any spirit of arrogant presumption or intolerance, not in any spirit of proud superiority over the other bodies of Presbyterians throughout the land who separated from the Establishment before us,—but with a full recognition of all that is due to them, we must yet take the position which history has assigned us, not we ourselves assumed, but which history has assigned us, the position of being identically the same Church with that of the Covenanted Reformers from Popery, and the Covenanted opponents of Prelacy; identified by the principles which they have handed down to us, and which we have maintained. And then, as regards the future, I cannot doubt that the time is coming when these questions will be still more narrowly searched than they are now. I believe, indeed, that the Established Church of Scotland may for a time have security, comfort, peace, and quietness; and I have no doubt that many of the friends of the Established Church of Scotland are beginning to promise themselves a long period of undisturbed prosperity. They may, perhaps, congratulate themselves that the controversy is over, that the din of war has ceased, and that now the Establishment is just as secure an institution in the land as ever it was. I anticipate, however, in the coming generation, even in the Establishment, something of a return to sounder principles in some quarters. I cannot think but that God will very likely cast into the Established Church itself the elements of this controversy again upon this vital point. I cannot think, for instance, that those who may afterwards join the Established Church from among the ingenuous youth of the land will all of them continue long in it, without some of them reviving to a sense and apprehension of the recollections and associations that are connected with the testimony of the Church of Scotland from the beginning."

At the same meeting of Presbytery he laid on the table a memorial from the trustees and congregation of the West Port Territorial Church.

"The object of the memorial," he said, "was to ask the Presbytery to take steps towards obtaining the sanction of the Assembly to this Church as a ministerial charge, and towards ordaining the Rev. Mr. Tasker as the first minister of the charge. The number of seat-holders in the congregation was 360; and of this number 350 had already signed the memorial. It was only necessary to remind the brethren that this Church had originated in the untiring and indefatigable zeal of their father, Dr. Chalmers, whose singleness of purpose, in reference to the only real and thorough method of evangelising masses of human beings, no one could view without admiration. The unchanging and untiring singleness of purpose which had characterised their venerable father in the prosecution of his scheme for elevating the masses during a long life and amid many disappointments and discouragements, could not be sufficiently appreciated. He was sure that the Presbytery could not too strongly express their anxiety to forward this most important experiment in the West Port, in which their fathers were so deeply interested, and which had already given evidence of marked beneficial results to the neighbourhood in which it was going on. They could not of course proceed to the settlement of Mr. Tasker till such time as the charge was sanctioned by the Assembly; but as there could be no doubt that the Assembly would sanction it, they could take the preliminary steps towards ordination, and, with this view, Mr. Tasker's trial discourse could be prescribed, so that everything would be in readiness for his ordination, whenever the charge was sanctioned."

Adverting to the destitution in the Highlands at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March, after detailing what the Committee had done for the relief of it in the distribution of meal and other provisions, he said—

> "The Free Church of Scotland had acted both under the impulse of stern necessity, in the first instance, and had manifested the greatest desire throughout the whole of their proceedings to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in the matter. It was quite plain that the step which the Commission of the Free Church of Scotland had taken was the first thing that awakened the community in Scotland to anything like an apprehension of the destitution being serious at all. He believed that at the time the Free Church had interfered, and had ordered her collection, the general mind of the community was in a state of utter incredulity, or was unable to see even the very existence of the calamity at all. No body in the country,—no other Church,—no other community,—no other Committee, were awakening the public in Scotland at all to a sense of the evil. And he ventured to think that the movement in the Free Church was instrumental, under the providence of God, in really opening the eyes of men to something like a sense of the appalling evil ; and still more, that the response which the people of the Free Church made to the appeal which the Commission made to them,—that the extraordinary magnitude of many of the collections, which were almost unprecedented, made on that occasion, —did more to startle the community, and to show them that there was a real crisis, than a thousand organisations of any sort could have done. He also thought that the whole proceedings of the Free Church must thoroughly satisfy any reasonable man in the community that, while from her peculiar circumstances, as being prominently and especially the Church of the people in the Highlands,—while, from her peculiar circumstances, as possessing so large a stake in the Highlands,—she was the first thoroughly alive to the danger,—she was the first and the readiest to intimate her willingness to co-operate in any general scheme for the relief of this national calamity."

At this period the Government proposed a scheme of education in which Dr. Candlish manifested a keen interest. At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in April, he proposed that a meeting *pro re nata* should be held to consider it. Then, when this proposed meeting was held, be moved the Presbytery to petition Parliament for delay in carrying into effect the Government plan. He supported a similar motion by Dr. Buchanan in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr; and in his own Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale he proposed an overture on the subject to the General Assembly. The reason for this adverse movement was the apprehension that the Government plan involved the principle of indiscriminate endowment, and that it would be wrought in the interests of Popery. The scheme was never carried into effect.

CHAPTER XIV.

Assembly 1847—*Quoad sacra* Churches—Education Scheme—Government Grants—Sustentation Fund—Death of Dr. Chalmers—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Evangelical Alliance—Sites for Schools—Changes in New College—Dr. Candlish appointed Professor—Mr. Stewart elected Minister of St. George's—His Death—Dr. Candlish's introductory Lecture as Professor—Continues his work as Minister of St. George's, and is relieved for the Session of his work as Professor—Resignation of Professorship—Sabbath Alliance—Canonbie, and Site refusing—Government Grants to Schools—Diplomatic relations with Rome—Parish Schools—Home Missions—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Theological Halls—Proposed Bill for Sites—Assembly 1848—Canton de Vaud—Church Building—Extension of Theological Education—Highlands—Sites—Education Scheme—Canton de Vaud—Proposal to appoint Dr. Duff as Professor—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—*Quoad sacra* Churches—Fountainbridge Mission—National Schools—Dr. Candlish's arm broken—Assembly 1849—Mr. Bannerman appointed Professor in New College—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Circular on Education—Address to Normal School Students—Sabbath Observance—National Education—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Proposed Chair for Pastor of Students—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—New Gaelic Church.

One of the important matters with which the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 20th May 1847, had to deal was the litigations which had arisen regarding the property of *quoad sacra* churches which had been erected subsequent to 1834, and previous to the Disruption. These edifices, amounting to nearly 200 in number, were all, by their constitution, attached to the Establishment, and more than one process had begun to eject from them the Free Church congregations actually in possession. The Assembly deemed that there was good ground for an equitable adjustment of the claims for the possession of these churches. The most of the money spent in their erection had been contributed by those who were now members of the Free Church, and since the decision in the Stewarton case, by which ministers of such Churches were prohibited from having Kirk-Sessions, and were excluded from Church Courts, the conditions of the erection of these churches could not legally be carried into effect. Dr. Candlish accordingly proposed a series of resolutions, to the effect that application should be made to the Assembly of the Establishment to ascertain whether they would consent to enter into negotiations for an equitable adjustment of the claims for these churches, and that, if necessary, an application should be made to Parliament to authorise such an adjustment. The Established Assembly at once rejected the proposal, and claimed the exclusive right of the Establishment to the possession of all these churches, and prosecuted that claim till they got possession of all of them which they deemed it their interest to take possession of.

In giving in the report of the Education Committee Dr. Candlish displayed a buoyant enthusiasm which no doubt tended greatly to promote the success of the scheme. After detailing the plans and operations of the Committee, he said—

> "The conclusion I wish to make to this report is simply this, that your Committee are more and more deeply impressed by the experience of every year with the vast and vital importance of the Free Church of Scotland providing an educational machinery at least commensurate with her ecclesiastical machinery; and an educational machinery equally sound in principle, and equally efficient as regards the best and highest interests of the people. I have been led to speak, perhaps more than was meet, in the way of apparent boasting. I have been led to bring forward assertions regarding the intellectual efficiency both of our normal schools and of our ordinary schools. If I have been tempted to err in this respect it has just been from the deep sense which I entertain of the value of this educational institute; and because I earnestly desire

that, whatever questions this Church may have to entertain relative to education,—whatever collateral topics may come before the House, she should take up these questions and topics not as a Church drowning and catching at straws,—not as a Church driven to her last resources, —but as a Church which, through faith, has entered upon a noble work, and which has, as yet at least, no cause to do anything else but thank God and take courage. I will not ask you this evening to prejudge future questions. All I say is this, that the Free Church of Scotland should take up all questions of education just now, with these two settled convictions deeply rooted in the minds of all her members—first, that, let other parties in the land do what they may, and let other schemes of whatsoever kind be proposed, this Free Church of Scotland cannot and dare not abandon the duty which God has laid upon her of providing for the thorough Christian training and godly upbringing of the youth of the land; and the other conviction I would desire to be deeply rooted in the mind of every man is, that we have abundant evidence already,—without that straining,—without extraordinary effort,—without an assessment or tax of a burdensome nature being laid upon our people,—we have it in our power, if God will but give us faith, to carry out our plan to the fullest extent which the fondest imagination ever devised; and that independent of all resources but just the free will offerings of God's people. I say again that I make no pretension to pledge either myself or this Assembly on coming questions; but I confess that I am most anxious that this House should have plainly brought before it such a report, —which is not varnished, which is not exaggerated, but which is supported and substantiated, as you will soon see when the appendix comes out, by an amount of details and of figures,—such a report as must satisfy the Church, first, that the path of duty upon which they have entered is a path which in no case can they have liberty to abandon; and secondly, that it is a path in which they need have no hesitation in boldly going forward.

"I will just close with remarking that while I have been led to dwell upon the intellectual and practical efficiency of our normal and our ordinary schools—partly, I confess, because some tendency exists, I think, in some quarters of the Church, prematurely to be discouraged and to despond; it should be ever understood that it is the mind of your Committee, and I trust it will be the mind of the Assembly and of the Church, that the distinctive character of our schools, is not their high scholarship, nor their intense practical efficiency, but their godly character—their character as being schools taught by men of God—

their character as being pervaded throughout all the branches of instruction communicated in them with the very vital spirit of the gospel. It is indeed true that the people of Scotland have not, perhaps, that preference which once they had for religious and godly schools. It is indeed true that the people of Scotland will not now, perhaps, give such a preference to a godly schoolmaster as to make them prefer him, in spite of his defective attainments, to a man of less piety but with higher qualifications otherwise. That is true. I do not wish it to be otherwise. I do not desire any change in this particular among the people of Scotland. I do not wish that this Church should make a gain of godliness, or should seek to win people to her schools from the mere character of godliness that pervades them. I am ambitious for the Free Church attaining the character of a highly intellectual and highly accomplished Church, ranking high among the educational institutions of the land ; but I cannot but think that, notwithstanding all that has passed over the people of Scotland, they have still, from the bottom of their hearts, a preference for schools in which they shall have security for the godly upbringing of their children. It is quite true that the long reign of moderatism during the last century went far to shake the principles of the people of our beloved country. It is quite true that the blight which came over the Church came also over the schools of Scotland. We know right well the system under which the schools of Scotland were managed. We know the kind of men who were appointed to these schools in generations past. Many of us who have lived in country parishes remember the kind of drones and sluggards who were put into parish schools—men often with no religious character, and many of them with no moral character to maintain ; and it is no wonder if, under such a system, the people of Scotland have got too familiar with an ungodly system of education. They got too familiar with an ungodly system in the Church. They got too familiar with moderate preaching in the ministry ; and it is no wonder that they also got too familiar with the godless system of education. The effect of this is to be seen in all classes of the community—in the higher and lower. In the upper classes it is to be deplored that there is so little regard for the godly character of the schools in which their children are taught. An amendment is, however, going on in this respect. A similar process of improvement is going on among all the population ; and I venture to say that it is not the duty of the Church to proceed upon the existing fact of a taste and preference for religious education being greatly lost from the past abuses which have prevailed in the land, but rather that it is the duty of the Church to proceed upon the principle of elevating the taste and re-creating the preference for the highest possible intellectual, and the deepest possible moral and spiritual training. And this, I repeat, is the great enterprise which God has given to this Church to achieve. She is the only body in all the land that can at present achieve it.

In connection with the Education Scheme a question was raised and discussed in the Assembly as to the acceptance of grants in aid by the Government. These grants were offered and given simply on the condition of submitting to Government inspection, and of a sum being raised locally equal to the Government grant. There was no distinction as to religious denomination, and grants were given to schools indiscriminately, whatever religion might be taught in them. There was a considerable number of ministers and others who entertained and expressed grave objections to the accepting of grants which seemed to imply indiscriminate endowment, and to afford countenance to the support of Popery; and the managers of some of the Free Church schools declined to avail themselves of the grant. The General Assembly, by a very large majority, decided in favour of the legitimacy of accepting the grants, at the same time declaring that they considered "as unsound and latitudinarian such a plan as implies that the Government make themselves responsible for the schools aided by them being religious, without discriminating between the evangelical faith of the Protestant Churches and the many vital errors which pass under the name of religion." Dr. Candlish moved the resolutions on the subject, which were adopted by the Assembly, and spoke at great length in support of them. Among other things he said—

"Among all the divisions which have broken the Presbyterian Church up into fragments, it is something Scotland has to say—and what no other country in the world can say—that in all her public schools, with scarcely any exception—I know of none—by whatever party taught, the Shorter Catechism is a standing school-book as well as the Bible, and the marvel is that this Shorter Catechism of ours is not so very brief a doctrinal summary, like the Apostles' Creed and the doctrinal Catechism of the Church of England, but a minute exposition in full, and a detail of all that is essential respecting the fall of man, and the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit of God. It is a thorough and minute exposition of all the essential departments of duty, and of all the departments of man's obligation, as well as of God's dealings with him. It brings out the whole law as well as the whole gospel of Christ. Now, this is the attainment of Scotland of which it is worth while to make boast; as in the sight of God, indeed, humbly, but before men as entitled and bound to glory in the Lord's dealings with us. In all the secessions, in all the schisms in Scotland, the Shorter Catechism is still acknowledged as the universal test of soundness in the faith among us. If we go to the rulers of this land have we not something to say when we tell them that already the public schools in Scotland, with scarcely an exception—I know not any—all of them have in common use both the Bible and the Shorter Catechism? Oh, sir, that our rulers knew their opportunity, that they knew the time, that they knew the land, at a time when men's minds over all Europe are drifting away from the standards of God's truth! If our Christian rulers would look to Scotland, and say, We see already established in Scotland a universal system of education based on the Shorter Catechism as well as the Bible. We will do nothing to disturb that system, we will introduce no latitudinarianism where none exists; and we will raise no question where none exists now; but as it is proved to be practicable in Scotland to have in all the schools the Shorter Catechism as well as the Bible, we will simply let matters in this respect alone, and give our assistance to these schools, and these alone, for these are the only schools worth maintaining in Scotland for the poor and for the people.

"I will frankly say that, if I am now in the position of moving that the Government grants may be accepted, I have come to that conclusion with considerable reluctance; but I feel on this subject far more as a Christian patriot than as a Free Churchman. It is with considerable reluctance I have come to that conclusion. It is not, as it seems to me, indispensable for our educational operations in the land that we should be aided by other parties; and I own to almost entertaining a grudge of losing the opportunity of falsifying the fears of many of our friends, and disappointing the hopes and expectations of many of our enemies, by showing that the Free Church, single-handed, is able to grapple with this great cause. I grudge that not the less that I have my apprehensions; that I fear, I dread—I am not ashamed to say it—I dread our coming again into contact with the powers of this world; I dread our being again entangled in negotiations, of which we have had too many, with the politicians of the day. I dread this, but I cannot help it; I do not see my way to keep clear of it; I do not see that this Church is in a position to shake herself clear of the responsibility of co-operating with Government in the educational work."

On May 27th he wrote Mr. Dunlop, during the sittings of the Assembly, uncertain how far he might approve of the Resolutions on education:—

"I don't know how far you will be satisfied with our proceedings yesterday. But really I was not prepared to commit myself to the principle that our protest against what seems to us objectionable in a measure within the State's competency, and laudable in its aim, precludes all co-operation, in the momentous matter of education. As to the Dissenters, I am disposed to attach comparatively little weight now to the consideration you mention. At all events, I dread the kind of Government measure they seem to wish for; the setting up by Government itself of schools without religion, much more than the present. But I have not a moment for quiet discussion; and now that the affair is over you can judge of it. We propose to have instructions to the Committee which may help to guide our people, and explain a little our position."

Speaking on the report of the Sustentation Fund Committee, Dr. Candlish said—

"The Committee have reported to us a decided increase on the fund, and a small decrease on the stipend or dividend; and this brings out the real position of the fund at this moment. There is no failure in any sense of the term, there is no going back in this important fund, but there is a going forward on the part of the Church in the planting of charges and in the preaching of the everlasting gospel. The fund is not retrograding. The fund is not, even with all the drawbacks we have had this year, stationary. It is increasing; and that, too, in circumstances which ought to be noticed, namely, that with a considerable decrease of those extraordinary contributions that were made for a few years after the Disruption, the decrease in these has been more than counterbalanced by the progressive increase from our congregational associations. But with this advance on the fund there is a decrease in the stipend or dividend, simply because the Church, in her spiritual movement, is advancing and making progress, with God's blessing, in the way of taking possession of the whole land. Now, this being the state of the fund, of course, all delicacy must be now, and henceforth and for ever, at an end. For now it plainly appears that it is the progress and extension of the Church that is to be promoted by the increase of the Sustentation Fund. And it plainly appears, moreover, that we are brought into a position in which it will be truly discreditable to the Church and the people of Scotland if we shall be left another year. If it comes to this, that the support of the existing ministry, and the extension of the means of grace among the destitute population of the land are competing and conflicting claims ; if it comes to this that these are antagonistic to one another, the honour of the Church is gone ; Ichabod may be written against her ; her glory is departed. No power of human virtue—I would go farther, and say, no promise of Divine grace will warrant us in such circumstances to hope that the Church can be faithful. If it is brought to such a point as this, that these interests are conflicting and antagonistic,—the comfortable maintenance of the existing ministry and the extension of the means of grace,—all ordinary calculation will at once tell you what must be the issue ; and we have no promise in the Word of God, in that case, to rely upon. The promise in the Word of God is bound up with the discharge of duty ; and of this duty, among the rest—'whoso provideth not for his own, and especially for those of his own household, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.' If I go forth among the naked and the hungry in the land, and dispense to them bread at the expense of my own family, I sin against the Lord, and I break that solemn commandment. Now, we are the ministers of your household—we are your family. Your first duty is to provide for us, if you would not deny the faith, and be worse than infidels ; and if you fail in the discharge of that duty any efforts you may make to dispense the means of grace to the destitute in the land, must want the divine blessing, having no warrant in the word of God."

The subject of American slavery occupied the attention of the Assembly on Saturday the 29th May, and Dr. Candlish spoke at length, and maintained the same ground he had occupied in the preceding Assembly.

When the Assembly met on Monday the 31st May their proceedings were arrested by the intelligence of the sudden and overwhelming calamity of the death of Dr. Chalmers, and they at once adjourned. When they met on the following day, Dr. Candlish proposed that, until after the funeral of Dr. Chalmers on Friday, which he believed all the members of Assembly would attend, the Assembly should suspend all its proceedings, except a meeting on Thursday for humiliation and prayer; and this arrangement was carried into effect.

At a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Edinburgh on the 12th June, Dr. Candlish expressed his desire that missions at home and abroad might occupy a large share of their attention. The influence of the Alliance, he said, was likely to be great were they to cast their eye over all heathendom, and Popedom too, and see what was doing; consider what they should exhort one another still to do, and encourage one another in the work of the Lord.

On the 21st July he wrote Mr. Dunlop as to a difficulty which had occurred in regard to sites for schools—

> "Have you time to attend to the following point: The Government, in granting aid for building, require security for the perpetual destination of the ground and building for school purposes. Now, in a case in which ground has been got all in one lot, for church, school, manse, etc., the question is, how could the holders of the property under the model deed execute a supplementary deed securing a portion of the ground for a school in perpetuity? And how could it be so done as to satisfy Government? Could you turn your mind a little to this, and write to the Advocate, who might see some of the officials before he leaves London."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August the College Committee reported the steps they had taken with a view to filling up the vacancy caused by the lamented death of Dr. Chalmers. They had first proposed that the vacant Chair should be occupied by Dr. Gordon; but on his persistent declinature, they proposed that Dr. Cunningham should be appointed Principal of the College, retaining the Chair of Church History which he then occupied. They also proposed that Dr. J. Buchanan, who had at that time the charge of the first and fourth years' students of divinity, should be appointed to the charge of those of the second and third years, and that Dr. Candlish should be appointed to the office of Professor, and have charge of the students of the first and fourth years. The congregation of St. George's, being aware of what was in contemplation, submitted to the Commission the following resolutions :—

> "This meeting view with the deepest pain and anxiety the anticipated proposal, involving a severance of the pastoral tie with a minister to whom they are so ardently attached, whose ministrations they deem so precious, and of the value of which they have had so long and profitable experience, and they strongly feel that his removal might prove most injurious to the interests of the congregation.
>
> "Farther, without desiring to prejudge the question as to the comparative importance of the charge to which it is proposed to remove him and of his present sphere, they deem it their imperative duty to press on the consideration of the Committee of Assembly, and the Commission to whom the appointment to the vacant Professorship has been committed, the serious evils to the Church at large, which, in their opinion, may result from the withdrawal of their pastor from his present most influential position.
>
> "They therefore resolve to appoint a committee to lay these grounds before the Committee of Assembly and Commission, prior to their coming to any decision, and thereafter to report to the congregation, with a view to the consideration of the course to be adopted by them."

Dr. Gordon, in proposing the appointment of Dr. Candlish, said—

> "With regard to public interests, in removing Dr. Candlish as a preacher, we all know that our lamented friend Dr. Chalmers continued to preach after he became a professor, and preached even till within a few days of his death ; and he did more by his last visit to London—by encouraging, in an effective manner, a high idea of preaching in Scotland—to remove prejudice against the Free Church, than anything that had been done for a long time. I anticipate that Dr. Candlish

will continue to act in the same way as Dr. Chalmers did, so long as God gives him health and strength to do so. I believe that Dr. Candlish can no more refrain from preaching the gospel than he can do from eating. I have no doubt whatever that he will continue to be pre-eminently the preacher of the Free Church of Scotland. I merely suggest this to the congregation in all kindness, as an individual member of the Court from which they are to suffer. I cannot conclude without saying that if my friend Dr. Candlish has one feature in his character more than another that has struck me with admiration, it is this, that he is essentially an unselfish man. If a question arises between his private interests, his personal feelings and predilections, and the interests of the Church at large, he would give all the former to the winds ; and I cannot doubt that his congregation, when they come calmly to consider of what benefit his appointment will be to the College, will imitate that generous spirit which he has ever manifested, and part with him as their pastor."

Dr. Candlish said—

"While I gain nothing in the way of personal comfort in the proposed change,—while I will perhaps lose the attachment of a congregation which no man ever enjoyed to a greater extent for a long period,—I have not the apology of grey hairs, and I am therefore willing to spend and be spent in any office to which the Church may call me. With all my leanings in favour of my congregation, I cannot for a moment, on general grounds, hesitate, if it is the mind of the Church that I ought to take the Chair. I take leave further to say, that I cannot answer for the fate of the congregation ; the issue of events is in the hands of the great Head of the Church, but I give them the assurance of my utmost aid and assistance ; and I do not believe that they will scatter. If I thought so I would leave them to-morrow. If I thought my congregation would be actuated by any such feeling it would materially lighten the pain of separation ; but I will not believe this of a congregation that has enjoyed so many tokens of God's favour and received so much credit from this Church. I would sooner believe in my own falsehood and hypocrisy than I would believe anything of this sort of a congregation I love so dearly."

Dr. Candlish having accepted the Professorship the congregation of St. George's met on the 18th August, and appointed a committee to look out for a suitable successor. That committee resolved to recommend to the congregation the Rev. Alexander Stewart of Cromarty; and at a meeting held on the 22d September they unanimously resolved to call Mr. Stewart to be their pastor. In due time the call to Mr. Stewart was largely signed, and the usual steps taken for his translation. Mr. Bell says—

> "As fears were entertained that Mr. Stewart, who was a retiring, sensitive man, might shrink from accepting a call to a position so onerous and conspicuous, and that his congregation and the presbytery might support him in that feeling, Dr. Candlish, accompanied by Sir James Forrest, one of his elders, set off for Cromarty, with the view of reconciling all parties to the proposed arrangement. Dr. Candlish was taken ill at Perth and returned home, while Sir James proceeded on his journey. Meanwhile a day was fixed for a meeting of the Presbytery of Chanonry, when all parties were to be heard, and when the matter would be virtually settled. Mr. Stewart, under the pressure of mental anxiety, took fever; the presbytery met and immediately adjourned; and Mr. Stewart was too ill to see the deputation from Edinburgh, consisting of Dr. Gordon, Dr. Mackellar, Dr. Clason, and Mr. A. M. Dunlop. On the early morning of Sabbath, November 7th, the last-named gentleman reached Edinburgh with the solemn intelligence of Mr. Stewart's death."

He died on Friday, 5th November, and the sad intelligence produced a very solemn impression on the congregation on the following Sabbath.

On the following Tuesday, Dr. Candlish delivered his introductory lecture as Professor, in St. Luke's Church. Mr. Maclagan says—

> "I remember it well; and the feeling of awe, almost dismay, with which we saw our minister entering upon his new labours, while our desolate congregation was mourning the overthrow of all its plans and hopes as to a successor. He closed his lecture with these solemn words —'Man after man is cut off from among us. The witnesses of the Church's recent testimony, the champions of her recent contendings, are fast disappearing from the stage. Welsh, Brown, Brewster, Muirhead, Chalmers, Hamilton, all are gone; and now another standard-bearer, on whom all eyes were fixed, is fallen. Our ranks are thinned; we go the way of all flesh, and the place that once knew us will know us no more. And you, gentlemen, are to be our successors. We leave

> you a noble legacy ; we commit to you a sacred trust ; we summon you to a holy work—the work of Scotland's evangelisation. It is in solemn circumstances that you are studying for the ministry ; may God enable you to be faithful.' "

On the 8th November he wrote to Dr. Cunningham, as Principal of the New College, requesting to be relieved of the duties of the Professorship during the session just begun, in order that, under the very peculiar circumstances, he might be enabled to carry on the work of the pastorate in St. George's, as the only expedient for preventing injury to the congregation—

> "I am unwilling," he said, "to do injustice either to myself, or to the students, or to the College, by anything like a partial or fragmentary course of lectures or examinations. I would wish to reserve myself entirely, until, if it please God, I am in circumstances to carry out my full ideal of what the conduct of a class should be ; and I have so overwhelming a sense of the magnitude and responsibility both of the duties of the Chair and of the cares of the pastoral office that I desire to give myself wholly to the one or the other, and not be distracted between them."

The College Committee and the Presbytery both acquiesced in this proposal, and thus, almost without any interruption, Dr. Candlish resumed his labours in the congregation. These continued till the meeting of Assembly in 1848, when he resigned the office of Professor with a view to his continuing minister of St. George's. His purpose of taking this step he had intimated to his congregation and presbytery early in January. He was led to this conclusion partly by the remarkable providential occurrence which had prevented the settlement of a minister in St. George's ; but still more by the persuasion that it had become the general opinion in the church that it would be more conducive to its interests were he to continue in the work of the pastorate. The Assembly accepted his resignation, although against the strongly expressed remonstrance of several members, and, in compliance with a memorial from the kirk-session and congregation, reponed him as minister of St. George's. Thus terminated the third and last attempt to separate Dr. Candlish from the ministry of St. George's.

His appointment to and acceptance of the Professorship did not in the least interrupt his labours in the general interests of religion and philanthropy and in the business of the Free Church. At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the beginning of October he proposed that they should request the Moderator of Assembly to call a special meeting of the Commission to appoint a day of thanksgiving for the abundant harvest; and when, in compliance with this requisition, the meeting of Commission was held on the 20th October, on his motion a day was appointed for special religious services of thanksgiving and humiliation.

On the subject of Sabbath Observance, and on occasion of the formation of the Sabbath Alliance, he spoke first in the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and afterwards, during November, at two separate meetings held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh.

While engaged in such services as these his mind was harassed by the news of Mr. Stewart's illness, and on the 5th November he wrote Mr. Dunlop, who had gone north to prosecute the call to St. George's—

"Your letter was rather a relief to me, as I got one yesterday from Thorburn of Inverness still more alarming in its account of Stewart's illness. Still it is most painful and distressing."

He suggests that if possible Mr. Stewart might be brought south for medical advice, and concludes by saying—

"These dark providences are very solemn to me, and personally I feel them dark indeed. May the Lord himself give light and direction."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at the beginning of December he spoke on the pastoral superintendence of students attending the Free Church College, and suggested that the Professors be requested to ascertain what minister each student attended, and to send to each minister the names and addresses of students attending his church, that they might be suitably cared for. He also spoke earnestly in support of the efforts then being made over the Church in the interests of the Sustentation Fund. Moreover, he called the attention of the Presbytery to the early death of Mr. Innes, recently ordained minister at Canonbie. He said—

"Since the time of the Disruption it had fallen to Mr. Innes to occupy a post, of which I can only say that it is one hallowed, so to speak, by the fact of his martyrdom. I have no hesitation in giving it as my deliberate opinion, confirmed, I think, by facts, that our beloved brother has fallen a victim to the persecution which the congregation at Canonbie have had to bear. Some of us may have read in the public prints, in the *Witness* of this morning, extracts from the evidence which Mr. Innes gave before the Committee on Sites during the last session of Parliament. He there describes in a graphic and clear style, but with great simplicity, the hardships he had to endure, and describes them rather as hardships to which the congregation were subjected than himself. I can bear my full testimony to the accuracy of the account he has given. I preached several times at Canonbie; and I know perfectly well what it is to preach in the tent there. I will only say that it was the most oppressive ministerial labour I ever remember to have undergone. I am sure that none of us can have read with dry eyes the answer, as recorded in this morning's paper, which Mr. Innes gave when giving his evidence. I refer to the noble answer, the Christian answer, the answer worthy of a confessor, which was wrung from him when the question was put to him—a question very likely suggested by the very appearance of the man; for when I saw him last, as he passed through Edinburgh, I was shocked at the change which a few years had made upon his previously healthful countenance; when, in answer to the question, whether he himself had suffered any loss of health in consequence of the exposure to which he was subjected at Canonbie, he uttered a sentiment, truly in the spirit of those who count not their lives dear for Christ's sake and the gospel's, that it became not a minister of Christ to make any such complaint at all. He had nothing to say of his own sufferings, but only of the sufferings of the congregation.

"I cannot trust myself to speak of the nature of the hardships of the persecution which is now bearing such bitter fruit throughout Scotland. We have had more than one victim in this cause; we have lost more than one of our ablest men under this oppressive system Need I refer to the father and son in Sutherlandshire, who lie in the grave, the victims of this oppressive system (Messrs. Mackenzie of Tongue)? Need I refer to our brother in a neighbouring presbytery, Mr. Baird? Need I refer to these cases, as affording evidence of victims to this oppression? Let us be thankful to God that this oppression has in many instances ceased. Over Sutherlandshire there is now liberty to worship; and in the district to which I last referred there is liberty to worship God. But the system is still persevered in; and here we have another, perhaps still more striking, instance of its awful results. We have the fall of a man in the prime of youth, in health, and in strength, manifestly occasioned by the infamous system of limiting the law of toleration, and by refusing to the people the opportunity of worshipping God according to their consciences. It becomes a very solemn and awful thing for the Church to contemplate the filling up of such a vacancy as this. It is like being baptized for the dead, to ask men to come forward as successors to those who were thus cut off. That we will have men coming forward I have no manner of doubt. I can already anticipate that many of our probationers, imbued with the same Holy Spirit as Mr. Innes was, will be willing to run all risks. That congregation will not be allowed to want a supply of ordinances. I trust the Church will specially care for their interests, and will specially watch over them; but oh, sir, is it not a solemn thing that the great ones of the earth, if they would but consider it, are thus making themselves responsible for cutting off one after another of those who are the very salt of the country. Do they think that when godly ministers are thus cut off, that a degraded population will be a more sure stay for the aristocracy or the Crown than a population trained in habits of Christian godliness? It is a miserable infatuation. They may succeed in cutting off one after another of those who occupy such dangerous outposts; but what will they gain by it? They will gain a population sinking in the scale of social order as they are deprived of the enjoyment of religious privileges; but we, I trust, will consider these men in pity. We will not suffer them, God helping us, to reap the fruits of their own sin."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at the beginning of January 1848, he spoke in support of three overtures transmitted by last General Assembly—(1) That probationers should not be allowed to accept calls until one year after being licensed; (2) as to the mode of procedure in vacant congregations; (3) on the constitution of schools.

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in February there was a long discussion on an overture to the General Assembly, proposed by Mr. Moody-Stuart, against accepting grants from Government in support of Free Church schools. Dr. Candlish, in opposing the overture, said—

"The Church claims as her own the dispensation of ordinances, the preaching of the word, the exercise of discipline, and all strictly ecclesiastical functions; and in regard to these we cannot listen to any proposal of any co-operation with Cæsar or the Civil Magistrate, except on terms thoroughly and out-and-out satisfactory. But it is a very different thing with regard to education. I look upon education to be just as secular as several other things in which the Church may be asked to co-operate with the Government. We may be asked to co-operate with Government in regard to making provision for the poor, or in regard to relieving destitution such as occurred last year in the Highlands. Now, in regard to these matters, I confess that to bring to bear on them the principles that should regulate the Church in any alliance with the Government upon her strictly proper and peculiar functions, would seem to me to be running into the very error of confounding things sacred and secular. The work of education falls within the province of the Church, and she is warranted in prosecuting her Education Scheme, but in no sense is she bound to prosecute it as she is bound to preach the gospel and dispense ordinances. The work of education stands on common ground between the Church and the State.

"Great and grievous as are the errors of Government, and great and grievous as the consequences will be, I doubt if we are entitled to call them apostate for what they have done. They have not done it from any pure love of idolatry or of Socinianism; they have done it as statesmen involved in great difficulty, and from views of political expediency. Doubtless in this they have done what is sinful. But Christian men are guilty of sins, and yet are not treated as apostatising or apostate. But, at any rate, all I say is, that our connection with the Government in the matter of education is not such as to compel us to decide the question either the one way or the other. I just take my stand on the broad principle which I think Scripture will be found to support, that the mere acceptance of money for a good end does not lay upon me the obligation of being responsible for the character of the individual from whom it comes; and if the opposite principle is to be carried out, I cannot see how we can have any fellowship with the world at all, or act in it at all."

At the same meeting of presbytery Dr. Candlish proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare an overture to the Assembly for a better arrangement of the Collections for the Schemes of the Church.

On the 24th February, a public meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, to oppose establishing diplomatic relations with Rome. At this meeting Dr. Candlish moved the first resolution, and, in supporting it, said—

"How wretched is the infatuation that would lead our statesmen, just when Ireland is groaning under the curse of Popish tyranny, ignorance, and darkness,—when the priesthood of Ireland are just the very obstacles in the way of Ireland's pacification,—how wretched is the infatuation that would bring us into treaty with the high priest of the order. In the meantime, no doubt, he will still the tumult of the people, and whisper the word of peace. A scene has been fairly got up. A correspondence passes between one of the bishops of Ireland and one of the Roman Catholic noblemen in England. The bishop is violent, ultra-violent, breathing forth fire and fury. The nobleman is trying to appease the prelatic wrath. The Pope steps in, speaks a word, and all is quiet. He turns round and says, see how I can govern Ireland for you,—see how I can pacify your agitators,—see what I can do for the preservation of the integrity of the empire. You hear it already said that, by means of this intercourse, everything goes on quietly. If his Holiness lift his little finger Ireland is quiet. If he hold it down, however, it is up again. Dr. M'Hale may speak out as he chooses, and another O'Connell may rise to-morrow, but his Holiness will keep them in order. And is it really come to this, that this great empire is to consent in this way to be at the mercy of that foreign ecclesiastic, who, call him as you may, the sovereign of the Roman States, is yet the doomed Man of Sin; according to the Word of God—the impersonation of Antichrist. It is sheer drivelling folly to talk about an alliance with the Pope being an alliance with a man who, in addition to his temporal sovereignty, happens to hold an ecclesiastical character. What is his ecclesiastical character? What is he? I will not divide him—I cannot divide him. I will not grasp his right hand as sovereign of the Roman States and disown his left hand as the sovereign Pontiff—as Antichrist, the Man of Sin. I know him as he is. I speak not of the man but of the office. I cannot analyse him, I cannot break his mind and body into two. I cannot see one half of his head as the Roman Pontiff and the other half of his head as the head of the Italian States. I cannot clasp him on the one side, while I dare not touch him on the other. I know him but as the Pope; I know him but as the enemy of Christ; I know him but as the antagonist of His gospel; I know him as the suppressor of the Bible; I know him as the burner of heretics; I know him as the deposer of princes; I know him as giving dispensation from the oath of allegiance; I know him as putting down and raising up the kings of the earth; I know him as cursing my beloved Queen from the altar; I know him in these characters; I refuse to know him in any character separate from these; and I say that the nation is bound to refuse to own him in any character separate from these. He is not a friend to be embraced, not a babe to be fondled, but a giant power rising as if refreshed with wine, from a long sleep,—a giant power that is at this moment threatening the liberty of Europe, with all his show of liberalism, more than ever he did, I believe, since he sat on the seven Italian hills."

Dr. Candlish, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh held on the last Wednesday of February, spoke in support of an overture to the Assembly proposed by Dr. Begg, towards procuring an amendment of the Acts of Parliament which gave the entire control over parish schools to the Established Church. And at the meeting of Commission, on the week following, he spoke on behalf of the movement which was then in progress for increasing the Sustentation Fund. He also pleaded for more effectual aid being given to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland for extending that church among the Roman Catholic population of Ireland.

In the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 8th March, he supported an overture to the Assembly on the subject of Home Missions, observing that

"They could not look abroad on the state of the masses of the population in large towns and in the manufacturing districts,—they could not open the newspapers and read the tidings there from day to day, without being more and more solemnly impressed with the conviction that this Church had a great duty to discharge at the present time to the country; and he would rejoice if, in connection with this overture, the Assembly would seriously consider how they could operate upon their out-field population by preaching the gospel in the open air, or wherever they could get a congregation, and what men and means could be spared for planting new territorial churches and schools in all the destitute places throughout the land."

On the 4th April he wrote Mr. Dunlop, enclosing suggestions from Mr. Andrew Gray, Perth, in reference to a bill which Mr. Cowan was proposing to introduce in the House of Commons for adjusting disputes about the property of *quoad sacra* churches. He says—

"You will see how the Committee have settled the matter. And, indeed, I don't think we could satisfy the Assembly or the Church without at least having an attempt made to get a bill introduced. Then, besides the adjustment amicably of the property, there are two other points to be inserted in the bill, namely—(1) the attaching of *bona fide* debts to the churches when seized, and (2) the preventing of demands for repetition of money received during occupancy, as in the Manchester case. Will you do as Cowan wishes in regard to giving him the title of a bill, and drawing up the bill itself? The sooner the better. If we go on with the bill we may force a compromise in regard to these other parts of it as to debts, etc."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 5th April, Dr. Candlish spoke in favour of the establishment of Theological Halls at Glasgow and Aberdeen as well as at Edinburgh, and moved that the presbytery should express this opinion to the General Assembly. His motion was defeated by a majority of six.

On the 22d April he wrote to Mr. Hog of Newliston in reference to a proposed bill for securing Sites for Churches. The proposal issued in the appointment of a committee, to inquire into the grievance complained of. The evidence which was led before the committee was such as superseded the necessity of a bill—the site-refusers having agreed to grant sites—

> "I find I shall be in London on the 3d of May, and I must remain till the 10th or 11th. But I can scarcely stay longer, as I must be in my own pulpit on the 14th, and I have Assembly business to prepare for. I may probably take a run to Liverpool or Brighton during my stay; but I can easily give the larger portion of my time to the Sites business. You will of course be then in London. Begg will be there part of the time. Should we not try to get Bouverie, Cowan, and our other friends to arrange beforehand for our meeting with M.P.'s in detachments? You might also have a morning or breakfast meeting with some of the leading friends of civil and religious liberty among the Dissenters, etc., who will all be in London then. Some one should go up before to try what arrangements can be made. I hope no time will be lost in privately securing the Canonbie site. Keep George Bell at the business till he closes it."

Again, on the 19th May, the day after the opening of the Assembly, he wrote to Mr. Hog—

> "I rejoice in the success of the Sites Bill. It has delighted us amazingly. Surely the hand of God is in it; for it is a wise and reasonable judgment. I agree with you that the restriction to the Free Church should come from others and not from us. But if others propose it we should not object. Did you see the movement of the Congregational Board against us? Alexander moves the resolutions. I think we might have a good public meeting here before the bill goes into Committee. What say you of this? Nothing new here. We had a delightful meeting this forenoon, and a capital address from Gray of Perth. You must appear among us."

From a letter addressed to Mr. Robert Paul on the eve of the meeting of Assembly it appears that Dr. Candlish was already apprehensive of some covert opposition to the Education Scheme, which not long afterwards was developed, and cost him much trouble and vexation.

At the meeting of the General Assembly in May 1848, after deputies from Foreign Churches had been heard, Dr. Candlish said—

"We have been apt to speak a great deal of ourselves—to speak of our sufferings,—and we have suffered by our separation from the Establishment ; and it is an interesting thing to trace the exact correspondence between the sufferings we have endured and those of our brethren in the Canton de Vaud. If they have been charged with seeking political ends, so have we. If they have been debarred from the free worship of God, so have we. If they have been calumniated in their characters, so have we. But there is no comparison, in point of degree, between our sufferings and those of our brethren. God has blessed us with the fullest and freest toleration. The denial of our rights and privileges is with us the exception, not the rule ; but when we hear of the sufferings of the brethren in the Canton de Vaud, and hear them spoken of, as to-night we have heard—without exaggeration, without even emphasis, with so much calmness, so much meekness, so much moderation—I think we may learn a lesson, if the Lord gives us grace to profit by such an example. Our brother Scholl (the deputy from the Vaud) was introduced to us—he introduced himself as a banished man—as a man now lying under sentence of banishment to his native parish ; and he has most affectingly detailed the recent incident of his being called, along with the widow of Vinet, before the Commission of Police. I will read to you the sentence of banishment."

Having read it, he continued—

"When I call to mind the scene which Mr. Scholl has so touchingly brought before us, and remember who the lady was who stood beside him in that police office—for it was just a police office ; when I call to mind who was his fellow-sufferer there, and is his fellow-sufferer now as being subject to the fine—the widow of the man who was called, and deservedly called, the Chalmers of Switzerland ; when I think of such indignities as these, of the wrong and contumely inflicted on the widow of a man of whom all Switzerland might be proud, and to whose family all Switzerland might rejoice to do honour, I say I cannot but mourn over the degradation of religion in that unhappy land."

When the report of the Church Building Committee was given in, Dr. Candlish proposed, and the proposal was unanimously adopted, that "the Assembly instruct the Committee to communicate with such other non-established bodies as may be interested in obtaining an alteration of the law to do away with the necessity of the renewal of the investiture of places of worship on the death or failure of the trustees originally named, and to co-operate with such bodies in obtaining the passing of an Act of Parliament for that purpose." Such an Act of Parliament was afterwards passed through the instrumentality of Mr. Dunlop, who was then M.P. for Greenock.

In this Assembly there was a very keen and protracted discussion on the Extension of Theological Education, which, in its progress, became very embittered, and for a season severed some of the closest friends. It estranged Dr. Candlish and Dr. Cunningham from each other for several years—the latter resisting the establishment of more Theological Colleges than one, and the former advocating the establishment of such colleges at Aberdeen and Glasgow. In this Assembly the motion of Dr. Cunningham was adopted in preference to that of Dr. Candlish by a majority of sixty-three. It would be contrary to the design of this work to enter into the merits of the controversy or even to trace its history. A few sentences only are given from the speech of Dr. Candlish in the Assembly as indicating his views on the subject and the grounds of them. He said—

> "I frankly avow myself one of those who think that in Glasgow as well as in Aberdeen the Free Church of Scotland must ultimately contemplate having a Theological Hall, and I am anxious, therefore, that the resolution which this House may be asked to adopt should not be limited to, or even primarily set forth, the peculiar claims of Aberdeen. I am quite well aware that any extension of the means of theological education must, in the first instance, take place in the direction of Aberdeen, both because of the importance of the situation of that town as the centre of the North of Scotland, and also because we have already taken steps towards the commencement of a Theological Institute there; but, at the same time, I think that on this, the first occasion when the Free Church of Scotland has in its Supreme Court been called to entertain the question of the extension of the means of theological education, it is of importance that the question should be presented to the Assembly in its broadest and most general aspect;

and I am quite well aware that in so presenting it to the Assembly we subject ourselves to some disadvantage. We might have some advantage in pleading simply for the extension of the means of theological education at Aberdeen, founded upon the past proceedings of this Church, but I am content to waive altogether any such advantage, and to peril the cause upon the assertion of a general principle, which may be applicable to Glasgow as well as to Aberdeen.

"I happen to have been all along of opinion that the means of theological education ought to be extended. I have said so repeatedly, both in Committee and in the Courts of the Church; and I have always been decidedly convinced that while sometimes, as it seemed to me, our Aberdeen friends pressed their claims rather unseasonably, not giving time to us to consider the subject, yet that the extension of the means of theological education beyond the limits of Edinburgh was an object which the Church ought to keep clearly and fully, and always in view, till it be attained. I cannot but rejoice in the opening of this question to-day. There are indeed some inconveniences and something very unpleasant connected with our being engaged in a debate on opposite sides, and in the somewhat formidable position we occupy when we are arranged against our brethren who are opposed to us. Nevertheless, if the Free Church of Scotland will not be in a hurry, if she will take time, if she will give the country time, if she will give the laity as well as the clergy time to consider the subject maturely, I have no fear of the ultimate result. I think it a very happy circumstance—I think it in some respects a providential circumstance, that thus early in our career we have been brought to entertain seriously and deliberately this great question. We have had this day brought out the two great objects which, in connection with theological education, this Church ought to keep in view—the one object being the providing of the most efficient theological instruction, and the other the providing an adequate supply of gospel ministers for all the land. If there be any difference of opinion at the bottom, between us and our friends who are opposed to us, it seems to be substantially in the order in which we place these two great ends. Our friends who are opposed to us seem to regard as the paramount end we ought to keep in view the raising of the standard of theological education, and providing the very highest and most efficient theological education that the Church can afford in some one place or other. We, on the other hand, are disposed to regard as the paramount object—if they must be put in competition with one another—an adequate supply of gospel ministers for all the land, and for all the exigencies of this Church both at home and abroad. I cannot but anticipate good from the bringing simply and properly before us these two great ends, which the Church ought to keep in view. I do not regard them as by any means incompatible. I do not desire to plead them as antagonistic, but I am quite free to confess that, whereas our friends on the other side are disposed to regard the raising of the standard of theological education as the paramount object, I am, on the other hand, disposed to regard the providing an adequate supply of gospel ministers for the country as the object we ought chiefly to aim at."

On giving in the Report of the Gaelic Committee, Dr. Candlish said—

"In the Highlands they had to send forth ministers among a people thirsting for the gospel; and in the Lowlands they had to send forth ministers among a people that needed to be awakened. But while these two objects were equally distinct from each other, they were at the same time equally incumbent on the Free Church of Scotland. He would not set them in competition with each other. He felt that the Free Church of Scotland must do her duty,—the duty involved in her name,—equally between them; ministering alike to the thousands in the Highlands and the masses in the Lowlands. The great want in the Highlands was the want of a more abundant supply of pastors. The experiment which they had adopted of sending forth deputations, appointing catechists, and other services of that sort, he considered to be but temporary, and he trusted that they were reckoned so by the Church. The great problem, consequently, which they had to solve was, how to raise an abundant supply of ministers for that field? That problem the Church must set herself to solve more than she had yet done. In the Lowlands it was a different problem which they had to solve,—a problem which was indicated by Mr. Gray in his admirable address at the opening of the Assembly, when he said, 'O, for a Scottish John Wesley! O, for a Scottish Whitfield!' Both of these were the incumbent and pressing duties of the Free Church; and the consideration of these duties must come speedily to occupy their attention."

On the Report of the Committee on Sites, and the application to Parliament for a bill to secure Sites, Dr. Candlish said—

"I take the liberty of referring for a moment to parties not in this Church who have blamed us for this movement,—a movement involving the assertion of the principles of toleration ; and I may express my surprise that there should have been found in the ranks of our non-Established brethren,—that there should have been found among the friends of civil and religious liberty,—any who regard the passing of such a measure as we solicit as an infringement upon any principle which the Church of Christ is called on to maintain ; and, above all, I cannot but express my unfeigned astonishment that it should have been supposed by any party that the passing of a measure like this has anything whatever to do with the asserting of the principle of a National Establishment. It appears, however, somehow, that when we ask that the religious toleration which is given by the State shall not be frustrated by individual landed proprietors, we are asking the State to bring the secular arm to bear upon the operations of religion. What are we demanding ? Simply that when the State sees fit to tolerate any form of the worship of God, it shall not be competent to the proprietors of the soil to make void the law of toleration enacted by the State. Now, to contend that we by this measure are bringing the power of the State to bear upon the promotion of religion, seems to me to indicate a strange confusion of ideas, for I cannot help thinking that the same principle which would make a man regard it as a part of the Establishment doctrine to enforce the selling of sites for churches, would also lead a man to regard it as a part of the Establishment doctrine to ask the interference of the police to preserve order in public worship, or the interference of the State for the protection of religious services. Surely the protection by the State of any lawful form of worship does not imply the endowment by the State of that form of worship. I cannot think that the most extreme of our Voluntary friends will push that argument so far as to say that it is not the duty of the State to secure to all forms of worship which are not dangerous both toleration and protection."

On giving in the Report on the Education Scheme, after adverting to the operations of the Committee Dr. Candlish said—

"We are in circumstances to be, to a large extent, the educators of the youth of Scotland. We are in circumstances to take advantage of what assistance Government can give us, and upon the only principle on which assistance for education ought to be given. I rejoice in being able at all to co-operate with Government in any good work of this kind ; and I consider that this Church is in a position more thoroughly than any other body in the country to go forth and possess the land. We have the confidence of the people. They send their children freely to our schools. We are also free in this matter from many of the trammels which hamper our friends in the Establishment. We must therefore not allow this opportunity to pass away without taking advantage of it, else we may, by deferring it, meet with difficulties and embarrassments that will in future prevent us from occupying the field that is lying before us. There is no proposal of any scheme for education that can possibly thwart or impede our proceeding. We possess the means of giving a literary and commercial training to all that come forward for the common business of life ; and we possess the means of giving a higher scholastic training for all who show an inclination, and have the talent, for the higher walks of professional education and enterprise. We have besides the means of religious instruction for all."

On the 5th July a meeting was held in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, to hear an address from Mr. Scholl, and to express sympathy with the Church in the Canton de Vaud. At that meeting Dr. Candlish said—

" The brethren in the Canton de Vaud were maintaining principles founded on the Word of God, and which were essential to the integrity and purity of the Church of Christ on earth, involving as they did the glory of the Redeemer, and the efficiency of the Christian Ministry. He did not require elaborately to prove that the principles for which they were contending were identical with those maintained by those who, for conscience sake, separated—whether in former times or more recently—from the Establishment in this country ; but he might take the liberty of saying that the only formal ground for separating from the Establishment of the Canton de Vaud was simply the Erastianism of the Establishment, and the Erastian encroachments of the civil power which were carried into effect. As to the precise spiritual matter in regard to which that took place, he held that to be a very subordinate matter. They could not but regard it as a remarkable circumstance that so much stress was laid in modern times upon the maintenance of this principle, not by any design of man, but evidently by leadings of God's providence. One could not but be struck with this as a remarkable feature of the present times, that Providence seemed to be forcing on the pure Protestant Evangelical Churches in all lands more and more the same principle, of the maintenance of the sovereign authority of Christ in his own house, and the liberty of the Church and His people under Him. And who knew but that the persecution in the Canton de Vaud might be designed by Providence to make that little Church a city set on a hill; on that account it demanded more of their sympathies and prayers, that their brethren there might be enabled, as in the sight of God, to acquit themselves like men.

"It was very striking that this public persecution of the Church of Christ,—this public suppression of the liberty of worshipping God,—should have proceeded from a revolutionary government,—from a government and country that were thoroughly democratic. He could not but regard this as a striking warning to the nations of the earth,—he could not but look on it as a warning which might be laid to heart by those in this land. In these days in which they lived they had been accustomed for a long time to regard the evils of persecution, of fine, of imprisonment, and of banishment for religion and for conscience sake, as tales of a time gone by. They had been accustomed to place great faith in the progress of liberal opinions and in the advance of liberal governments. It was, however, high time that Christians everywhere, aye, and men of patriotism, should be made aware of this fact, that it was not the progress of liberal opinions, nor of liberal governments, that would secure toleration for the truth of God, and for liberty to worship God, but only the acknowledgment, by communities and their governments, of God as the sole Lord of the conscience, and as the sole object of human worship."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August, on the recommendation of the College Committee Mr. Bannerman of Ormiston was nominated as Professor of Theology in the New College, Edinburgh; and a motion having been made for delay, Dr. Candlish strongly urged an immediate appointment. On a division, however, the motion for delay was carried by a considerable majority.

In connection with the Education Scheme, on the motion of Dr. Candlish the Rev. Robert Cunningham was appointed Secretary of the Committee in room of Mr. Gibson, who had been appointed Government Inspector of Schools.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in the beginning of October, Mr. Moody-Stuart proposed a motion against indiscriminate Endowments by Government, and also that the "acceptance by the Church of Endowments for her

Ministers, granted on such principles, has no warrant in the Word of God, in the Standards of this Church, or in her past history as the Church of Scotland." Dr. Candlish moved the previous question, which was carried, Mr. Moody-Stuart's motion not having found a seconder.

When the presbytery again met in November Dr. Candlish was detained by indisposition from being present, and consequently a motion by Mr. Moody-Stuart against the extension of Government aid to Roman Catholic schools was postponed. He was, however, happily so far restored as to be able to appear at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in the same month, when, adverting to the threatened danger of the endowment of Popery, he moved an instruction to the Moderator to call a special meeting of Commission so soon as circumstances might transpire to render such a step necessary.

At the same meeting he supported a proposal that Dr. Duff should be appointed Professor of Theology to supply the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Chalmers. This proposal was the result of a communication from the Committee on Foreign Missions to the effect that they had desired the return of Dr. Duff to this country early in 1849, partly with the view of recruiting his health and partly that he might awaken a fresh interest in Foreign Missions, the funds at the disposal of the Committee not being sufficient to meet their obligations. The proposal of the Professorship was afterwards departed from, in consequence of the decidedly adverse judgment of Dr. Duff.

On the 3d January 1849, at the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish spoke on the breaking up of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth, the missionaries having been expelled by the Austrian Government, and on the proposed return of Messrs. Smith and Wingate, who had been missionaries at Pesth, to the Continent to resume their labours, and invited Mr. Smith, who was present, to address the presbytery. At the same meeting he supported an overture proposed by Dr. Begg on innovations in public worship, adverting particularly to the evils that were likely to follow from substituting an evening diet of worship on the Lord's day for the afternoon diet, and to the impropriety of separating the preaching of the Word from the dispensation of the Lord's Supper, by an interval even of half an hour.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 15th January, he spoke on behalf of the Sustentation Fund, and supported the views expressed by Dr. Tweedie as to its improvement, expressing, at the same time, his confidence in the liberality of the people, if appealed to in a kindly and Christian way.

Dr. Candlish, at the annual meeting of the Sabbath Alliance in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, after reading the Report, adverted in strong terms to the desecration of the Sabbath by railway travelling.

On February 1st he wrote Mr. Dunlop, with the view of obtaining for the Education Scheme an advance of £750, of which £250 were for the Normal School. "This," he said, "is really by far the most urgent matter at present outstanding, and if we had £750 from your fund, I would reckon it well nigh settled. We would then be sure of the Government grant, and would have the whole cleared off at once."

Again, in the interest of the Education Committee, he wrote Mr. Dunlop on the 12th February—

> "I have a snug little job for you to manage at Court. In other words, I want you to bring before Sir George Grey two matters. The first is the accompanying Memorial to the Lords of the Privy Council (the purport of the Memorial may be inferred from this letter) about the grant to our Normal School. I am very anxious to get it influentially brought under Lord Lansdowne's notice, and I think you might possibly interest Sir George Grey so far as to get him to move the President. The Memorial is already in the hands of their Lordships. I send you a scroll copy, and will forward, if you like, a clear one.

But, meanwhile, to save time, I send the scroll which is legible and distinct enough. I think we make out a strong case. The precise point to be pressed is this—the Government grant is in the proportion of one-half of what local parties raise, or a third of the whole. Now, if they will reckon this £2000, or thereabouts, as the expense to which we have been put in providing interim accommodation, etc. (and that is decidedly within the mark) as a part of our outlay on the undertaking; and we had no choice but either to spend that money or drop the Institution,—then, within the letter of their rule, they may grant us at least £3000. That is, we raise now £4000, to which add the £2000 spent as above, making in all £6000; and they give the half of that sum. If this way of reckoning be allowed *ex gratia*, and it is surely equitable, our case is met. But, even apart from the strict letter of the rule, we surely deserve some consideration. Do you think you can help us through Sir George?"

I give the above letter, mainly as helping in a small way to indicate the almost endless worry and multifarious correspondence to which Dr. Candlish was subjected as Convener of the Education Committee in addition to his manifold labours in the interests of religion and philanthropy at home and abroad.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the end of February, Dr. Candlish spoke in support of an Overture to the Assembly by Dr. Cunningham, regarding the Theological Curriculum, and advocated the appointment of a Board of Examiners.

On the 1st March a meeting was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, to express sympathy with thirteen congregations of *quoad sacra* churches in that city who had been ejected from their places of worship. In addressing the meeting, Dr. Candlish said—

"The fact of the Disruption can never be viewed as a small affair in the history of the Church. To all intents and purposes it was the Church splitting itself into two parts; and no man will dare to maintain that the Free Church does not represent to the full the half of all that was valuable in the Church when it was divided. Now, what ought to have been the footing upon which, as honourable men, our opponents ought to have put the case? What might have occurred to them? Would it not have been this, that we should separate as Lot and Abraham separated? Could we not have said, Let us take our several courses, and as there is a large amount of property belonging to both of us, let us adopt measures for having it fairly adjusted before Parliament? But they did not do so. On the other hand, what did our opponents do? I shall point to those cases in which they acted a very different part.

"I point, for example, to the case of the Missionary Buildings in Calcutta and elsewhere,—I point to the funds at that time in the treasury of the Establishment belonging to the Missions; and I ask, ought there not to have been an equitable adjustment of these missionary funds? I ask, would it not have been but common honour on their part to have said, you have got the men, you have got the missionaries who have adhered to you for conscience sake, and you have none of the premises, let us have an equitable adjustment. Instead of this, what did they do? They went down to the very library, and the apparatus which had been procured by the personal exertions of Dr. Duff, and laid their hands on that spoil.

"Need I refer to the case of the parish schools, or to the case of the education of the country? If ever there was a case in which there was a field for broad and favourable compromise it was that of the parish schools and universities of the country. But keep by the parish schools. We felt it our duty at the Disruption to do every thing in order to support the teachers who adhered to us, but what was done immediately afterwards? Every teacher who adhered to the Free Church was ruthlessly ejected out of his school. In all these matters there was the plainest, and broadest, and amplest room for adjustment, if parties had been so disposed; but on their part it was studiously avoided.

"And now we come to the case immediately before us; and respecting it I do not go into the question of law or of equity technically considered. I refer to the proposal, deliberately made on the recommendation of the highest legal advice in Scotland, to be adopted by the one General Assembly towards the other General Assembly. Sir, some may say you made that proposal at the wrong time, when the suit was going on. You should either have made it long before that, or you should have waited till the course of law was followed out. Now, in regard to all such people, they are in the position of the children sitting in the market-place,—if we pipe to them they will not dance, if we mourn to them they will not lament. But just let me say that if they thought that the proposal that we should quit the Courts of Law, and at once give up litigation, and agree to go to Parliament for an equitable adjustment, was not made in time because the suit was then going on, let me whisper in their ear that the suit is now at an end, and that it will scarcely do for us to renew the proposal ; it would with greater grace come from them. Why, our two Assemblies are to meet in May next, and we shall be glad to consider any proposal they may make to us. The litigation that formerly stood in the way is now removed ; and as to any other obstacle, such as that they, as trustees, were not at liberty to entertain the question of compromise, we regard it as involving the monstrous assumption (1) that they are morally and legally in the right ; and (2) that, in dealing between Christian men, even an equitable adjustment may not be accomplished for the sake of goodwill and good brotherhood. But they will not maintain that there was anything in the way of our obtaining an equitable adjustment before Parliament. I believe, however, that it is better as it is,—it is better ordered by God than either they or we could have ordered it. God has seen fit that we should be indebted to them for nothing,—that we should be treated according to the strictest rigour of law,—and this being His mind, I have no doubt that, in thus permitting our scheme to be frustrated, and in ordering it so that we should suffer wrongously, time will show that it is for our benefit."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March Dr. Candlish spoke strongly in reference to a proposal to introduce into the House of Commons a bill to compel railway companies to run passenger trains on the Lord's day.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on 23d March, in the interests of education in Scotland, he opposed the proposed clause in the Registration Bill that session-clerks, who were usually parochial schoolmasters, should be appointed registrars.

It was in the same month that he and his congregation commenced Territorial Mission operations in Fountainbridge, where several devoted members of St. George's congregation still continue their beneficent labours. This was the second work of a somewhat similar kind commenced under his auspices. The first was St. Luke's, the origin of which has been already noticed. Fountainbridge differed from it in this, that its population had sunk to a far lower level,—as low as Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Tasker had found in West Port. Mr. Thomas Alexander, afterwards minister at Chelsea, was the first missionary, and after him Mr. Inglis, now at Dudhope, Dundee, and then Mr. J. H. Wilson, under whose successful ministry it was sanctioned as a ministerial charge; and out of it have sprung Barclay and Viewforth churches; so that it has had a history only paralleled by the Wynds' Church in Glasgow. A later effort in the same direction was Roseburn Church, of which Mr. M'Gillivray is minister.

It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that, contemporaneously with the steps taken for the commencement of a mission at Fountainbridge, the congregation of St. Luke's were obliged to quit their place of worship in Young Street, which was claimed by the Kirk-Session of St. George's (Established); and at the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 4th April, Dr. Candlish proposed the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the congregation in procuring the erection of another church.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 18th April, an overture to the General Assembly was proposed that they should petition Parliament for the reform and extension of the Parochial Schools; and in speaking on the subject of the overture, Dr. Candlish said that it would be better to have a system of education, if it were possible, thoroughly national, and not merely denominational; but that he could not go along with any plan for the reformation of the Parish Schools, or any national system of education for Scotland, which was not based upon the recognition at the very least of the Shorter Catechism.

On the 2d May Dr. Candlish moved that the Presbytery of Edinburgh petition Parliament against the Marriage

Affinity Bill, a bill to legalise marriages with the sister of a deceased wife, introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. S. Wortley, and gave an elaborate statement of the Scripture argument against such marriages as were contemplated.

On Saturday, May 19th, while running up the stair to the drawing-room in his own house, as he was in the habit of doing in those days, Dr. Candlish missed a step, and in falling broke his left arm, near the shoulder. Much sympathy was felt for him, and considerable wonderment as to how the Assembly would get on without him. He sustained, however, no permanent injury, and towards the close of the Assembly's proceedings he appeared with his arm in a sling, and was received with the most rapturous applause. He came to take part in the election of a professor, and proposed the election of Mr. Bannerman of Ormiston to the vacant Chair in the New College. Mr. Bannerman had been proposed for this office at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August 1849, but the appointment was delayed. At the meeting of the Commission in November following, Dr. Candlish had proposed that they should recommend the appointment of Dr. Duff to the vacant Chair. He explained to the Assembly that he had done so on the footing that if, on other grounds, it was found expedient or necessary that Dr. Duff should relinquish his labours in India, then he thought that the Church should call him to the office of Theological Professor.

"He thought he was perfectly consistent in making this proposal, as it rested on totally different grounds from the proposal to elect Mr. Bannerman. The two could not be held as competing together. A large number in the Church thought well of the suggestion, and of the grounds on which it was suggested, to appoint Dr. Duff. He had high and outstanding claims upon them ; and since the decease of their late Principal, Dr. Chalmers, he (Dr. Duff) was by far the most outstanding person connected with the Free Church of Scotland ; and it was his (Dr. Candlish's) conviction that if, on the score of his health, he was obliged to leave India, his appointment to the Professorship would be the most becoming for him to occupy. These were the grounds on which he advocated the claims of Dr. Duff. But this did not interfere with his strong conviction of the admirable suitableness of Mr. Bannerman to the office if Dr. Duff was not willing to accept of it. But the response of Dr. Duff put an end to his nomination altogether; and that proposal being at an end, he felt the greatest satisfaction in falling back on the proposal of Mr. Bannerman."

While the Assembly was still sitting he wrote Mr. Dunlop—

"Gray tells me that you wish to see me, with a few of the select Finance Committee. I am now, thanks to a gracious God, quite able for such an interview. Any time to-morrow, or Friday (except eleven o'clock, when I am engaged with Dr. Reid). Please let me know. I do earnestly hope you are not going to let the Queen Street proposal for Offices and a Hall fall through, under the influence of such a mirage in prospect as the vision of the Mound, or such a miserable affair as our taking the old College for offices. We have never had such a proposal. It will surely be a pity if we lose this chance. It does not preclude a better Hall ultimately, if necessary. But here we get a noble establishment complete at once, and in the very best part of the city."

As it has happened, the mirage has turned out to be more than a vision; and both Hall and Offices are where Dr. Candlish assumed they would never be.

In July the Report of the Education Committee, with an appendix, was published, and sent to all the ministers and teachers of the Free Church, with a circular by Dr. Candlish, in which there was a very full statement of the operations of the Education Scheme, and its aim and object, with the view of awakening a more general interest in the scheme, and securing for it more adequate support.

At the end of the same month, after the examination of the Normal School previous to the autumn holidays, Dr. Candlish earnestly addressed the students on the cultivation of personal piety, as well as of the branches of learning they were engaged in studying.

At the meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery in the beginning of October, he spoke on the duty of actively opposing the increasing encroachments on the rest of the Sabbath by the Post Office authorities, and at the end of the same month, at a public meeting held in the Music Hall, he spoke on the same subject, and adverted to some of the pleas urged for Post Office work on Sabbath. Among other things, he said—

"They were reminded by Lord John Russell that this country was not a mere place of business, that it was not made up of shops and warehouses, and inhabited by bankers and merchants. They were reminded that this was a country where the private affections of life were cherished, and flourished; and that this question must therefore be viewed in the light of a question affecting men's homes and hearths. Be it so. Let them fairly consider it at their leisure; let them ask themselves whether any supposed pleas of mercy—for, as regarded pleas of necessity, they found bankers and merchants speaking out distinctly—could be urged in behalf of Post Office work on the Lord's day. Let that question be looked at on both sides. Let it, for example, be looked at on the one side as to meeting cases such as those referred to by Lord John Russell, cases of sickness and illness—the usual cases—when it was desired that a relation should be near. Let them by all means consider how such cases would be affected by the closing of the Post Office on the Lord's day. Let them consider how far the acceleration of speed in the transmission of letters, and other modes of communication, did not really provide for all cases of real mercy that might be imagined; and then, on the other side, let them place in the balance the mercy they owed to those whom the State employed. Let them consider what was due to these men whose consciences were as tender as theirs, and whose homes and hearths ought to be as sacred."

At the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, in October, a proposal was made for a scheme of National Education, which Dr. Candlish opposed on the same grounds as he afterwards pleaded in the General Assembly, and which will be noticed when his speech there is adverted to.

On the 10th November he wrote Mr. Dunlop, saying—

"I called and wanted to explain that I have come to a sort of resolution not to apply to you for money, but simply to receive what you may be pleased from time to time to place at my disposal for good objects. This is best. Still, for the present, I would like to know if you can help me with something towards assisting students. I have three or four whom I am trying to aid. They are very deserving, and the Scholarship Fund is limited unusually this year."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in the same month, a proposal, on the part of Lady Effingham, was submitted by Dr. Mackay, for the endowment of a Chair for a pastor of the students. The proposal was objected to by Dr. Candlish, and was ultimately abandoned, as it was hampered with conditions which it seemed unwise to comply with.

On the 22d November he wrote Mr. Dunlop on a subject which had been hinted at in some quarters, in regard to Presbyteries returning members to the Assembly with a view to the part they might take on the question of College Extension. He said—

"In regard to the hints thrown out in one or two quarters as to Presbyteries returning members to the General Assembly, I am sure, for my part, that I deprecate and deplore such a line of policy as is suggested, and have done something formerly to prevent it. In this feeling Buchanan, Gray, and others, whom I have talked to on the subject, entirely concur. We are prepared to do what we can in the direction indicated by you, and are taking steps accordingly. I will let you know as soon as possible, say in the course of a day or two, what we think we can do with some hope of a good result."

The Presbytery of Edinburgh met on the 2d January 1850, when Mr. M'Lauchlan laid on the table plans for the erection of a new church for his congregation. They at this time met in the brick church which had been erected for St. George's congregation on the eve of the Disruption. Dr. Candlish expressed his approval of Mr. M'Lauchlan's laying the plans before the Presbytery, and concluded by saying that

"Some of the brethren might feel a little in regard to the prospect of the tabernacle at present occupied by the Gaelic congregation being razed in a few years. Some of them were more immediately connected with it, and had associations with it that would never pass away; and he dared to say the Church at large could not but look forward to the taking down of that tabernacle as an interesting event. It was the first place of worship erected in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. It was erected in a very marvellously short space of time, and was ready for the occupation of the General Assembly, if they had chosen to occupy it; and he believed it was the first place in which worship was conducted apart from the Establishment. Still it was a tabernacle which, like all earthly things, must pass away."

At the same meeting Dr. Candlish supported an overture by Mr. M'Kenzie, North Leith, for the appointment of a party to originate processes against office-bearers of the Church—a public prosecutor, in short. This proposal, having for its object to provide against Presbyteries being both prosecutors and judges in such cases, has never been carried into effect.

CHAPTER XV.

National Education—Progress of Popery—Dr. Candlish unwell—Marriage Affinity—Letter to Mr. Urquhart—Letter to Dr. J. Hamilton—Temperance—Assembly 1850—Home Mission—College Extension—Speech on Education—Address to Normal School Students—Journey to Sutherland and Caithness—Dr. M'Lauchlan's reminiscences—Papal Aggression—Original Ragged Schools—Medical Missions—Assembly overtures—Education Bill—Papal Aggression—Spiritual destitution in large towns—Assembly 1851—College controversy—Resolutions—Organising Associations for Education Scheme—Letters to Mr. Gregory, and Education matters—Speech at Glasgow—Fountainbridge—Illness of Dr. Candlish—Sustentation Fund—Jewish Mission at Pesth—Letter to Mr. Dunlop.

THE Presbytery of Edinburgh held a special meeting on the 16th January to consider the question of Education, when Dr. Begg proposed "that the Presbytery overture the General Assembly to use its utmost efforts to open up the parish schools of Scotland to all qualified teachers, as well as greatly to increase the number of such schools, and improve their quality." Dr. Candlish moved as an amendment, that "the Presbytery, adhering to the general principles set forth in the resolutions of the General Assembly of 1847, and being decidedly of opinion that a national plan of education is desirable, with a view to the educational wants of the country, will be ready to consider favourably any proposal that may be submitted to Parliament or the country in which there shall be adequate security for the religious character of the education to be given; and in the meantime the Presbytery resolve to prosecute with unabated zeal the present educational scheme of the Church, with such help as may be given under the existing Government scheme." The discussion was so protracted that the Presbytery adjourned for a week, when it was resumed, and at its close the motion of Dr. Candlish was adopted by a large majority.

At the end of January Dr. Candlish spoke at a public meeting in Leith on the alarming progress of Popery. On the 1st February he addressed a meeting of the subscribers for the purchase of John Knox's house; and on Thursday of the same week he spoke in support of Medical Missions.

On the 6th February, when the Presbytery of Edinburgh met, Dr. Candlish was unable to be present from indisposition. Evidently enough he had been overworking himself; for his labours, some of which only I have been noting here, were all in addition to the charge of one of the largest and most intelligent congregations in Scotland, whom he delighted and edified by his preaching from Sabbath to Sabbath. Doubtless he was harassed and vexed also by the agitation which was being carried on on the subject of education, and which ultimately led to a painful rupture between him and the editor of the *Witness*. I abstain from saying anything on the merits of the controversy, but it was the occasion of calling forth a very general expression of sympathy with Dr. Candlish.

How much he felt the attacks made upon him appears in a note of 2d March to Rev. T. Brown, in which he says:—"I feel as if I were breaking down under most ungenerous annoyances;" but these did not hinder his tender sympathy with others in distress. On the 22d February he wrote the following letter to his old friend Mr. Urquhart, on occasion of the death of his wife:—

"I have felt deeply your distressing and very trying situation for some time back, although I have not troubled you with any expression of my sympathy. Now that all is over, and your long and anxious watching is at an end, let me assure you that you have that sympathy most sincerely. And, having said this, what more can I add? You know far better than I can tell you where the only consolation is to be found. It is a stroke under which you may well be stunned. But our Heavenly Father is able to sustain you. Jesus is with you in the furnace. The Holy Ghost is the comforter. The Word is full of exceeding great and precious promises. And the time is short. The Lord is at hand. Separation is but for a brief space to those who are to be ever with the Lord at last. What a passage is that in Thessalonians concerning them that fall asleep in Jesus! We are to sorrow,—yes, sorrow freely—our very tears and groans are prayers. But not as others who have no hope. How little does the New Testament speak of death. It seems as if it would always fix our eye, not on the event that separates, but on the event which brings together again.

"But why weary you with common-places? Let me commend you to God. Let us remember one another at the throne of grace.

"I was thankful to hear of the calm and peaceful way in which your poor wife's sufferings terminated, and of the spirit in which she bore them all. May we be prepared for sickness, trouble, and death.

"It will be a great gratification to your other old friends here, as well as to myself, to have a few lines from you at your convenience. Let us know how you are. We feel for you, and feel with you in this sore bereavement. I trust the children are well. May the Lord Himself make up to them for their otherwise irreparable loss.

"God bless you, dear Urquhart, and give you His richest consolations."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March Dr. Candlish was warmly cheered when he entered. He spoke with great power and effect against Mr. Wortley's bill for legalising marriage with the sister of a deceased wife; and, besides going as one of a deputation to London to oppose the bill, he addressed a public meeting in Edinburgh against it, held early in April. From London he sent the following note to his friend Dr. James Hamilton:—

"Since you are in Scotland at any rate, and I am in England, what say you to our exchanging pulpits next Sabbath? I will keep faith, and give your people the whole day, if you will do the same to mine. My most hospitable hosts here insist on my making this proposal to you. And I am not reluctant, for I need some respite from annoyance. Only I would like you, if you please, to be in Edinburgh on Thursday, and take my meetings on that day. It will be a great gratification to my people, especially the juniors; and I would scarcely agree to stay here except on the faith of your being forthcoming on Thursday. But I cannot insist on this. Only I hope you will try. And you should have a day or two in Edinburgh. So let it stand. I give you two Sabbaths—or one and a half—and you take my Thursday duty for one week, and preach on Sabbath. I write home to say that they may expect the pleasure of your staying with them from Thursday till the beginning of the following week. Don't steal the hearts of my children as you did before! You may help James in his lessons, but don't captivate my namesake Bo. Seriously, you will give great delight if Mrs. Hamilton and you will make our house your home. I write to announce the probability of this."

The Thursday duty referred to was a somewhat serious matter. It meant a prayer meeting from 3 to 4, a class for young women from 4 to 5, another class for young women from 7 to 8, and a class for young men from 8 to 9. For many years Dr. Candlish kept up these services, making provision for them when absent as for the supply of his pulpit.

On the day previous to the meeting of the General Assembly a public meeting was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, to form an Association for the suppression of drunkenness, and Dr. Candlish moved the resolution embodying the constitution and objects of the Association. He said—

"The regulation of the system of licensing, and the shutting of the spirit-shops on the Sabbath-day, were the two great panaceas so far as the labours of that Association were concerned; and upon these two objects they proposed to concentrate their efforts, until, by the grace and help of God, they might succeed. He trusted that they had not formed the Association as the mere expression of a temporary feeling, but under the deep and solemn conviction of the magnitude of the existing evil, and with the determination to resist and overcome it."

Speaking on the Report of the Home Mission Committee at the Assembly 1850, Dr. Candlish said—

> "One of the special questions of next Assembly will be to sit down calmly and deliberately to face the problem how we are to overtake the neglect of a former generation, and how we are to overtake the rapid increase of the people. We cannot sit still,—we cannot be idle,—we must face this problem; and the only adequate way of doing so, I thoroughly believe, is that handed down to us as a precious legacy by our reverend father Dr. Chalmers, the territorial plan of a Church, a school, a minister, a teacher, and a staff of elders, all working within a limited locality, so as thoroughly to leaven the people with the principles of the gospel. We have a noble specimen of that plan in Edinburgh, and I trust in God that we shall soon be able to add one or two more. I hope we shall soon be in a position to take up this important question; and that, after the disposal of other questions at present demanding our attention, we may be drawn back to the position which the Church ought ever to occupy,—that of a great Home Mission, not limiting its efforts to the building up of existing Churches, but going forth to take possession of the outfield districts of the country."

At this Assembly Dr. Candlish supported resolutions on the subject of College Extension proposed by Dr. Cunningham, believing as he did that these resolutions covered the views he held, one of them being "that the Church should keep in view the increase of provision for theological education at Aberdeen in so far as it can be done consistently with fulfilling her existing engagements." The resolutions were not unanimously acquiesced in; but, on a division, were carried by a majority of 103,—195 supporting the resolutions, and 92 supporting resolutions proposed by Dr. Begg.

Previous to the meeting of this Assembly an extensive agitation, as we have seen, had been carried on, in which several leading Free Churchmen took a part, for promoting a national scheme of Education. The movement was powerfully supported by the *Witness* newspaper. It became necessarily a subject of discussion in the Assembly, and Dr. Candlish made one of his most memorable speeches against it. I was induced by way of introduction to propose the resolutions which Dr. Candlish supported. They were in substance that the Church maintained the importance of a system of instruction based on the principles of the Word of God; that she was open to consider any plan for meeting existing educational destitution which provides for the education given being of a religious character; and that the Church ought to persevere in prosecuting her own Education Scheme. Dr. Begg proposed counter resolutions, the nature of which will appear from the speech of Dr. Candlish, which I give almost in full, although the subject has lost much of its living interest. Dr. Candlish said—

"We have been told that there has been kindled in Scotland,—it may be accidentally, and perhaps prematurely,—a beacon light that may attract another Bruce to emancipate again his mother country. Sir, I beg to say that in my humble opinion such a beacon light has been shining forth not in the shape of a manifesto on paper, or public meetings throughout the country, but from our own 600 or 700 schools, and our large complement of teachers. Whether that movement of ours in lighting such a beacon was premature or unwise, time alone can show, and what Bruce it is to attract to emancipate his country, I would venture also to say is in the womb of time. But I shall take upon myself to say that if a beacon has been lighted to illuminate the darkness of Scotland in respect of educational destitution, and herald on the attempts for meeting that gigantic evil, the blame, or credit, or accident if you will, must lie at the door not of the recent manifesto, but of our own Education Scheme of some years' standing. I doubt exceedingly whether, if such a beacon light had not been kindled in Scotland,—if 700 schools had not been established, amidst many difficulties and discouragements,—I doubt much if we would have seen such a beacon light as is now said to be kindled to attract an emancipator to deliver his enslaved country.

"The General Assembly will see from the Resolutions that the knowledge of educational destitution existing in Scotland stands in connection with what I hold to be the duty of the Church to lay itself open to the consideration of any fair and practicable plan which may be proposed for meeting the existing destitution, in accordance with the principles which this Church holds. If I saw that men's minds were ripe on the subject,—if I did not think it would be casting the Church abroad on a great variety of imaginations and schemes,—I would have no great objection to say that, if circumstances permitted, it might be the duty of this Church to give herself to the framing of such a plan as we might propose to the Government, or to call upon the Government to devise such a plan; and if the Resolutions do not embody either of these proposals, it is just because I do not think that we are at present in circumstances to launch forth, as a Church, on the consideration of such expedients as that, until our minds are more distinctly made up on the subject, and, I might be allowed to add, until we see something more on the part of public men, of readiness to respond to the appeal which we have been making to them for years past,—the appeal that it is their duty to regard Scotland as a field which might yet admit of a right educational adjustment. But, believing as I do, that it would rather tend to embarrass the Church and not to forward the object of a settlement of the question of national education, for us to embark in a scheme of our own, or to agitate to persuade public men to come forward with a scheme of theirs, I am disposed to think that benefit will accrue, first of all, from making an inquiry into the amount of educational destitution, and, in the second place, waiting for such light as may be cast on the question by publications and other discussions. I think this Church would be better employed in continuing to prosecute her own scheme, declaring still, as we did in 1847, and as we ask you here to do this night, that she is persuaded that Scotland, as a nation, is in circumstances more favourable than any other portion of the empire for having the question settled, and that she is willing to entertain any reasonable proposal with that view.

"I come now to consider the Resolutions which have been laid on your table by Dr. Begg, and would crave the indulgence of the House if I go over these Resolutions one by one; for I think it of considerable consequence, now that the question has been fairly brought before the Assembly, that they should know what it is they are asked to agree to. The first Resolution is one in which it might seem we could all concur. It is as follows:—'That the national education of Scotland is in a most unsatisfactory state, both in respect of its amount and quality, and, because of its exclusive connection with the Established Church, now embracing only a minority of the population, and that unless immediate means are adopted for securing a comprehensive and effective system, this evil, instead of abating, will increase as the population advances.' But I venture to say, in the first place, that this is a *non sequitur*. It does not follow that because national education is in an unsatisfactory state, therefore, unless the particular means indicated be adopted, the evil must go on. This does not follow, for I am by no means prepared to admit that the evil may not to a large extent be resisted and counteracted not by the plan proposed in the manifesto, but by a piece-meal system, if you will—a denominational system,—an ecclesiastical system,—much as our friends dislike the word. I do not admit that the existing evil may not to a large extent be counteracted by just the vigorous prosecution of the educational cause by all the Churches in Scotland, aided as we now are by the liberality of the Government. I am not an advocate for the existing system in preference to a national one ; but I shall never give in to a vague and indiscriminate condemnation of the present plan. I cannot do so, and especially when I consider the character of the educational destitution which needs to be provided for. As was well put this morning, where does this destitution chiefly exist ? Not amongst the rich, not amongst the middle classes, not amongst the working classes, but amongst the lower orders of society. And what is the cause of that ? It seems to be taken for granted that the cause is the want of schools and teachers. Now, this is a total and an entire misapprehension of the existing evil, and of the method of counteracting and remedying it. It is not merely the want of schools that is the cause of the prevailing educational destitution. I grant that there is need of more schools and more teachers in many districts of the land ; but the educational destitution for which we chiefly need to provide is not occasioned exclusively by the want of schools and teachers, and would not necessarily be remedied by the mere setting down of schools and the setting up of teachers. I believe there are plenty of empty places in existing schools, that there are teachers in the land with few scholars to teach, and plenty of parents whose families are growing up in ignorance with schools at their very doors open and patent to them. But to what does this point ? Not to any thing like the proposition that a national system rightly arranged would not be a good way of meeting the evil, but it points to this, that the evil may be efficaciously met, to a large extent, in another way, namely, by Churches, and associations of individuals all going forth to the destitute districts of the land. I do not say that the Free Church single handed could accomplish this work ; but I do say, and I should like to say it in the hearing of those who are joining in this movement,—I should like to say it in the hearing of some of the sister Churches in this land—that if others would go and do likewise, —do as well as they talk, and give as well as they declaim—we would have in Scotland the means, I do not say of completely overtaking, but of doing vastly more than some men think in the way of overtaking, the educational destitution of the land.

"And one reason why I am jealous of this movement is that I do apprehend the tendency of it may be to encourage us literally to do, as Dr. Begg has said we are doing,—to sit still and fold our hands. Why should not all the other Churches in Scotland, and all who value education, join with their testimony for national education something more of present effort? Why not unite in a hearty crusade against the ignorance of the land, and that without waiting for a single year? I do not for my part think that any such movement on the part of all the Churches would stand in the way of a right-adjusted scheme for Scotland. I think it is the very way to get at the practical solution of the problem; and if we saw a wholesome rivalry arise among all the Churches of the land, and all our efforts ran in the direction of wholesome education, we would be in a better position for seeing eye to eye; and a scheme might be propounded which would embrace and comprehend all parties much more satisfactorily than by now sitting down prematurely to attempt to solve the problem.

"I come now to the second Resolution—one in which, as to theory, it might seem that we could all concur. But it is so framed as to tell us that our system of education is not very wholesome in the present crisis. For what does it say? 'That, whilst the right education of people is a matter of vast importance to the Church, the promotion of secular education is not one of the primary duties of the Church of Christ as such, and teachers are not to be regarded as holding any ecclesiastical status.' But I shall stop here a little. I suppose that none of us here are disposed to contend that the promotion of secular education is one of the primary duties of the Church as such; and I suppose also that none here regard the teacher as holding an ecclesiastical status. I fully admit this; but then, I trust, on the other hand, that we are prepared to affirm that, without the word primary, the promotion of secular education is one of the duties of the Church of Christ. That is a proposition which could be maintained by sufficient argument. There are none here, I trust, who sympathise with the idea that a Church of Christ is stepping beyond its province in doing this; but, on the contrary, that they hold that the Protestant Church of Christ is bound to aim at the promotion of secular education.

"But while it is not one of the primary duties of the Church of Christ as such, and the teacher is not to be regarded as holding an ecclesiastical status, yet the preamble of the Resolution must be taken in connection with another part of it, which is in itself true, namely, 'But that it is a manifest obligation resting on all civil governments, by whom only this work ever can be, or ever has been, effectually done, to give their subjects the means of at least elementary instruction; and that it is a clear scriptural obligation resting on all parents, to which they ought to be stirred up, and in which they ought to be aided by the ministers of Christ, to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and that teachers in this respect are only the deputies of parents.' Now there are some things in this Resolution to which I somewhat demur. I do not like to collocate, or put together, on the one hand, a declaration that the promotion of secular education is not a primary duty of the Church, and, on the other, that it is distinctively and pre-eminently the duty of the State. I do not like that. I do not see why, at this stage, we should contrast the duty of the Church with the duty of the State. I am not quite prepared to admit that the promotion of secular education is in any material sense a more primary duty of the State than of the Church. I am not prepared to make that admission. The primary duty of the Church undoubtedly is to preach the gospel; and the primary duty of the State is to preserve the lives and liberties of men, and promote justice between man and man; and I venture to say it would puzzle any one to frame a rule in reference to the promotion of secular education by the State, which may not apply in a higher sense to the Church itself. It has been stated that the right of the State to punish depends on the fulfilment of their duty as regards education. Now I think this tends to serious social evil. The right to punish offences belongs to the Civil Magistrate directly, and *jure divino*. He has his authority from heaven. And I venture to say that there is no argument which may be urged to show that his right and duty to punish outrages depends on his affording the means of education which may not also be applied to prove that the preaching of the gospel on the part of the Church requires, for the right discharge of the duty, that she should promote the secular education of the people. The truth is, it is not the primary duty of the State, any more than of the Church, to promote secular education; and it cannot be made out that any obligation rests on civil governments, different in kind, or, indeed, materially different in degree, from that which lies upon the Church. The only primary duty of the State is to preserve life and liberty, and secure a just administration of law. The only primary duty of the Church is to preach the gospel and dispense ordinances. The promotion of secular education is not, strictly speaking, the primary duty of either. But it is a duty, and a highly important duty of both.

"In regard, again, to the closing part of the Resolution, as to teachers being, in respect of training up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, only the deputies of parents, I would merely observe that this depends upon circumstances. As to teachers engaged and paid by parents at their own hand, it is of course true, but then it is a mere truism. If, however, the parents themselves are not exclusively the employers of the teachers, if the Church or the State has anything to do with the providing of education, I cannot see how the responsibility lying upon the Church or the State can be set aside. It seems to me plain that, in such a case, whatever deference may be due to parents, teachers are not their deputies alone, but the deputies of the parties employing them, according to the responsibility they may severally take.

"The third Resolution is one on which it will not be necessary to dwell, unless to point out what appears to me its singularly unhappy and injurious bearing upon the present educational efforts of the Church. It is, 'That, keeping these facts and principles in view, as well as our own financial position, it is the duty of the Church, whilst prosecuting with all earnestness, in the meantime, her own Educational Scheme, instead of diverting one farthing of her means more than is absolutely necessary from the decent maintenance of her ministers and theological institutions, and the primary duty of extending the preaching of the gospel at home and abroad, to bring all her influence to bear on the Government to secure the introduction, at the earliest possible period, of a sound and comprehensive scheme of national education, and to make all her own educational efforts in the meantime subservient to this great end.' Now I ask you, sir, and I ask this House, to consider upon what conditions it is proposed that the Educational Scheme of the Church should be carried out according to this Resolution. The conditions are simply two : the scheme is to be carried on, in the first place, on the condition that not one farthing more than is necessary shall be applied to it—that not one farthing more than is necessary be diverted from other objects of the Church ; the meaning of which is that not one farthing more than is necessary is to be applied to the Educational Scheme of the Church ; and the second condition under which we are asked to prosecute the Educational Scheme is, that all the while you are making your own educational efforts you are to make them subordinate to the end of a national scheme, which is yet entirely hid in the clouds. Now, sir, I object to the prosecution of your Educational Scheme on either the one or the other of these conditions ; and if the House shall adopt these

Resolutions to-night, then I say you are bound to follow them up with another Resolution, to abandon your present efforts and plans, and pension all your teachers to-morrow. I say this is a crisis in which, as Convener of the Education Committee, I may be excused —— (sentence drowned in loud cheers). But I cannot imagine that the General Assembly will adopt a series of Resolutions of this sort, declaring that you are to carry on your Educational Scheme upon the principle of not diverting from other objects one farthing more than is absolutely necessary; or on this other principle that you are to make all your efforts in working out your own Educational Scheme subservient to something else, which has not even come in sight yet, and may never come. I cannot conceive of these Resolutions being adopted by the House without your adopting at the same time another Resolution to discharge your Committee, to wind up your concerns, to sell your Normal Institutions in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to pension off all your teachers as best you can.

"Who is to judge of this necessity? Who is to say that not one farthing more than is absolutely necessary is to be applied in the meantime to the prosecuting of your Educational Scheme? Sir, we act on the principle that not one farthing more than the love and the liberality of the Christian people choose to place at our disposal shall be applied in that way; but if you are to go to the Christian people and tell them that the measure of their liberality is to be this necessity—the necessity for keeping faith with existing engagements merely, and keeping the teachers from starvation—let that be proclaimed, let it be known throughout the Church that you are to prosecute your Educational Scheme in the poor wretched way of simply doing what is absolutely necessary, apart from aiming at what is practicable in the way of rescuing souls from ignorance and vice,—I say for one that you may get whom you choose to take charge of such a scheme, I will wash my hands clean of it.

"Sir, I equally object to the other condition. I object to having our hands tied up either by a standard of stern necessity or by a regard to some other scheme which may be wild and Utopian. I object to carrying on the present educational movement as a mere stepping-stone to something else. I have always been an advocate for carrying on the present scheme in such a way as not to render it inconsistent with larger and more comprehensive measures which might be proposed, and I will be an advocate for that still. But if I am asked to carry on this scheme with a regard to a mere standard of necessity, and having in my eye the relevancy of the plan to some other plan in prospect, I say this would be to shrivel up your scheme, to sink it into insignificance, and put a fatal brand upon it.

"I just say that whether it is a primary duty or not of the Church to engage in secular education, I say it is a primary duty, if you do engage in it, to engage in it with a large heart for the glory of God and the salvation of immortal souls. Let it be determined, if you will, that it is not the duty of the Church to have any Educational Scheme; but I tell you, and by the Word of the living God I can prove, that whatever you do you are bound to do it all to the glory of God. You may leave the thing unattempted and undone ; you may leave your educational enterprise to perish ; but if you engage in it, and if you wish to continue in it, I challenge you, by a regard to the Word of God, that you do so not on the principle of making a stern necessity the measure of your duty, nor on the principle of making what you do a mere stepping-stone to something else, but on the principle of doing the utmost which you can to get the love and liberality of the Christian people to enable you to go forth on the realm of ignorance and vice. I utterly repudiate the principle,—and I can fancy the indignation with which it would have been repudiated by one far greater than any one in this House,—I utterly repudiate the principle that, by stinting and arresting the flow of Christian love and liberality in one direction, you will turn it into another channel. I wholly disown that principle, and I trust this House will disown it. The instant you begin to give forth a signal in favour of the principle that the liberality of your people may be stinted and limited, you will place an arrest on the springs whence flow all the streams of Christian liberality together ; and by beginning to stint the Education Scheme you will starve the Foreign Mission and all your other schemes, and you will teach your people a practical lesson which, on the principles of human nature, they will be too apt to learn ; and they will soon come to measure, by a standard of stern necessity, not only what they are to do for the Education Scheme, but what they are to do for the sustentation of the gospel Ministry at home, and for the cause of Missions abroad.

"In most of the things contained in the fourth Resolution I am able to concur. I like well-aired schoolrooms. I rejoice to think that some of the best-aired schoolrooms in the land are to be found just in connection with your own Educational Scheme. I would rejoice in well-instructed and well-paid teachers. I would rejoice in large additions to your Collegiate system. I would rejoice in a suitable provision for retiring salaries for disabled teachers. I would rejoice in the confiscation of Hospital funds. I would rejoice, with all my heart, in an Act confiscating all the funds of the Hospitals in Edinburgh, from Heriot's down to Donaldson's. I would rejoice in all this, and have no sort of objection whatsoever that the Government and the country should know that all these funds would be far better expended on well-aired schoolrooms, and well-paid teachers, and well-instructed children, than upon the monks that teach and the drones that learn in these dismal institutions.

"But with all that, sir, I am not quite prepared to concur in the present suggestion, which is substantially this—that the entire management of the schools upon the national system should be without any testimony for the truth, or any security whatever, beyond the will of the managers, for religious instruction; which managers will be in general the parents and ratepayers. I should like some of our friends calmly to consider what is really meant by the watchword of 'the parentage of Scotland.' We have heard the assertion in behalf of the proposed system of its being a system to emancipate the parentage of Scotland. Why, what thraldom is it under which they lie? One would think we had the Prussian system in this country; one would think that the parents were dragooned to send their children to some particular schools against their will—or, at the very least, that an embargo was laid upon parents providing education for their children. Why, if the parentage of Scotland was under one or other of these systems—either the Prussian law, compelling them to send their children to particular schools; or under a law preventing them from setting up schools for the education of their children in their own way—then we would understand this crusade for the parentage of Scotland. But in neither of these predicaments are they placed. We are living not under Prussian law but British law, which allows us to send our children to any school, or to no school; under which we are at liberty to spend our means in setting up any schools and teachers we may like. Then, I ask, what is meant by speaking of the emancipation of the parentage of Scotland, where all this liberty is already allowed to them? Is it because they possess the liberty of having teachers of their own choosing and schools of their own building? Or is it meant that there is any interference with their liberty in setting down schools to be conducted on Christian principles and superintended by Christian churches? Is that the kind of interference with the parentage of Scotland which is denounced as intolerable thraldom? We, as a Church, have full liberty to erect schools on this principle, and have enjoyed the aid of the State in so doing ; and when all this is done, and the parentage of Scotland is left to choose its own course in the matter, is it not a mockery to say that there is any abridgment of the liberty of Scottish parents—and this is, *par excellence*, a crusade for emancipating the parentage of Scotland.

"I have only to advert, in a few sentences, to the closing Resolution. It relates to the great difficulty of any national system—the security for the religious character of the teachers and the teaching. Now, let it be admitted on all hands that we do not imagine it possible that by any legislative enactment it can be secured that the teachers shall be men of God or the teaching of a spiritual character. We do not profess positively to secure the religious character of the teachers and the teaching by any provisions we have adopted in our schools ; but is it not illogical to say that because there cannot be such a provision made to secure this positively, therefore such provision is wholly unnecessary—nay, injurious ?

"There are two very important objects to be attended to here. There is, first, a testimony to the truth and authority of the Word of God, to the paramount obligation of bringing the principles of the Word of God to bear on the education of the young. And when I speak of such a testimony as this, I do not speak of it merely as a testimony borne by those who are advocating the proposed plan ; but I speak of it as one which should be carried consistently out by those who are asked to take up this plan. It will not do to say we hold the paramount authority of the Word of God and the necessity of religious education. It is well that we should all bear that testimony ; but if I came to you asking your money, and asking you to put forth your efforts on behalf of my plan, it is not enough that I profess my own testimony for the truth of God, unless you also, whom I ask to take the responsibility of adopting my plan, profess yours. It is not enough that the parties proposing the plan profess sound views. I believe them. But they press upon the State a plan for which the State is to be responsible, and in which there is no testimony whatever to be borne on the part of the State to the authority of the Word of God, and its bearings on a sound education for the young. In short, what I maintain is, that you are seeking that a system shall be set up in the land of a national character, involving national responsibility, without asking for a national testimony to the truth of God and the authority of his Word. Now this is an object of primary importance, when the State is asked to devote its resources to any given object of this description, that the State is bound to discharge its conscience by a testimony in the very fore front of any system which may be set up, for the truth of God, and the necessity of education being founded on religion.

"But if we cannot positively secure the religious training of the young, we may at least negatively secure that such religious training shall not be excluded. To illustrate this, if those local boards, of which we have heard so much, had it fixed by Statute that the Bible and Shorter Catechism were to be introduced into every school under the national system, there would be some security if not that the teaching should be religious, yet at least that religion could not be, on any fair pretence, excluded; and the question could not be raised in the local boards, as to whether religion ought to be taught or not. And that is a valuable security which we are entitled to ask for any national system which we could take the responsibility of recommending for the adoption and guidance of the State.

"It has been said that the efforts of the Church in the cause of education have reached their limit. If so, I venture to say that this can be explained neither upon the principle that our people have not the power to support this scheme, nor upon the principle that they have not the will to support this scheme, nor upon the principle that the support of this scheme interferes with other objects. But if we have reached our limits, and if our efforts are exhausted, the explanation, I say, must be sought in the negligence of those office-bearers of the Church—ministers and elders—who have not obtempered the law of the Church, and have neglected to urge upon their people the claims of this important scheme. But, sir, I cannot and will not believe that we have reached the utmost limit of our efforts. If we are to go on year after year with no increase at all on the part of congregational collections, or with only so small an increase as we were able to report to-day, then I may truly say that we may be compelled to come to such a conclusion. If that day should ever come, I should hold that the office-bearers of the Church were responsible for not having discharged their duty in this matter, and that the responsibility did not lie with the people, who had taken a lively interest in the Church's educational efforts; and I say also that some of the responsibility would lie with those who are distracting the attention of this Church from the discharge of her present duty, and leading her into a course of political agitation which I think she should be very slow to engage in.

Sir, have we not, looking to the condition of other non-established Churches in the land, have we not signs there which every one might read, pointing out the importance, if we would maintain our position at all as the Church of future generations, of our not letting down the cause of the godly up-bringing of the young? I hold that the great security of our Church, as a non-established Church, her security for ages yet to come, is this, that, disestablished as she is, she is an exception to all other non-established Churches, in having from the first sought to set up her own college and her own schools, instead of being dependent on the supply furnished by others. The strength of our Church will be found to lie, I verily believe, unless times change, in her not having followed the example of some other bodies in the land—in her not having laid the burden of her theological education simply upon the ministry,—and in not having neglected the care of the religious education of the young,—and in having served herself heir to the fathers and families of the Scottish Church in days of old, taking up their testimony, and entering upon their labours."

The Resolutions supported by Dr. Candlish were carried by a majority of 238,—254 having voted for them, while only 16 voted for the Resolutions proposed by Dr. Begg.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and again at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August, Dr. Candlish spoke on the subject of Sabbath Labour in the Post Office.

At the close of the two days' examination of the Normal School in Edinburgh, previous to the Autumn vacation, he addressed the pupils, and reminded them, and all connected with the school, that its real character must be judged of not by the two days' examination but by their every-day walk and conversation:—

"He thought it right to say that he believed that those friends who were kind enough to visit them yesterday and to-day would have been as much gratified in visiting the Institution on the ordinary school days. In some respects they would be even more so. They would be prepared to give a cordial welcome to all who would visit them on common days; but, let him remind his young friends that it was by their deportment and conduct throughout the year that they would maintain the credit of the Institution; and, what was of far more importance, let him remind them that the education they were now receiving was an education that was to fit them for public usefulness, and, by God's blessing, to prepare them for immortality. They had been commended for the knowledge which they had manifested both of Scriptural history and evangelical doctrine, and let him in one word remind them that the knowledge of these things would but add to their condemnation at last, if it were not such a knowledge as led to a saving change of heart towards God."

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Soon afterwards, and before the end of August, Dr. Candlish, accompanied by Dr. M'Lauchlan and Mr. Meldrum, visited the Countess of Sutherland and Caithness on behalf of the Education Scheme, and by the appointment of the Committee on Education. Dr. M'Lauchlan has put on record his reminiscences of the tour, which I gladly give in his own words—

"We travelled north in the month of August by Aberdeen, where we spent a night, and got on the second evening to the neighbourhood of Forres, where we staid at the house of the Rev. Dr. Mackay, Free Church minister of Rafford. On leaving the house next morning he said, in speaking of the family which had entertained him, 'that is the picture of hospitality.' We crossed the Moray Firth in a small steamboat to Golspie, and got on by a conveyance to Helmsdale, where the Synod of Sutherland and Caithness were met, and where we received a cordial welcome.

"Next day he addressed the Synod with remarkable power on the subject of our mission. The church was crowded in every part, a large body of the general community being present. The audience was a thoroughly appreciative one, and the reception he met with was enthusiastic. He insisted on my speaking in Gaelic, which I did; and after all was over we received very cordial acknowledgments from the Synod, led by a man who at the time exercised much influence over the religious community of Sutherland,—the Rev. John Macdonald of Helmsdale,—a man who was also a warm admirer of Dr. Candlish, and an enthusiastic supporter of the Education Scheme. Dr. Candlish was quite delighted with his visit to the Synod, and often said how much he felt encouraged by their hearty support.

"From Helmsdale we crossed the famous Ord Hill into Caithness, and spent the first night in the country in the Free Manse of Latheron, where we were most kindly entertained by the Rev. Mr. Davidson, at that time the minister. Dr. Candlish had never been in the quarter before, and he was quite interested in all he saw. The descent of the Ord, the beautiful valley of Berriedale, the magnificent sea views as we travelled onwards towards Dunbeath, called forth loud expressions of admiration, such as all who knew him were familiar with in similar circumstances.

"For two days we were engaged in examining schools in Latheron, Lybster, and Bruan; and it was amusing and interesting to see the intense earnestness with which he examined the least child in those schools, setting himself to the work, in the thatched huts in which these Highland schools were taught, with as much zest as if it were in a great city institution. He examined a class in Greek at one place with great satisfaction, and he gave much time and attention to examinations on religious knowledge. In fact, 'religious education' was his text during the mission. He maintained firmly and eloquently that without religion education was defective in its most important part, as failing to train the conscience, and he was much satisfied to find that religion held so high a place in the teaching of these northern schools. For the high state of education in this district much was due to the late Rev. John Mackay, then minister of the Free Church at Lybster.

"At Wick he was warmly welcomed by the Rev. Charles Thomson. He preached twice on the Sabbath in the Free Church to large crowds. As I had to preach in Gaelic to the great congregation of Highland fishermen gathered at Wick, I had not the pleasure of hearing him, but it was said that he preached that day with unusual power.

"While in this northern town the Free Church community resolved to give him some token of the high esteem in which he was held by them, and they invited him, with Mr. Meldrum and myself, to a public breakfast. The attendance was large, and the feeling of those present most cordial. Among other things, it was stated by the Rev. Mr. Thomson, the chairman, 'That no one had appeared, for more than a hundred years, to whom Scotland was more indebted in the matter of education, than to Dr. Candlish.' In the course of Dr. Candlish's own address, he said that 'His one great aim and desire was that an ample provision be made for the godly upbringing of the children of the country. He was impressed with the conviction, and it was the opinion unanimously held by the members of the Free Church, that before their schools could obtain a religious character they must be under the management of a man who is himself deeply impressed with the importance of the things which belong to their salvation. As a Church they were not confined to one particular mode or another, but they held it as indispensable that this one object,—the godly upbringing of the children,—should be secured. In conclusion, he urged upon the meeting so to act in this matter as to issue a practical demonstration that they were indeed the Church of Scotland, and to prove to the world that in this Educational movement they were following in the footsteps of their forefathers.'

"At a large public meeting at night he advocated the cause of religious education with remarkable effect.

"On the Tuesday morning we left Wick for Castleton, on the north coast of Caithness. When within eight miles of the village, although it was only about eight o'clock, we observed groups of people on the road travelling in the same direction with ourselves. As we passed on the number of the groups increased, and at last he observed, 'there must be a market hereabout to-day.' I had, however, observed that the people carried bibles in their hands, and I said in reply, 'these people are going to hear you preach.' He said, 'that cannot be, we are only going to meet the office-bearers.' 'That may be true,' I said, 'but the people have heard that you are to be here, and they are determined that you shall preach.' Well,' he replied, 'but I have sent all my sermons on by the mail to Thurso. What am I to do?' By this time we had reached Castleton, the street of which was filled with people crowding towards the Free Church. After breakfast and worship at the manse, we proceeded towards the church, of which the Rev. Mr. M'Kenzie was minister. On our way Dr. Candlish said, 'It is clear that we must have public worship here this morning. Can you suggest a text?' I was rather taken aback, but, on reflecting a little, I said, 'Yes, you are here on the subject of bible education, take the passage in Psalm cxix. 9th verse—'Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to this word!' He made no reply, but soon after passed through the great crowd that thronged the church to the pulpit. Having finished the preliminary exercises, to my great surprise, notwithstanding the previous conversation, he announced for his text Psalm cxix., the 9th verse. I really did not know how he could preach without reading, and more especially without preparation, but a more masterly sermon I never heard. He riveted the attention of his congregation for more than an hour, and left them with all the impressions they had of his greatness as a preacher of the Word not only confirmed but deepened. I must acknowledge to having been deeply impressed myself with the power and success of the effort, knowing as I did all the particulars.

"At night we addressed a large meeting in Thurso in the Free Church, having first received a very hearty welcome from the Rev. Mr. Taylor and other brethren. At this meeting a somewhat curious incident occurred. I happened to speak briefly at the outset, and was in the pulpit when Dr. Candlish gave his address. As he proceeded, I thought I observed a face which I knew looking occasionally in at the door opposite us, but coming no farther. By and bye I thought that I recognised Mr. Hugh Miller, who was at the time geologising on the Caithness coast; and I was right. Mr. Miller differed from Dr. Candlish on the Education question, but was anxious to hear what he had to say, and took this mode of satisfying himself. It showed that on the question of Education he could not go with us, although no man had done more than he to promote the interests of the Free Church; and he took occasion to refer to the statements made that night in articles which soon after appeared in the *Witness* newspaper. Dr. Candlish and Mr. Miller were in reality not so far apart in sentiment as they supposed at the time.

"From Thurso we proceeded westward along the north coast of Caithness and Sutherland to Tongue. The journey was new to Dr. Candlish, and he often expressed himself strongly in admiration of the scenery as we passed along. The weather was beautiful. The land of Orkney appeared clear to the north, the Head of Hoy standing out in stern magnificence, presenting its bold front to the western ocean; the bleak muirland of Caithness stretched away to the left; the interesting valleys of the Halladale and

Strathy waters opened up on us; wild and weather-worn headlands disclosed themselves successively to the right, and in front lay the noble mountain-masses of the Reay country, including the giants Ben Loyal and Ben Hope. It was just the sort of scene to interest and to excite him.

"We called on the venerable Mr. Finlay Cook, then Free Church minister of Reay, and Dr. Candlish was charmed with the simplicity, cheerfulness, and earnest piety of the excellent old man, so long a man of note among the religious community of the north.

"We spent a night at Farr, in the manse of the Rev. David M'Kenzie, of the Free Church there, one of the most accomplished and estimable of Highland ministers. Dr. Candlish was quite taken with his fund of anecdote, many of his anecdotes having reference to men and measures in General Assemblies long before his own time. We preached both Gaelic and English to a large congregation here, Dr. Candlish preaching without paper to a deeply interested audience. Next day we left Farr; and, as Mr. M'Kenzie accompanied us in his own conveyance, I suggested to Dr. Candlish that he should travel with him, as he could tell him all about the country we passed through. 'I will, indeed,' he said; 'he is capital company.'

"When we reached Tongue we were cordially received by the Rev. George Mackay, and we found the church crowded to hear what we had to say. I preached Gaelic first, Dr. Candlish occupying a place in the elder's seat during the service. I had suggested that he should remain in the manse until the Gaelic was over. But he said, 'No, I want to give countenance to the Highlanders and their worship, although,' he added, laughing, 'it is a great exercise of self-denial.' He has more than once alluded since to the patience he exercised on that occasion on asking me to do something that required a little effort. And very patiently he did sit. He preached after in English with great power; and expounded, to the satisfaction of the people, his views on religious education.

"We travelled that night from Tongue up the valley that stretches for eighteen miles by Loch Loyal and the main stream that feeds it, to the inn of Altnaharra, at the head of Strathnaver. I travelled in the same conveyance with him. The evening was calm and soft, and he was quite in a mood for conversation. Among other subjects on which he talked was the brick church in the Lothian Road which my congregation occupied at the time, and which was built at the Disruption for him and the congregation of Free St. George's. He expressed a deep interest in the building, saying that the happiest days of his ministry were spent in it. He expressed the hope that it might never be used for any other purpose than that of a place of worship. In this his desire was gratified. I said that he must have felt it very painful to leave old St. George's at the Disruption. He said, 'Quite the opposite; there were men who sat in the elders' seat who had no sympathy with me, and I am glad to be separated from them.' Among other things the state of religion in the Church was talked over, and in connection with it the proceedings of the General Assembly when the report of the Committee on the State of Religion was given in. I said that many were surprised that he never spoke on the subject. I said, 'You set other men up to speak on the subject; good men, no doubt, but there are not a few who have as much confidence in your own personal religion, and your interest in these matters, and they would like to see you take your place. It is not good to confine this matter to one peculiar school in the Church.' His reply surprised me as evidence of a humility for which he did not always get credit: 'Ah, I have such a consciousness of my own shortcomings in the matter of personal religion that I often fear to open my mouth on the subject.' On hearing these words I said nothing more, but they did not make me think the less of his personal religion, however much the more.

"We spent a very pleasant evening at Altnaharra, our host, Mr. Harry Munro, being a firm Free Churchman, and a warm admirer of Dr. Candlish, although he had never seen him before, doing all he could to contribute to our comfort. Next day, when the bill was called for, no bill was forthcoming, Mr. and Mrs. Munro saying that they felt proud to entertain Dr. Candlish in their house, and that they hoped they might soon see him back again. In addition to this they sent a conveyance with us to Lairg, a distance of twenty-one miles. Dr. Candlish was quite struck with this instance of Highland hospitality, saying that it showed the hold which the Free Church had taken of the conscience and heart of the Highland people.

"On the way to Lairg we passed through a region entirely devoted to the rearing of sheep. Hardly is one human dwelling to be seen all the way. We had a long talk as we passed along on the subject of the Sutherland clearances, on which he spoke very strongly. Among other things he said, looking at some lambs that frisked by the wayside, 'I could conceive that the figure of a lamb, used as applicable to our Saviour, would not impress the popular mind here as it does elsewhere. Here it must convey impressions of a painful kind. The people can have no pleasant associations with a lamb.'

"We visited Golspie and Dornoch, in both of which he preached to large bodies of people, addressing them on the subject of our mission. Our last public meeting was in Tain, where, on a week-day evening, he addressed an immense congregation in the Free Church. Sitting together in the evening at Tain we conversed on the subject of the Disruption struggle. He spoke very strongly on the subject of the difficulty in getting many men who favoured the non-intrusion cause to sympathise fully with the principle of popular rights. He said it was far easier to get men to acknowledge the rights of the Church than the rights of the people, but that, for his own part, he had all along felt that the liberties of the Christian people were as clearly derived from Christ as those of the Church, and that he had uniformly taken that ground. In this, he said, he occupied the very ground occupied by his predecessor Dr. Andrew Thomson, of whose memory he spoke with high admiration. He said he thought he was the greatest man the Church had produced in modern times.

"Next evening, at Inverness, we separated. He and Mr. Meldrum were to leave in the morning for the south. I had, at an earlier hour, to take the coach for the east. We had had our evening worship in our room in the hotel, and some time after we were taking leave for the night, when he said, 'I don't think we three should part without prayer,' which he asked me to offer up. I said, 'No, there should be prayer, but you must offer it up.' He did so, and I shall never forget that prayer."

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in October, Dr. Candlish, speaking on the subject of Home Missions, adverted to the great and growing necessity of Home

Mission operations, especially in large towns; and at the meeting of Commission of Assembly in November he made a lengthened speech on the subject of Papal Aggression. The aggression complained of was a Papal Bull for establishing a hierarchy in England.

On the same subject he addressed a public meeting held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, in the beginning of December. He said—

"I do not feel it necessary to travel over the ground which has been already so well occupied,—not that the subject, but that the time is exhausted. I feel myself perfectly free to concur in the remarks of the preceding speaker (Dr. Thomson) as to our not seeking to meet this aggression on the part of Rome by enforcing any civil pains or even by restoring civil disabilities. I feel persuaded that the time is gone by when any such measures could be adopted; and I feel that we must have recourse to other weapons. But I cannot agree with those who think that either this aggression of the Church of Rome, or the more prominent aggressions of that Church,—for she is always on the aggressive,—are to be met purely and exclusively with spiritual weapons and spiritual means. I concur in the views expressed by preceding speakers, that there is in this system of Romanism such an essential intermixture of the civil and the spiritual,—that the claims of the Church of Rome have such a direct bearing on the civil and political rights and interests of man,—that it concerns individuals and nations, the prerogatives of sovereigns and the liberties of the people, that this system should be narrowly watched, and that it should not be regarded as in all respects entitled to be placed on the same footing with other forms of religious profession and belief. For example, it has been already said by preceding speakers that there must be a limitation to the unrestricted recognition of the law of toleration as regards some parts of the Popish worship. I presume that none of you will hold that it is any real infringement upon the essential rights of conscience for a Protestant country to prohibit and put down Papal processions, with the adoration of the host. I take it for granted that if this should be the next aggression on the part of the Church of Rome, —if we shall be threatened with Popish processions along our streets, with the object of idolatrous worship flaring before the eyes of a Protestant people, and expecting, moreover, that a Protestant people shall bow down before it and pay it respect, or, failing this, be dragged to the ground,—no puling whining sentimentalism about liberty of conscience and the rights of man will prevent this Protestant country from putting down what is an abomination in the sight of heaven, and an abomination as yet in the sight of men in this land. And I venture to think,—and here I speak entirely on my own responsibility, and simply as an individual, and rather in the way of throwing out a question than enunciating a principle,—I venture to think that something more even might be done, and ought to be done, in dealing with the Popish religion as tolerated among us. I venture to throw out the question—How far might it not be the duty of the Sovereign and Legislature of a Protestant country to protect all the subjects of her Majesty in the full and free use of the authorised version of the Scriptures? I cannot help thinking that there lies somewhere here a principle which it would be well for the Legislature and statesmen seriously to ponder. I cannot imagine that it could be considered as an infringement on the liberty and toleration awarded to the Church of Rome that the Sovereign of these realms, in the spirit of her ancestor, should give forth the utterance that every man, woman, and child within her dominions ought to possess a copy of the Word of God in the vernacular tongue, and that no priest, and no Pope should have a right to come between her subjects and the Word of God, and to debar them from having free access to the water of life. I may explain that this, of course, would not imply any interference with the rights of the Romish clergy in regard to using all their influence to keep their people away from the reading of the Scriptures. Let them use all possible arguments, and all possible modes of persuasion,—let them preach till they are tired against the free use of the bible in the vernacular tongue. It need not even interfere with the legitimate exercise of discipline. The Romish Church might, if she sees fit, exercise discipline on her adherents if she finds a copy of the Word of God in their possession. But I would have these two things made very summarily illegal,—the burning of a bible by a Popish priest when he finds it in a poor man's house, and the cursing of the poor man from the altar, so as to exclude him from the charities of civil and social life. There is a difference between the legitimate exercise of discipline in the way of declaring a person to be no longer a member of a church and the getting up of the scene of a Popish altar, when, with bell, book, and candle, a man is cursed, and denounced in the hearing of his fellow-citizens, and is actually barred out, not merely from the spiritual privileges, but formally and professedly barred out from all the charities, and all the hospitalities, and all the necessaries of this life."

The annual meeting on behalf of the Original Ragged School was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 7th January 1851. At this meeting Dr. Candlish moved one of the Resolutions, and said—

> "I rejoice in this opportunity of repeating my conviction of the continued necessity of these institutions, of their increasing value and importance, and the inestimable advantage of their having been originally based upon a sure foundation,—the foundation, namely, of the Word of God. It is right and fitting that we should close this meeting with an acknowledgment of the guidance of God ; and I believe that in the step which was taken, of declaring our unflinching adherence to the principle that the word of God, freely and without restriction, must be taught in this school,—I believe that this was of the Lord's guidance."

Dr. Candlish having in his speech adverted to efforts being made to withdraw children from the Original Ragged School and to draft them into the United Industrial School, was written to by Lord Murray, demanding the names of the parties referred to. This gave rise to a lengthened correspondence, which was published in the newspapers, and in which Dr. Candlish vindicated his statement by furnishing Lord Murray with the names and addresses of several parties who had been dealt with as represented, and naming also the Roman Catholic priests as the agents in making the efforts referred to.

On the 20th January Dr. Candlish made a stirring speech on the African Slave Trade at a public meeting in Edinburgh.

At the annual meeting of the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society on the 21st January, which was held in the Music Hall, Dr. Candlish moved the approval of the report, and expressed his belief that the Society was gradually leavening with religious impressions the minds of those coming forward for the medical profession ; and he was prepared to look ere long for one after another offering themselves for this most difficult work.

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, at the beginning of February, Dr. Candlish adverted to several overtures remitted by last General Assembly to Presbyteries for their consideration, and expressed his approval of them all. The overtures related to the appointment of an Examination Board to test the qualifications of students at their entrance to and exit from the Divinity Hall; to the requirement of a knowledge of the elements of Hebrew before entering the Hall; to regular attendance at the Hall for four Sessions; to the Constitution of the Theological Faculty; and to compulsory attendance on the Class of Natural Science.

There was published in the *Witness* of March 1, the Heads of a proposed Bill for National Education in Scotland. It is not necessary now to give an outline of the provisions of the Bill, and it is noticed here merely because Dr. Candlish was one of the promoters of it. The Heads of the Bill were sent to the Lords of the Committee of the Council on Education, accompanied with a letter signed by Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Candlish, A. E. Monteith, and Alexander Wood. On the 12th March Dr. Candlish expounded the scheme to a meeting of ministers and other office-bearers of the Free Church, held in George Street. The scheme, after all, proved abortive; except, perhaps, in so far as it may have helped to ripen the public mind for the final settlement of the question twenty years later.

Dr. Candlish addressed the Commission of Assembly on the Marriage-laws in India, and on Papal Aggression; and on the latter subject he again spoke at a public meeting in Edinburgh, vindicating the public agitation of the question, and appealing to the electors "to speak out in spite of the Irish Members and their sensitiveness about the honour of the Virgin's milk" (alluding to a scene in the House of Commons). "In spite of all that, they must hear the truth spoken in high places; and, by God's help, they would be enabled to preserve this country from the wiles and machinations of Rome."

On the 12th March he spoke on the subject of Home Missions, in support of an overture introduced by Mr. Sym in reference to spiritual destitution in large towns: "He would rejoice," he said, "if this movement would take a shape to warrant the promoters of Home Missions to overtake the out-field population in calling competent men from the country to take charge of such enterprises."

In his extreme anxiety to avoid what he foresaw would be a keen controversy, leading probably to alienations and heart-burnings among very warm friends, Dr. Candlish took a strong step at the Assembly 1851. There were brought up to that Assembly overtures on the subject of College Extension from four Synods and seven Presbyteries of the Church, and Dr. Candlish proposed that the Assembly should pass from the consideration of them. His reasons for this proposal he stated at length; and at the close of his speech summarised them as follows:—

> "I think, first, that there is no great call addressed to us from without, either from the overtures or in the shape of public discussion;—no great call upon us from without which should lead us to break in upon the proceedings of the Assembly, otherwise harmonious, by taking up the question. I have shown, secondly, that there are strong considerations connected with the circumstances of the passing of the Resolutions which were last year adopted, which make it inexpedient to take up the subject for another year. You will remember that these Resolutions were adopted last year in particular circumstances, and to serve a great and good end, and they have to a great extent served that end. My third argument refers to the peculiarly solemn character of this Assembly, and the place it is likely to hold in the history of this Church, and the influence it is fitted, by God's blessing, to exercise on uncounted numbers of the souls of men here and in other lands, the extreme importance of preserving unbroken, from the first to the last, that blessed character it

has hitherto enjoyed. The fourth reason, that to my mind there is no reason for taking up these overtures is, that there is nothing in the amendment which states that the Resolutions of last year are objectionable."

The circumstances alluded to in Dr. Candlish's third argument, as to the character of that Assembly, were that Dr. Duff was its moderator, and gave the Assembly very much of a missionary character, and also that it had set apart a whole day for exercises of humiliation and prayer, commenced by a sermon by Dr. Samuel Miller.

The Assembly, however, did not adopt Dr. Candlish's views; and the discussion which commenced was, after some time, arrested by Dr. R. Buchanan, whose proposal was accepted, to appoint a Committee to which both of the motions before the House should be remitted, to endeavour to frame some resolution in which the Assembly might concur. The report of this Committee was brought up at a subsequent diet and was adopted, a few members dissenting. The report was in the form of Resolutions, which Dr. Cunningham said he agreed to only on the understanding that they were explanatory of, and supplementary to those of last Assembly. They were as follows:—

"1. That, under the Resolutions of last Assembly, the admissibility of College Extension in general is no longer a matter of controversy in this Church, but a question of time and circumstances.

"2. That this Church is perfectly free to welcome, and will welcome, the benefactions of its friends designed to provide theological education at Aberdeen and Glasgow, as well as at Edinburgh.

"3. That it must always be the right and duty of the Church to entertain any proposal for endowing a theological seminary, even irrespectively altogether of its bearing on existing institutions.

"4. That it be remitted to a Committee of this House, to be called the Finance and Endowment Committee, to take all proper measures to prosecute the foregoing Resolutions.

"And with respect to Aberdeen the Assembly should declare—

"1. That the Presbytery of Aberdeen be authorised and instructed to superintend the theological institute at Aberdeen, and to report annually to the General Assembly thereon.

"2. That an additional professorship at Aberdeen ought to be established as soon as sufficient means, inclusive of at least a partial endowment, shall be provided for the purpose."

Dr. Candlish, besides giving in the Report of the Education Committee, and addressing the Assembly on the subject, spoke also on the Sustentation Fund, on Papal Agression, and on Spiritual Destitution in Glasgow, the last of which subjects was specially brought under the notice of the House by Dr. Robert Buchanan, and was the initial movement which led to the formation of the Wynd Church, and the wonderful results which have flowed from it.

The Assembly having resolved to discontinue the annual collection hitherto made for the Education Scheme, and to maintain it by means of monthly contributions, rendered it necessary that a great part of Dr. Candlish's summer work should be directed towards the organising of agencies for following up this new method efficiently. On the 11th June, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, accordingly, he submitted a report in which it was recommended that an agency should be appointed in the several congregations for the monthly uplifting of contributions for the Education Scheme. The task he had on hand was by no means an easy one. He had difficulties with those who were contending for what he regarded as a defective national scheme; and difficulties, not a few, with those who in the main were supporters of his views. On the 1st July he wrote to Mr. Gregory, who was a very able coadjutor in promoting the Education Scheme:—

"I am sorry I must be absent from the Presbytery to-morrow, as I have to preach for Dr. Sievewright. We must meet on the 10th for hearing discourses. It may be right to make that an open meeting. Still you had better say something about the report which lies on the table.

"I fear I may have manifested too much feeling in regard to the matter at issue to-day, and in sub-committee. In one word, what I dread is the raising up of the interests of the general body of teachers in antagonism to the efficiency of the Normal Schools. This is a topic so apt to be made use of *ad captandum*, so fitted to enlist the very worst and meanest jealousies of a certain class, so easily capable of a representation that must damage us, and so difficult of explanation to minds disqualified for taking a large view of our duty and expediency in this present crisis, that I do confess I look upon any countenance that may seem to be given to it by the more intelligent members of our Committee with utter dismay. I am as desirous as any man can be of economising our Normal School expenditure. And, on the merits of that question *per se*, I am ready to go as far as possible in the way of retrenchment. But what I dread above all things is the pandering to a propensity, strong enough already, to institute comparisons between the Normal department and the general expenditure of our Scheme, and to raise a senseless clamour against what we spend in supporting our Normal Schools, as if it was so much abstracted from the income of our teachers. I do not mean this sentence to apply to you. All that I felt to-day, and formerly, was that you did not seem sufficiently alive to this danger. I fully and firmly believe that any encouragement given to the idea that the expense of our Normal Schools is to be held up as a burden on our teachers is absolutely ruinous. It is the fable of the golden eggs over again. Give me a well-equipped system of Normal School training, and I will undertake to raise the salaries to what we wish them to be (*D.V.*) in a very reasonable space of time. But once let a prejudice be created or fostered against the Normal Schools as too expensive,—you cut the sheet anchor of the scheme, and, while seeming to plead for the poor teachers, you effectually keep them poor."

In the same line Dr. Candlish moved, in the Commission of Assembly in August, that no teacher should be regarded as a regular teacher under the Education Scheme who had not submitted to the Government examination, and obtained a certificate of merit.

On the 2d September he wrote from North Berwick to Mr. Dunlop:—

"I wish I could name a Sabbath in September for visiting you; but I greatly fear that I must deny myself that pleasure. I am to preach in Edinburgh on Sabbath first, at Prestonkirk on the 14th, and at Dunse, on educational business, before the month ends. In fact the educational work will occupy my spare time till we return to town."

On the 4th September, writing to Mr. Gregory, he says:—

"I have seen Mr. Thomson of Prestonkirk to-day. He tells me that if I preach at Dunbar on the evening of the Sabbath on which I preach for him, I have little or no chance of a Free Church congregation. That is, it would be a mere miscellaneous gathering. Then, again, the Presbytery meets at Dunbar on the first Tuesday of October. Now might it not be worth while for us to be there at that time. Suppose that I preach at Greenlaw on the Monday (6th October) as proposed; then let us—you and me—rendezvous at Dunbar on the 7th, attend the Presbytery, and have sermon and addresses in the evening. This strikes me as a good plan."

Then, again, on the 10th September, he wrote from North Berwick to Mr. Gregory—

"I don't like to face Kelso and Jedburgh alone. Neither do I think you should have Galashiels and Melrose alone. They are all important places. Could you not persuade Hetherington to give his services. The expense need not be very considerable. Or some man nearer the ground might join you or me. I will arrange for a meeting here on Friday the 19th. You to preach,—I to address along with you. I have preached here enough."

On the 2d October Dr. Candlish was present at a dinner given in Glasgow to Mr. Campbell of Tullichewan, and spoke on the Education Scheme and the undertakings of the Free Church. He said—

"I do not think the Free Church is undertaking more than she should accomplish. I do not think she is accomplishing half what she ought to accomplish for the glory of God and the good of souls. When we consider the marvellous ways in which the Lord has led us,—when we consider that God has raised up for us such men as Mr. Campbell, I beg to ask Mr. Campbell whether his heart was now stirred up by hearing that the Free Church was undertaking more than she could accomplish? On the contrary, I think we should just place before our people what should be done, for I do not think we are brought within miles of the limits to our efforts. I beg to ask who is the poorer for the extraordinary efforts made after the Disruption? I believe we did call upon our people for extraordinary efforts and sacrifices, but I do not hear any complain that they have gone beyond their means; and I am bold to say that if we were going on at the same rate, not only this Education Scheme, but what Dr. Duff proposed for India, and all our schemes, might be amply supported. I do not like the idea being thrown out that the Free Church is undertaking more than she could accomplish. I believe the real truth rather to be that we are likely to lose the time of our visitation,—likely to cool down and forget what it was that we were raised up for as a Free Church."

One can hardly be surprised at Dr. Candlish speaking so confidently when we find him writing to Mr. Dunlop on the 28th October—

"You will be glad to hear that my plan has succeeded. Although the sum needed has turned out to be more than I had anticipated (£2500), still I am now in circumstances to meet it. I have felt altogether overpowered by the kindness and liberality of the friends I have appealed to. And I never more thoroughly apprehended in such a matter the good and gracious hand of God. The sum is made up among twenty-eight parties. And I have met with nothing but cordial friendly feeling in all to whom I have applied."

This was certainly a handsome contribution towards the Education Scheme.

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the beginning of November, Dr. Candlish stated what his congregation had done in the way of commencing a new Territorial Mission Church in Fountainbridge. They had marked out for themselves a territory, and had procured a desirable site for church, manse, and school, the school being already erected, and in full operation and free of debt.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November, Dr. Candlish spoke both on the Education Fund and the Sustentation Fund.

From a letter addressed to Mr. Gregory, who had been translated from Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh, to Anstruther, and expected Dr. Candlish to introduce him to his new charge, it appears that Dr. Candlish had been seized with illness. He says—

> "Although better I am still far from well, and wholly unfit for leaving home. Indeed, I am under an interdict as to that. I have not yet been out of the house, and can scarcely say whether or not I shall be able for my own work on Sabbath. I hope I may be able, but that is all. Mr. Sym has kindly agreed to be with you, and this, I am sure, will answer the purpose well."

In January 1852 the subject of the Sustentation Fund was discussed at two meetings. At the adjourned meeting on the 14th, Dr. Candlish spoke at great length in support of a proposal by the Sustentation Fund Committee to endeavour to come to an arrangement with Deacons' Courts as to the amount they might agree to contribute to the Sustentation Fund, on the understanding that if the agreed-upon amount was contributed, the minister should receive the equal dividend of £127, and if the contributions exceeded that amount, the minister should get the benefit of that excess up to £150, any excess of contribution beyond satisfying this condition to go to Church Extension. The proposal of the Committee was carried in the Presbytery, and afterwards in the General Assembly, but was soon abandoned in consequence of the opposition excited against it.

At a great public meeting held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 26th February, in reference to the expulsion of the missionaries to the Jews at Pesth by the Austrian Government, Dr. Candlish moved the Resolution, "That the proceedings now complained of are to be traced to the machinations of the Church of Rome; that they afford evidence of the understanding which now subsists between that Church and the despotic Governments of the Continent, and that they must be regarded as forming part of an organised plan for driving out all British Protestants from Papal Europe."

On the question of appealing to Government on the subject, he said—

"It is asked, What would you have the Government to do? Are we, say some, to go to war about this grievance? Is this a grievance sufficient to warrant and to call for our sending out troops to Austria, as sometime ago we sent our ships to the shores of Greece? On that point I cannot but feel that there are one or two things that ought to be plainly and frankly said. I speak as an individual, and commit no one to the sentiments I express; but I do think that when such language as this is used it is high time to have a little plain speaking upon this subject. And I would say, first, that it is intolerable that we should always be met by this question, Are we to have recourse to the last measure, when even the first measure is refused? It is time enough to ask, Shall we go to war? when we have tried all other expedients, and tried them in vain. I believe that if we tried all possible expedients to get permission for our countrymen to remain in Austria,—if we tried remonstrances, representations, the withdrawing of our countenance, and every other expedient to which a Government may have recourse,—if we tried them all in vain,—if Austria was still bent on driving every British subject out of her dominions, it would still be a question, Is there a case here for war? It would still be a question, not, Has this country a right to go to war on such grounds, but, Is it worth her while,—is she sustaining any real or serious injury? Is it any grievous thing for British subjects to be shut out from that den of loathsome tyranny? Is it any grievous injury to Britain that Austria will not allow the free and wholesome air of British opinion to circulate within her dominions? The harm, the loss, is to Austria, and not to Britain. And therefore I say that even in that last extremity the question would still remain. But it is intolerable to fling it in our face when we are simply asking for the first and readiest resource, which is to demand redress, and to demand it in the bold and manly and reasonable style in which British statesmen should always speak. I must further say that I am not one of those who believe it possible to have war, in present circumstances, banished from the face of the earth. I believe that so long as Popery, and tyranny, and infidelity, and the principles of anarchy exist and prevail in the world, war must be inevitable. I believe that peace will come, but peace will not come till Popery goes. Peace, sure and settled peace, will never come till tyrannical thrones are overthrown. Peace, pure and holy peace, will never come till law and order are established upon the face of the earth, and the blessed gospel of the grace of God is proclaimed to all the world. And if we are to be continually asked, when we demand the interposition of our Government to protect our persons and our properties in foreign countries, or when we ask them to interfere in any way to promote the cause of civil and religious liberty abroad, or to maintain the rights and liberties of its supporters, —if we are to be asked, Will you drive the Government to war? we must take leave to tell them that bad as war is, and it is impossible to paint its horrors in too strong colours, bad as it is, there are things in the world that are worse still than war. But further, I think it important that this statement should be made, at least that this opinion should be given forth. I humbly venture to think that to deprecate and dread war continually, and to be everlastingly afraid of doing or saying anything that might by possibility, in the last resort, compel a recourse to arms, is the very line of policy to make the evil you dread come,—is precisely the line of policy to provoke aggression,—is precisely the line of policy to precipitate the calamities of that war which you profess to be trying to keep away from you. I cannot but think that the statesmen and legislators of this country would do well to act upon the maxim, if not, *fiat justitia ruat cœlum*—yet upon the maxim, 'present duty is ours, future contingencies are in higher hands.' And present duty is to protect the injured, and to redress wrong. These are parts of present duty, let the Government and let the country attend to this, and leave the issue in the hands of the God of battles.

"I have dwelt too long on the subject entrusted to me, but I cannot but feel these are times, and these are events that must stir the hearts of men, not only as Christians, but as Britons, nay, as members of the human family, sympathising with the groans of humanity wherever these groans are heard. And, when we cast our eyes abroad upon the world,—when we think of the blood which the present French tyrant has shed within his capital,—when we think of the multitudes he has sent into dreary exile,—when we think of the numbers that are rotting in his jails,—when we think of the silence he has imposed upon public opinion and the public press,—and when we go to other lands, when we go to Italy and Austria,—when we think of the tortures inflicted there, not always upon the bodies, perhaps, but upon the souls of the wretched victims of Popery,—when we think of those who are sent to perish of malaria in foul climates,—when we think of those who are liable to be seized in the dead of night and cast into prison for no real crime,—when we think of these things it is high time for us to be up and doing, and to feel that we have a duty lying upon us to express our sympathy with the groans of suffering humanity under the heavy iron yoke of Popery and arbitrary power. And if, indeed, such measures as we are this day deploring are intended to act as a screw upon this great country,—if the expulsion of these British Protestants and these British subjects is intended to force this country to resign the privilege and the honour she has had so long of being the asylum of the free and the refuge of the oppressed,—if these haughty potentates think that by casting out our brethren, and thousands more of our countrymen, they are to make us cast forth the refugees their own tyranny has sent to our shores, I can readily tell what the response will be. Every man among us will rise and say, No, you may shut us, and all our people, out of your borders, you may be inhospitable as the cold frosty North Pole, you may be tyrannical and oppressive, but England, England ever shall be free; and this great country, proud of her freedom, shall be proud to welcome the friends of freedom whom tyranny has driven from their homes. We shall not retaliate, we shall not abridge the privileges of foreign residents in this country at the bidding and after the example of these foreign despots. We shall not apply to Popery here the measures they apply to Protestantism abroad; but it will be well if our statesmen and our whole people by these transactions have their eyes opened to the real character of Popery, and their consciences and hearts deeply impressed with the duty of being up and doing against this gigantic evil."

Dr. Candlish had promised to preach at the opening of a new Church at Corsock, which Mr. Dunlop had built upon his property; and on the 16th April he wrote Mr. Dunlop, after returning from the south of England,—

"Is it the second Sabbath of May I am to be with you? That day will suit me very well. I will try to give a day to boating, and another to the heather.

"Why don't you come forward for Edinburgh? It would be true patriotism. In these days you must not be allowed to settle down in the 'dull happiness' or 'happy dulness' of which you speak so complacently. Every man at his post; and yours is not yet exclusively that of a country squire or laird. You will not refuse a requisition from Greenock, at all events. Let our friends there, if they are willing, have another opportunity of retrieving their credit. Excuse all this, but think seriously of the duty of going in to the next Parliament somehow. I fancy it may prove as critical as almost any that has been returned since 1688."

The following note to Mr. Dunlop on the 5th May, although of no importance in itself, may help to indicate the continual pressure of work of various kinds under which Dr. Candlish was kept:—

"I beg pardon for not writing sooner, but I could not fix my time for leaving home till this afternoon, in consequence of a troublesome inquiry into our Irish Mission here, of which I have charge. I find now that we must have a meeting on Friday at twelve. If I could get a conveyance to your place in the afternoon of that day I would like well enough to have the Saturday unbroken. But as it is, I must make up my mind to delay my arrival till Saturday afternoon. I see that by a train from Glasgow I can reach Dumfries about three o'clock (2.50) on Saturday, and I am inclined to go through to Glasgow on Friday evening and take that train. If I should change my mind and take the train from this on Saturday morning, I can easily amuse myself in Dumfries for an hour or two. I would propose, therefore, that your conveyance should be forthcoming in Dumfries about three o'clock on Saturday afternoon. I will arrange to remain with you till Tuesday; but Wood presses me to give him an evening in Dumfries. And Tuesday evening must be the time, as I must be home on Wednesday. I am really sorry to be so hurried in my visit, but this affair of the Irish Mission has disconcerted my plans. At any rate it is only an initial visit."

CHAPTER XVI.

Assembly 1852—Union with Original Seceders—Provision for Parochial Teachers—Home Mission—Education Scheme—Irish Mission—Mission at Pesth—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Students' trials for license—University tests—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Persecutions in Tuscany—College controversy—Assembly 1853—Claim of right—University tests—Sustentation Fund—Fountainbridge—Aberdeen Hall—Education Scheme—Day of Humiliation—Death of Dr. Gordon—Paid Popish chaplains in prisons—Death of Mrs. Candlish, senior—Lecture in Exeter Hall—Education Bill—Aberdeen Hall—Assembly 1854—Aberdeen Hall—American slavery—Home letter—Various meetings—Aberdeen Hall—New College—Sustentation Fund—Spanish evangelisation—College controversy—Sympathy with Dr. Candlish—Call to Renfield, Glasgow—Letter on—Assembly 1855—Sustentation Fund—College extension—Education—Visit to Ireland—Debt extinction—Letter to Dr. Hamilton—Parochial teachers—Industrial Schools—Education Bills.

THE General Assembly of 1852 was signalised by the union of the Original Secession Synod with the Free Church. Dr. Candlish took a very prominent part in promoting this union; and partly at least as a preparation for it he prepared and submitted to the General Assembly of 1851 a document, which was adopted, under the title of an Act and Declaration anent the publication of the Subordinate Standards, and other authoritative documents of the Church. It is a historical testimony, identifying the position and principles of the Free Church with those which had been held by the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. The Original Secession Synod accordingly approached the Free Church with a representation in which was set forth the fact that their fathers, when driven from the Church of Scotland, appealed to the first free and reforming Assembly, and that they regard the Assembly of the Free Church as representing the body to which this appeal had been taken. On this representation the Union was happily consummated.

This Assembly had to dispose of two cases of discipline, in which Dr. Candlish took the leading part, as, indeed, he almost always did in such cases, showing a singular power in analysing evidence, and bringing out the real merits of the case.

Besides giving in the Report of the Education Committee, and adverting to its operations, he spoke on various matters which engaged the attention of the Assembly,—on University Tests, and on Spiritual Destitution in Glasgow. On the subject of the position of parochial teachers, and in the prospect of some change in the Act of Parliament affecting their salaries, as provided in the Act at the end of twenty-five years, Dr. Candlish said :—

> "We are far from asking that there shall be no new Act touching the salaries of the parochial teachers; but what we ask is, that there shall be no new Act passed touching their salaries, that shall not also look to the constitution of these schools, and the terms on which the parish schoolmasters are appointed, and also to opening them in an equitable, and safe, and scriptural way, to teachers of youth who may not be able at present to sign the formula of the Establishment. I cannot think that a movement of the sort I have now explained is fairly liable to misconstruction. No doubt it may be misconstrued, and it may be alleged that we are trying to take an unfair advantage of this incidental circumstance in the history of the parish schools; but it does not appear to me in that light. What I think is this: we have a crisis likely to occur that will force the legislature to look at the subject of the position of these parish schools, and what we want is, that if they are to look at the subject at all they shall look at it in all its bearings; that if they are to legislate at all upon the subject they shall not legislate for a corner of the subject, but for the whole of the subject. In other words, I object not to any measure for preventing a decrease in the salaries of the parochial teachers, nor even to

any measure for increasing them, but to any such measure that shall be passed that has not looked in the face the question of opening up these parochial schools to other teachers not belonging to the Establishment, and otherwise reforming the whole system. If this be not done, I think that great injustice would be done to the other bodies in the country that are carrying forward educational efforts. I think it would be unjust and hard that the parish teachers should have their salaries increased,—for we may rely upon it that it will be an increase of salary that will be attempted, and not merely a measure proposed for preventing a decrease—while no corresponding benefit will be conferred upon the other parties labouring in the cause of education. It would subject these parties to a great disadvantage, and hinder the extension of sound education in Scotland, and that merely for the purpose of keeping up the narrow, exclusive, and sectarian character of the teaching of the parochial schools of Scotland. On the contrary, if our friends of the Establishment, and if Parliament, would fairly look this injustice in the face, to the extent at least to which we ask them (to admit of the appointment of masters *bona fide* willing to own the Word of God and the Shorter Catechism, and to give religious instruction accordingly), if they would consider whether the parish schools might not be thrown open thus far at least, and that is the very least extent, I suppose, that any of us would be satisfied with. Many of us would desire a still further opening; but this is not precisely the question for discussion now,—that is the very least opening that would possibly satisfy us, and it is an opening to the extent of which this whole Church is unanimous in holding as a desirable basis of the education of the youth of the land. We are all agreed that education on the basis of the Bible and Shorter Catechism is a desirable thing for Scotland. Some of us think that national education upon a lower basis might be procured and accepted; but we are all agreed in holding that upon the basis of the Bible and Shorter Catechism the national education of Scotland might be fairly put. I think that is nearly the unanimous opinion of the Church. That being the case, what we say is this: look in the face the position in which the parish schools now stand. The striking of the average next year may affect the temporal comfort of the schoolmasters. Look this question in the face. Could you not consent to put these parish schools on such a footing as would secure a cordial and unanimous co-operation in the direction of accomplishing the end you have in view, namely, of improving the comfort of your parochial teachers? I think that this, so far from being a hostile, should be regarded as a friendly ground; and, at all events, it is to my mind a fair and necessary ground in the circumstances, that we should protest against Parliament legislating upon one part of this subject without looking at the whole matter; and that we should set forth our conviction that, before any change is made regulating the financial condition of the parish schools, there shall be an opening of these schools, at least to the extent of admitting sound teachers of other denominations, and that there shall be a general revisal of the system of management and superintendence."

The Report of the Home Mission Committee having been given by Mr. Sym, the convener, Dr. Candlish said:—

"Mr. Sym in his report expressed his hope, and the hope of his committee, that this Church would seek to prove her identity with the Church of Scotland from the beginning, not merely by historical evidence, but by the palpable evidence of present exertion. Most cordially do I respond to that sentiment. This Church is placed in the position of having a very precious opportunity of identifying herself in the most emphatic way with the Church of Scotland from the time of the first and second Reformations. We are about to consummate a union with a body of brethren who seceded from us upwards of a century ago, upon a principle that most emphatically brings out the historical identity of this Church from the days of Knox, Henderson, and Melville, down to the present time. But, sir, I would despair for my Church,—I would despair for my country, if we were to lie upon our oars, resting upon the mere evidence which historical documents, or transactions founded upon historical documents, may afford, if we have nothing more to show in proof of our being in very deed and truth the Church that from the beginning conferred essential blessings upon Scotland. I should be ashamed of our Church, I should despair of our having God's blessing upon any steps we took, I should fear that the very union we are now consummating would meet with a curse instead of a blessing, if we were to rely upon such evidence solely to prove our identity with the Church of Scotland from the beginning. No, sir, it is not by raking up musty documents,—it is not by going back to old testimonies,—it is not even by consummating new unions upon the footing of these documents and testimonies,—that we are to establish really our claim to be the living representatives of our forefathers, but by showing that we are the living descendants of these men; that we have life in us; that we are alive to the exigencies of the times in which our lot is cast; and that we are prepared to take the full responsibility of the Church of Scotland in reference to dealing with the spiritual wants of our countrymen everywhere."

During the summer Dr. Candlish was again busy prosecuting the Education Scheme. On the 10th July he wrote to Mr. Gregory :—

> "With Dr. Buchanan's sanction I am writing to the Sustentation Fund deputies, asking them to give attention to the interests of the Education Scheme in the places they visit (deputies from the Sustentation Fund Committee were visiting Deacons' Courts and congregations to endeavour to come to some agreement as to the sum they were to contribute). I need not say anything to enlist your sympathy. We cannot have deputations of our own this summer, and this is the next best plan to try. A short report of what you see, and hear, and do, in an educational point of view, will be very welcome."

On the 15th July Dr. Candlish reported to the Presbytery of Edinburgh the result of the enquiries in regard to the Irish Mission, about which he had written to Mr. Dunlop; which was in substance that the Mission should not continue to be carried on under the superintendence of the Presbytery, but on the basis of a broader connection.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August Dr. Candlish reported on the Examination of Students by the Board of Examiners, of which he was Convener; and, in reference to the Education Scheme, complained of misrepresentations which had been made in some quarters as to the manner in which the fund had been raised for the payment of teachers. He said—

> "I expressly stated to the Assembly that the proceeds between Martinmas and Whitsunday, drawn in the ordinary way through the Associations, were the only and the exclusive source whence we derived the payments of our teachers; and yet to be told in the face of that, and to have it sent forth over the Church and the country that there must be some juggle in all this,—that it could not be a *bona fide* transaction,—is more than I feel it to be my duty to stand in serving the Church. Much as I am willing to labour and to suffer

in serving the Church, I think I am entitled to protection against such charges and insinuations as these."

On the 15th November, at a meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on behalf of Home Mission efforts in that city, Dr. Candlish moved a Resolution earnestly encouraging congregations in the work of organising new congregations, and increasing the supply of gospel ordinances. He concluded an earnest speech by saying—

"In carrying forward this work I am very sure that the congregations of Glasgow will be themselves revived and refreshed, and will experience a new outpouring of the Spirit, just in proportion as they lend themselves to this good work of seeking to raise the masses living without God in the world into Christian congregations, enjoying like themselves the benefits of Christian ordinances, and adorning as they do all the doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November Dr. Candlish adverted to the expulsion of the Protestant Missionaries in Hungary by the Austrian Government, and read a letter of remonstrance to Lord Malmesbury, which the Commision adopted.

On the 10th December he wrote Mr. Dunlop—

"There is a rumour coming from high authority which greatly alarms us here. It is said that Government means to concede to the Establishment that the existing endowments of schools shall be held equivalent, so far as they go, to what is required to be raised by voluntary contribution in other cases to make out a claim for annual grants. We got a distinct pledge in 1847 that this would not be done. And without that pledge we would not have acquiesced in the minutes of Council so far as we did. Now mark the iniquity. The present Government plan is meant to call out new efforts in the cause of education by proportionate grants of public money. By this measure it merely relieves heritors and others in the Establishment, and betters the old teachers. Then we and other educationists have been going on upon the faith of our getting fair play. This move would ruin us, or nearly so. But, above all, it is a vile trick to evade a Parliamentary discussion of the question as to increasing the salaries of parish teachers, without opening up and reforming the system. A minute of Council, by the stroke of a pen does the thing. Moncreiff is writing to Lord John about this. Will you try to learn how the matter stands? If there is any danger in that direction we must make a row about it here and in London."

On the 3d January 1853, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh Dr. Candlish, seconded by Dr. Cunningham, proposed an overture to the Assembly to prevent students being taken on trials for license before the completion of their theological course. This was a necessary step in consequence of the regulations of the Board of Examination.

On the 2d February, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh Dr. Candlish proposed an overture to the Assembly for the abolition of University tests, and petitions to Parliament on the same subject. He said—

> "He was satisfied that the existence of these tests not only afforded no security for the soundness of the faith or teaching of the professors, but was *contra bonos mores* against the plainest principles and interests of morality. He confessed that the enforcing of the tests seemed to him at present to be an encouragement or bounty upon,—he was going to say a certain kind of profligacy—he meant a want of conscientiousness in undertaking obligations. It was matter of notoriety that, in those universities in which the tests were enforced, those who signed them often had not read them, and undoubtedly did not believe what they signed."

On the 26th February Dr. Candlish wrote to Mr. Dunlop:—

> "Mackellar, R. Buchanan, and I, have been appointed to proceed to London for the purpose of seeing the members of the Government, and explaining our views about the parish schools, and the reform and extension of the system. We think of starting from this on Monday week. Will you be in London during that week? And do you think it a good time? We don't want a public demonstration and formal deputation so much as to get opportunities of quietly stating our sentiments, and giving and getting information."

On the 28th February Dr. Candlish spoke at a public meeting in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, in reference to persecutions in Tuscany. He said—

He supposed there was scarcely any one now present who, on entering the room to-day, had the least idea of the extent of the horrible nature of the persecutions going on in Tuscany. They had all heard about the Madiai,—they had heard a little while ago about Count Guicciardini,—they had heard of one or two more; but such a system of espionage,—such a system of gratuitous cruelty,—such a system of murdering men and women, if not by slow poison, by what he would say was infinitely worse,—such a system as seemed likely, ere long, to take the aspect of blood, none of them had any notion of. And those engaged in it might depend upon it, that if that newly polished guillotine began to do its work upon these poor persecuted Christians, it would not, in all probability, be allowed soon to rust, and might have other work to do before the day be done. He prayed God that the hearts of these infatuated persecutors might be turned, and that their eyes might be opened ere it be too late. It was a fearful thing to shed innocent blood; it was a fearful thing to shed the blood of the saints and the holy ones of the most High; and it became the Christians of this country to raise their voices and to warn the potentates of this earth that the cry was yet to be heard of the souls under the altar, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost not thou judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March Dr. Candlish reported on the examination of students, and made a statement as to contributions to the Education Scheme.

On the 20th April Dr. Candlish wrote to Mr. Dunlop urging him to consider earnestly the subject of College Extension, and the recent discussion in the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the subject, feeling aggrieved by certain statements made by Dr. Cunningham affecting himself, and asking advice as to whether it might not be best for him to resign his commission to the Assembly, if that would tend to promote peace. He said—

"The advocates of College Extension and of Aberdeen are naturally, and I think justly, incensed; and it will be difficult to moderate and to keep the peace. If I thought that by God's help I could aid in doing so, I would waive all my scruples, and too thankfully bury all I have to say in oblivion, and go on to do my best for promoting good faith and good feeling now."

On the 9th May he again wrote to Mr. Dunlop:—

"Cunningham has written me a letter, to which I have replied in such a way as to prevent farther mischief, I hope. I mean to go to the Assembly. I may hold my peace on the College question, and certainly will make no complaint."

There were two subjects which were very largely discussed in the Assembly 1853. One of them, and the most important, was in reference to the college at Aberdeen. There was a wide difference of opinion in the Church as to whether it was best for the interests of the Church to have only one Theological College, or more than one, and the death of Dr. M'Lagan, the one professor at Aberdeen, afforded the occasion of opening the question whether a successor to him should be appointed; and there were, besides, a number of overtures on the subject. Dr. Cunningham moved—

"That the General Assembly, having maturely considered the overtures, resolve to appoint a committee to consider the question whether or not a theological institution should be continued at Aberdeen; and in order to collect more fully the mind of the Church upon this subject, instruct all Presbyteries to take this question into their deliberate consideration, and to transmit their opinion upon it to the Committee to be appointed by this Assembly on or before the 31st March next; instruct the Committee to report to the next General Assembly upon these returns, and upon the question to which they relate; and, in the meantime, resolve to appoint for next session an interim professor to discharge the duties of the Chair of Theology filled by the late Dr. M'Lagan."

Dr. Candlish, who had always been of opinion that there should be more Colleges than one, moved—

"That the General Assembly, having considered the overtures and relative memorial, together with the report of the Select College Committee, and, having in view the proceedings of this Church since the year 1843, in the matter to which the said overtures and memorial refer, declare that the Resolutions and Acts of the Assemblies 1850, 1851, and 1852, ought not to be interfered with; and, accordingly, the General Assembly resolve to fill up the vacancy in the Divinity Chair at Aberdeen occasioned by the lamented death of Dr. M'Lagan; and inasmuch as the state of the College finances, though more satisfactory than heretofore, does not appear yet to warrant the appointment of a second professor as contemplated in the Resolutions and Acts aforesaid, the General Assembly farther resolve to adhere to the arrangement of the past session relative to the interim appointment of an assistant to the professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, and the application of the £2000 endowment to meet the expenses of this arrangement."

The motion of Dr. Candlish was carried by a majority of 75; 222 members having voted for it, and 147 for that of Dr. Cunningham. Following up this deliverance of the Assembly, Dr. Fairbairn was, at a subsequent diet, appointed Professor of Theology at Aberdeen.

The other subject, which was very largely discussed in this Assembly, was as to whether, following up the Claim of Right of 1842, the Assembly should approach the Legislature desiring restitution, Dr. Candlish was opposed to taking such a step, and the Assembly agreed with him. He said—

"The exact words of the Claim are,—that it shall be free to the members of this Church, or their successors, at any time when there shall be a prospect of obtaining justice, to claim restitution of all such rights and privileges, and temporal benefits and endowments, as they were then compelled to yield up. Now, I maintain that the contingency contemplated in the Claim of Right has certainly not now occurred. I suppose scarcely any one will argue that the mere rumours that have gone abroad about the expression of regret said to have fallen from Sir James Graham, or Lord Aberdeen, or anybody else, gives us the least ground or warrant for believing that they will give us justice, or that they will listen with any more favour now to our Claim of Right than they did in 1842. If this, then, be the state of the case, if there is no prospect of obtaining justice, then obviously the contingency contemplated in the Claim of Right has not arrived. It is not time yet to make a demand for restitution."

On the subject of the Sustentation Fund Dr. Candlish said—

"It is a low, a miserably low view to take of the Sustentation Fund—when taken by our enemies it is mere misrepresentation,—when taken by any of our friends it is a most unhappy mistake—to speak of it as if it were merely a fund to provide for the comfort of ministers and their families. The real essential character of the fund is, that it is to transmit to future generations, and to perpetuate in this land in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, a highly accomplished, learned, and pious ministry. This is the object of the fund; and, while we attempt, on the one hand, strenuously to maintain it for such a ministry as we earnestly desire, we must pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into His harvest. We must ask the Lord to do what is His part in His sovereignty, namely, to give His Holy Spirit to qualify the ministry; but if we refuse to do what we must be instrumental in doing, namely, to provide adequate means for ministerial support, it is nothing else than either fanaticism or hypocrisy. Let us ever press on the people these two considerations, and I believe we are taking the course most directly fitted for securing the end we have in view, the raising and perpetuating of a godly and learned ministry in this land. Let us never suffer our people to imagine that anything which they can do in the way of providing a thorough theological training can secure a godly and learned ministry in the land. Let us ever press on them the consideration that except the Lord in this matter build the house they labour in vain that build it; but, on the other hand, let us never cease to impress on the Church and the community this other consideration, that while we wait on the Lord for the fulfilment of His promise, and the gift of His Holy Spirit, we are called, as far as we have the means in our power, to do our part in the way of providing, on the one hand, a thorough education for those who are looking forward to the ministry; and, on the other hand, adequate means of support when they are called to the work of the Lord."

After the discussion on the College question, Dr. Candlish wrote to Mr. Dunlop—

"I am truly thankful to say that the discussion of yesterday went off in a way fitted, as I would earnestly hope, to obviate any risk of serious alienation, and to promote peace in the end. Nothing untoward or offensive occurred."

In July of this year, after leave had been obtained from the Presbytery, the Sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed for the first time in the schoolroom at Fountainbridge. Before the end of the year the church was built, and was opened by Dr. Candlish on the 8th January 1854. It was sanctioned at the ensuing meeting of Assembly as a ministerial charge; and in July 1854 the Rev. J. H. Wilson was ordained as its first minister.

At the meeting of the Commission in August, Dr. Buchanan brought up the report of the College Committee as to the arrangement of studies at the Aberdeen Hall. Dr. Cunningham objected to the report, as proposing insufficient provision for training the students; and Dr. Candlish, entering into the whole history and argument, defended the course proposed. The Commission, without a vote, approved of the report.

At a meeting of office-bearers and others, held in St. Matthew's Free Church, Glasgow, Dr. Candlish spoke in support of the Education Scheme. He adverted to the allegation that the scheme had been antagonistic to a national system of education being established. He said—

> "I believe if we had not our scheme brought to its present extent, in spite of its deficiencies, there might be a cry to the end of the world for the reform and extension of parish schools, and the demand would never be attended to. I believe the cry is, to a large extent, to be ascribed to our system. Others have been talking, we have been doing; others have been asking the State to do their duty,—we have been doing our duty. All that is needed for securing a proper system of national education for Scotland is, that the Act of Parliament declare that religious instruction be given in the manner hitherto in use in the parish schools. No more is needed—no Confession of Faith, no formula, no signing of any deed."

Again, at the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the same month, he moved a Resolution calling upon the Government to provide a national scheme of education for

Scotland, unsectarian, and yet containing securities for religious instruction.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November Dr. Candlish proposed the appointment of a day of humiliation on account of the appearance of cholera, and the increased price of provisions. He also read a proposed minute, which was adopted, in reference to the great loss the Church had sustained by the death of Dr. Gordon.

At a special meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 11th January 1854, Dr. Candlish spoke on a proposal to have Roman Catholic priests as paid chaplains in jails. He said—

> "This measure stands out in very naked and undisguised deformity. It is not a measure capable of any of the palliations and excuses which have been pleaded in regard to former measures of the same kind. It is a measure which in no way involves the question whether or not our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects are entitled to equal privileges with ourselves. The Roman Catholic prisoners are entitled to equal privileges with Protestant prisoners as the law now stands. The circumstance of the Established Church of this country receiving pay for its chaplains in prisons, and elsewhere, is not any answer to the statement I now make. That is simply carrying out, in connection with the existing Establishment, the principle of an Established Church, and applying that principle to the jails and prisons as well as to the ordinary parishes. But, excepting only that the one denomination is endowed and the other is not, Roman Catholics are precisely on the same footing, as regards all their religious privileges, with the other inhabitants of this land. They exist on the same footing with the unendowed churches of the country, and the prisoners belonging to the Roman Catholic Communion are on precisely the same footing with prisoners belonging to any unendowed Communion in all the land. They are entitled to that measure of equality, but not to any more."

On the 20th January this year Dr. Candlish lost his venerable mother, at the advanced age of eighty-six. She died in peace, and was ministered to in her last illness by Principal

Cunningham, whom she always highly esteemed, and by her grandson James, as well as by her son, whose house had so long been her home.

In February, in a lecture delivered in Exeter Hall, London, to the Young Men's Christian Association, Dr. Candlish criticised and condemned the views propounded by Mr. Maurice in his *Theological Essays.* He had read with admiration some of the previous writings of Mr. Maurice, but felt that the views taught in his *Theological Essays* were likely to exercise an influence adverse to what he believed to be the essential truths of the gospel. He accordingly made a thorough examination of them; and his lecture in Exeter Hall was a summary of a volume on the subject which was ready for publication, and soon afterwards appeared. He wrote to Dr. Henderson of Glasgow on the 15th March—"I am in the *dead thraws* carrying Maurice through the press—a formidable undertaking, needing your good wishes and prayers." Mr. Maurice replied to the lecture in the preface to his book on the *Doctrine of Sacrifice.* Of this Dr. Candlish took no notice at the time, but in 1860, when Mr. Maurice republished that preface in a separate form, he published a reply to it in a letter to the Earl of Shaftesbury, the President of the Young Men's Christian Association.

At an adjourned meeting of the Commission of Assembly, held on the 21st March, Dr. Candlish proposed that they should petition Parliament in favour of an Education Bill introduced into the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate (Moncreiff), and his motion was agreed to with almost entire unanimity.

On the 10th May a discussion was raised in the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the view of money being offered at next Assembly for the endowment of a second Theological Chair in Aberdeen. Dr. Cunningham moved—"That the General Assembly take into its serious consideration the subject of the terms and conditions, expressed or implied, on which money offered to the Church ought to be accepted, with the view of considering whether it be practicable or expedient to enunciate distinctly the principles by which this matter should be regulated." The motion was opposed by Dr. Candlish and others, but was carried by a large majority.

In the Assembly 1854 the discussion on College matters was renewed with considerable acrimony under two aspects. One of these was the presentation of £4000, additional to £2000 already provided, for the endowment of a second professor in Aberdeen. The acceptance of the money was not declined, but Dr. Cunningham proposed that "The General Assembly declare that in accepting the money as offered, they do not hold themselves as thereby coming under an obligation to maintain permanently, and in all circumstances, a theological institution at Aberdeen." Dr. Candlish resisted strongly the issuing of such a declaration, and after a protracted discussion it was negatived by a majority of 124. At a subsequent diet Mr. Smeaton, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, was appointed to the Professorship now instituted, and the Assembly found that provision was now made for students attending the college at Aberdeen for three years. The other topic of discussion on College matters was the proposal by Dr. Candlish of an overture to Presbyteries, that when Aberdeen had three professors, its college should be recognised as affording a complete course of study for theological students. The transmission of the overture was opposed by Dr. Cunningham; but the motion of Dr. Candlish was ultimately carried by a majority of 30.

On the 20th June, at a meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, Dr. Candlish moved one of the resolutions in reference to a measure recently passed by the United States Legislature, which admitted the introduction of slavery into the vast territory of Nebraska and Kansas, and said—

"If the passing of this iniquitous measure issue in the procuring, through the influence of our friends in America, vast parties of emigrants from the Old World to settle there, carrying with them that inborn and inbred love of liberty which now pervades the Old World, we cannot but feel that it will issue in the process of good coming out of evil; and we cannot fail to offer our most earnest prayers, and our most strenuous efforts and support, to those who may be desirous of defeating the Nebraska Bill, by making those territories from north to south, and from east to west, one great free soil,—a soil so free, that it shall be true of it, as it is true of the British dominions, that the slave has but to touch the soil and his fetters fall. I think this is an encouraging view to take of this measure, in itself so iniquitous, and in flagrant violation of good faith and of a solemn compromise, and, above all, in flagrant violation of the rights of man and of the laws of heaven; and that it thoroughly breaks for ever any true compromise or understanding between the friends of freedom and the abettors of slavery, and presents, as a prize to be fought and contended for by these opposing parties, what promises to be the richest and most important territory in all North America. Surely in that battle we cannot doubt on which side the ultimate victory will turn. It will not be a battle, I trust, to be waged by the sword and the gun, but by the weapons of civilisation,—a battle of emigration and immigration,—a battle of settlement and of commerce and of trade; and can anybody doubt, when it comes to such a battle, as to whether the ultimate success will be on the side of slavery or of freedom?

"There is only one question open for our American brethren, and that question is the choice between these two alternatives,—shall slavery go down by peaceable means, or shall it be put down at the expense of bloodshed and the dissolution of the Union? If the alternative should come to be between the continuance of slavery and the abolition of the Union, with all the bloodshed which that event must occasion as the only way of getting rid of the mischief, of the curse, of the evil, I suppose none of us would for a moment hesitate which side of the alternative to take; but the alternative presented now to our American brethren, and which, I think, will be the duty of this Society continually to present at every fitting opportunity, is not the alternative I have last named, but it is this—Shall slavery be discontinued by peaceable means, through Christian influences, and with the consent of all intelligent and Christian men in America; or shall slavery go down in the wreck and ruin of all American institutions, and of all American society?"

On the 3d August Dr. Candlish addressed a public meeting in Paisley on behalf of the Education Scheme, and at the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in September he spoke on a proposed conference on the subject of the Sustentation Fund. This conference with office-bearers for the increase of the Sustentation Fund was held on the 9th October, and was addressed by Dr. Candlish and others.

On the 25th October he addressed a public meeting in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on behalf of Turkish missions, and eulogised the policy of Sir Stratford de Redcliffe.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 13th December they took up an overture transmitted by last Assembly, proposing that the hall at Aberdeen should be regarded as providing a full course of theological instruction when it had three professors. Dr. Cunningham moved the disapproval of the overture, and commented very severely upon the proceedings of Dr. Candlish in reference to the institution of a theological hall at Aberdeen. In adverting to this, Dr. Candlish in reply said—

> "He would purposely abstain from going into a number of the topics referred to by the Principal, and which he thought might have been omitted without any damage to his cause, and certainly with the likelihood of preserving a better feeling amongst them. It was a singularly painful thing to find that the Principal had approached the consideration of a question like this by imputing motives and making direct allegations against those who happened to differ from him in opinion. He thought the discussion of a question of this sort might be free from these approaches at least to personalities, and he must take the liberty of saying that if he had any difficulty whatever in discussing the question with the Principal, the difficulty did not lie in any unwillingness he had fairly to grapple with his argument, but just from the extremely painful feeling under which he rose when he had to deal with imputations thrown out, which seemed to him to be altogether unwarranted."

At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in the beginning of January 1855, Dr. Candlish supported an overture to the Assembly, proposed by Dr. Guthrie, for completing the staff of professors in the New College, and for urging its endowment. He said—

> "It was his earnest wish that, somehow or other, the state of things at the ensuing Assembly might be such as to put it in their power thoroughly and cordially to take up the overture now before them. He cherished the hope that they might find themselves at next Assembly in a position to say that the matter might now be held so far settled in Aberdeen (referring to the recognition of a complete hall there) that they might now, heart and soul, devote themselves to the completion of the institution at Edinburgh."

In February Dr. Candlish spoke in opposition to an overture introduced into the Presbytery of Edinburgh by Dr. Hanna, for changing the mode of distributing the Sustentation Fund, and departing from the system of an equal dividend. Dr. Hanna's overture was, however, passed by a large majority.

A meeting was held on the 27th February, in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on behalf of the evangelisation of Spain. At this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

> "Nothing can be more important, I think, in connection with the ultimate evangelisation of the world than our being able to employ the Spanish language and the Spanish people as instruments in proclaiming the glorious gospel. It is true that Spain has now lost her transatlantic colonies; but her influence there is not altogether at an end, and, at all events, it is through the Spanish language, and through the labours of Spaniards, that we must look for the preaching of the gospel in these former transatlantic possessions of Spain. And one cannot but anticipate, with something of enthusiasm, the day—it may not be far off—when Spain shall more than repay any debt that she owes to these transatlantic realms,—whether for the gold that they have yielded to her or for the curse that she inflicted upon them. One cannot but anticipate the day when Spain shall send forth another Columbus, and noble followers along with him, not to institute a system of bondage, but to proclaim liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to the bound.
>
> "In another view, we cannot but look upon any movement of Spain with extreme interest. The conversion of Spain from Popery to Protestantism—the revolt of Spain against the See of Rome, would

be the deadliest blow that Antichrist has ever yet received. Spain has been the stronghold of the Man of Sin for ages; and if Spain, as seems now not at all improbable, shall rise up and throw off the yoke of Antichrist, it will be the breaking certainly of the right arm of the tyrant."

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 28th February, Dr. Candlish proposed the transmission of an overture to the Assembly on the completion of the Edinburgh Theological Faculty, and in doing so adverted to some hard things that had been said against him in reference to his action in College matters. In March, when the Presbytery met for nominating its representatives to the General Assembly, some indications were given of a desire to exclude Dr. Candlish, on account of his views on the College question. Dr. Cunningham said "he proposed to send Dr. Candlish to the General Assembly this year, not because he thought that the influence of Dr. Candlish in the Assembly would in any matter be for the good of the Church: he did not think any influence Dr. Candlish might exert would be for the good of the Church in any one department; but merely that it would be a strange thing to exclude him without warning." At the meeting of Presbytery in April, however, he gave notice that he would oppose the election of Dr. Candlish next year. Dr. Candlish, in a letter to the Presbytery, declined to accept an appointment to the Assembly as if he were a servant under warning. Some explanations, however, having been made, Dr. Candlish went as usual to the Assembly.

These proceedings effected a complete breach between two men who had been very closely united in personal friendship and in their ecclesiastical action. It was a breach which, ere many years had passed away, was happily healed, and the old relationships were re-established.

The animadversions on Dr. Candlish, however, excited very strong feelings at the time. In a note to Dr. Henderson, dated 10th March, he says: "As you say this coldness and alienation among brethren mars all. For myself it fairly paralyses me. I am fit for nothing."

As might have been expected in the circumstances, the office-bearers and congregation of St. George's united in expressing their warm sympathy with their pastor. In a letter addressed to him they say—

> "The proceedings of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at its last meeting constrain us . . . to express our unabated attachment to you as our pastor, and our deep sense of the value of the services you have rendered to the Free Church of Scotland. . . . We are satisfied that your presence in the Assembly, and your sagacity and aptitude for the conduct of business, have contributed in an eminent degree to the effectiveness of the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and to the adoption and successful prosecution of every scheme having for its object the good of the Church and the glory of God. . . . It is our earnest prayer to God that you may be sustained and comforted under the present trial; that He may continue to bestow upon you the meekness of wisdom; and that you may be counselled and guided so to be as instrumental now in restoring peace to the Church as you have already been in defending its principles and in carrying forward its work."

The following Resolutions were carried by acclamation at a meeting of St. George's congregation:—

> "1. That, without desiring to interfere as a congregation in reference to matters which have recently formed the subject of discussion elsewhere, the meeting cannot allow the present opportunity to pass without expressing their warm sympathy with their reverend pastor, Dr. Candlish, under the trying circumstances in which he has been placed; their admiration of his single-hearted zeal and untiring energy; and their entire confidence in his rectitude of purpose and purity of conduct as a public man. 2. That they feel deeply thankful to Almighty God for the inestimable privilege of the faithful and acceptable ministry of Dr. Candlish, and earnestly trust that he may be long spared, as their pastor, to prosecute in this important field of usefulness the evangelic labours which have been blessed to many souls, and in which they hope and pray that his bow may long abide in strength, and that his heart may be encouraged by seeing the pleasure of the Lord prospering in his hands."

Having gone to Dundee, as usual, to assist me in the Communion services in April, he was waited upon by a deputation, and presented with an address subscribed by nearly 200 of the elders and deacons of that town. After referring to the proceedings in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, they say—

> "We are not disposed to dwell on them ; nor shall we enlarge on the eminent services you have rendered to the Church of which we are office-bearers. We will simply say that we but express the universal conviction of the members of the Free Church in this locality, when we affirm that the distinguished ability and unwearied zeal which you have uniformly displayed on her behalf, have been, under God, signally instrumental in promoting her prosperity. We feel ourselves more at liberty to express our admiration of the calm and Christian demeanour you have shown under the circumstances which have led us at this time to address you. The singular forbearance which you have exhibited is itself one of these endowments, the possession of which vindicates your right to the high position you fill ; and we trust that the example you have set will not be without its influence in softening the asperities of debate in the Courts of the Church."

It would appear as if the circumstances now referred to had led some parties to entertain the belief that Dr. Candlish might not be unwilling to change the field of his operations. At all events it appeared from the newspapers that the congregation of Renfield Church, Glasgow, had requested the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him. He arrested further proceedings in this matter by a letter to the Moderator of the Presbytery, dated 2d May, in which, among other things, he says—

> "I have a clear conviction in my own mind that I cannot leave my present sphere of duty ; and I think it only fair to all the parties interested to say so now. I need not state at large the grounds of my conviction ; they will readily occur to all who know what my present sphere of duty is. The congregation to which I minister is that which first called me to the exercise of the pastoral office upwards of twenty years ago. The ties which bind us together have certainly

not been weakened by time. Both office-bearers and people have given me abundant assurances of unabated confidence and esteem. I believe that we desire one another's good. We have also been and still are engaged together in some labours of love for the good of others. Among these I may mention our home missionary movement in Fountainbridge, where we are fostering a Territorial Church on the plan of your movements in the wynds of Glasgow. I cannot see my way to separation from such a congregation in the midst of such hopeful work.

"I perceive that in reference to this contemplated call some allusion has been made to the present unhappy position of our public affairs, and to certain recent occurrences in the Presbytery of which I am a member, as rendering it not improbable that I might look upon my removal to another sphere of usefulness as a welcome relief. It would be affectation to pretend that I am insensible to these things. They have weighed heavily on my heart during the course of this winter, and have very materially affected not only my personal tranquillity, but my fitness for the discharge of pastoral as well as public duty. I am not covetous or ambitious of a seat in the Supreme Court of the Church. My resolution to remain where I am is formed in entire ignorance of what my position in the councils and business of the Church may henceforth be. If it shall turn out that my work is to be restricted more than it has hitherto been to my own congregation and its concerns, I shall certainly count it no cause of murmuring, but the reverse. The irritations occasioned by personal reflections and accusations may soon, and I trust will soon, come to an end. I feel that I am called to exercise patience and hope."

At the Assembly 1855 there was a discussion, extending over two days, on the subject of the Sustentation Fund. The practical question at issue was the continuance of the system of an equal dividend to ministers, or the adoption of the plan of a dividend proportional to the contributions of congregations. Dr. Candlish proposed the motion for the continuance of the equal dividend, with such checks upon its abuse as might be devised. On a division his motion was carried by a majority of 156.

The much agitated and irritating question of College Extension was finally determined by this Assembly. The overture transmitted by the previous Assemblies as to recognising a complete Theological Hall at Aberdeen with three professors, having been approved by a majority of Presbyteries, was passed into a standing law on the motion of Dr. Candlish, who also moved that Mr. Sachs should be appointed the third professor. This motion having been agreed to, the Aberdeen hall was now complete, and a scheme for the arrangement of studies there was submitted and approved of. Besides, a memorial was brought up from Glasgow, by Dr. Clark of Westermoffat, and others, containing an offer of £40,000, of which Dr. Clark gave £20,000, for building and endowing a Free Church College in Glasgow; and the Assembly, on the motion of Dr. Forbes, accepted the offer, and agreed to transmit an overture to the Presbyteries ordaining that the Theological Hall consist of four professors. Thus the question of College Extension took end.

Besides addressing the Assembly on the Education Scheme, Dr. Candlish moved the approval generally of the Education Bill introduced in the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate (Moncreiff). He said—

"I have a strong conviction myself, and all along had, that a national system of education, as distinct from the denominational, is desirable. I formed this conviction partly on the very general agreement there is in Scotland as to what a sound education ought to be,—partly on the desirableness of having children of different denominations educated together; but mainly or chiefly on the impression I have formed, on a particularly close observation, of the utter inadequacy of any denominational establishment, even when aided by grants of public money, to reach the classes of the population who stand in need of education,—that is my great reason for preferring a thoroughly national plan, because I believe, let the aid given by Government be ever so liberal, even though a great deal more liberal than at present, I cannot see how the Churches in this land, even with that aid, can really carry the blessings of a sound education down to those classes of the community which most of all stand in need of it, especially in our large towns and populous districts, and remote Highland districts. On these grounds I have strongly advocated a national system, as distinct from a denominational. Then I am also prepared to advocate the passing of the bill now before Parliament. I am quite prepared to see that bill pass, even though it remained without the amendments I desire to see introduced."

Soon after the Assembly had concluded its sittings Dr. Candlish went to Ireland as one of the deputies to the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church there, and from Dublin, on the 4th July, he wrote to Mr. R. Paul—

"I really must be home next week. This has satisfied me as to postponing for the present my visit to Ballina; all the rather because I mean to join the other deputies in a jaunt to the lakes of Killarney on Monday. This will occupy us till Thursday, so as just to admit of our getting comfortably home before Sabbath. M'Naughton is staying in the same house with me, Councillor Gibson's, and he showed me a letter of Miss Pringle's. He is satisfied that it is best not to attempt the glens at this time. I can take a run over some other day."

Miss Pringle took a warm interest in the model farm and schools in Ballenglen, connected with the mission to Roman Catholics there. Dr. Candlish often spoke of this pleasant excursion. Besides Mrs. Candlish, he had in it the enjoyable companionship of Dr. and Mrs. Henderson, and Dr. and Mrs. Roxburgh.

On the day on which the above letter was written Dr. Candlish and the other deputies addressed the Irish Assembly. He referred to an allegation that the *Regium Donum* given to the Presbyterian Church by the Government had been represented by him as being hush money, and emphatically repudiated it.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August Dr. Candlish submitted an elaborate report on the Education Scheme, which was ordered to be printed and circulated in congregations, with a view to extend and deepen an interest in the scheme, and to obtain more adequate funds to maintain it.

In prosecuting the scheme for the extinction of debt on manses and churches, Dr. Candlish spoke at a public meeting in Glasgow on the 13th November on the principles of the Free Church, which, it was arranged by the Assembly, should be explained and advocated in connection with that scheme. Among other things he said—

> "The date of the existence of the present Established Church of Scotland is 1843; the date of our existence is 1560. We can trace our unbroken pedigree through many vicissitudes, trials, and persecutions, from that eventful year when first the General Assembly met in Scotland; by all the historical signs and marks which can possibly identify a national church, we can certainly trace our descent, far more clearly than any bishop can trace back his to the apostles. That being our position, we are not, in the exercise of any false and spurious charity, to be found for a moment admitting that the Established Church, as it now exists, is a church of older date than the last thirteen years. I am prepared to maintain that these views are entirely consistent with the purest and widest exercise of Christian charity; but, be that as it may, they are the views which, in consistency, the Free Church must hold, maintain, and avow in the face of all the world. They may be branded as fanatical, called sectarian, abused as uncharitable. I cannot help that; it is the truth as I hold it, and as the Free Church holds it."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November Dr. Candlish called attention to the persecutions in Tuscany, and proposed a memorial to the Foreign Secretary on the subject.

It appears from a letter to Dr. Hamilton that he had agreed to give a lecture in Exeter Hall in the spring of 1856, and on the 7th December he wrote him, asking that he would deliver a lecture in Edinburgh about the same time. An exchange of pulpits was also proposed. But on December 27th he wrote Dr. Hamilton, saying—

> "I give you the earliest notice that I have found it absolutely necessary to break off from my lecture in Exeter Hall. I had reckoned on being able to find materials for a task which I now find I cannot

face. In these circumstances you must not rely on me for any service this spring, there being little or no chance of my having any occasion to visit your Babylon."

A few days later, however, he wrote:—

> "I submit, with strange misgivings. I think it would have been far better to let me off. I see no hope of having a lecture ready of any value, as regards the subject. And I am sure I cannot do the needful in closing this course at this time. It would have been far better to get some of the London brethren to do this. They are up to the mark. But it is needless to resist destiny."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March, Dr. Candlish proposed a petition to Parliament against a bill introduced into the House of Lords providing for an increase of the salaries of parochial teachers, apart from any reform in the system. He said: "In fair justice this increase ought to be accompanied by a provision throwing the schools open to teachers of other denominations."

On the 18th March, at a public meeting on behalf of the Original Industrial Ragged Schools, he pleaded for a more liberal support of such schools by Government. He thought the State would act wisely and economically in giving large and liberal grants to all institutions of this sort.

He spoke at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 16th April in opposition to the bill, which, in the meeting of the Commission, he had moved a petition against. And again, at the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, he spoke and proposed a petition in favour of a bill introduced into the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate. He said—

> "There were two general features of the bill, and he thought that the Synod would approve of these. The one was contingent on the other. He thought they would cordially express their approbation of that provision which tended to the improvement of the status and condition of the parish teachers. He was no enemy to the parish

schoolmaster,—he was no enemy to the parish school system. On the contrary, he thought that the course they were following indicated that they were the best friends of the parish school teacher and of the parish school system. He thought it was desirable that they should express unequivocally their great satisfaction with any measure which tended to increase the emoluments and to improve the comfort and position of that most deserving class of public functionaries. That feature of the bill was, he thought, deserving of their approbation. He, however, thought that its acceptance was conditional on the acceptance of the other feature of the measure,—he meant the provision which cut asunder the exclusive connection of the schools with the Established Church."

CHAPTER XVII.

Assembly 1856—Glasgow College—Appointment of Professors—Sustentation Fund—Education Bills—Letter to Mr. Paul—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Aberdeen College — Glasgow College — Dr. Candlish at Belfast — Dr. M'Crie—Training of Students—Election of Ministers—Death of Hugh Miller—Letter to Dr. Henderson—Assembly 1857—Election of Professors—Education—College endowment—Waldensian Church—Indian mutiny—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Assembly 1858—Cardross Case—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Testimonial to Principal Cunningham—Letter to Dr. Henderson—Free Church offices—Letter to Dr. Hamilton—Students attending Foreign Universities—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Tests of Parochial Teachers — Assembly 1859 — New Assembly Hall — Professor Gibson and his students — Mr. Brownlow North — National Education — Government Schools in India—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—American slavery—Illness of Dr. Candlish—Letters to Mr. Bell—Dr. Candlish goes to Germany—Mr. Dykes called to be Colleague in St. George's—Letters to Dr. Hamilton—Letter to Dr. Henderson—Uncertain health.

THE Committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements for carrying into effect the object contemplated by those who had provided funds for the building and endowment of a college in Glasgow, reported to the Assembly 1856, when Dr. Candlish moved, "That the General Assembly approve of the Report, and resolve to proceed to the election of professors at an early diet; and, with a view to ripen the mind of the Assembly for the discharge of that important duty, resolve further to meet in conference, on Tuesday forenoon, from ten to one o'clock." A counter-motion was made—"That, seeing that the Church has not information sufficient to enable it to proceed at present to fill up the professorial chairs in Glasgow, this matter be delayed till next Assembly." Dr. Candlish said—

"I must take the liberty of saying that nothing took me more thoroughly by surprise—nothing ever came across me that appeared to me more intolerable, more unseasonable—than the proposal for delay in this matter. I must take the liberty of saying, after all that is past and gone,—after the controversy that has been waged,—and after we had happily and auspiciously reached the end of that controversy (not indeed by the approval of the whole Church, that was not to be expected, but by getting the acquiescence of the whole Church)—nothing appeared to me more intolerable, more insulting, than the flinging across our path at this moment the proposal to delay filling up the chairs at Glasgow. I must be allowed to speak on this subject with some strength of feeling,—I am feeling very deeply indeed,—and I do it all the more that I have not been one of those who have been pressing for the premature institution of colleges. I was one of those, as the whole records of the Assembly show, who would have been willing to wait in the setting-up of the College at Aberdeen and the College at Glasgow; but I do not go back upon these matters further than to say that I have never been one of those who pressed the institution of colleges, excepting when existing institutions and existing arrangements had been threatened. But I will say this, that I do think a very serious responsibility lies with those who this night desire the proposal of delay in the filling up of the Chairs in Glasgow; and I say, sir, first of all, that you should not have accepted the offer made at last Assembly if you were not prepared to set up the Chairs this year. You had no right to accept of that offer; you had no right whatever to meet these men going to set up the institution there, and to send down an overture to presbyteries. Why did you send down that overture, sir? What right had you to send down such an overture to presbyteries, and make arrangements for the building, if you hesitate this year to act upon the result of what you then did? What is that result? You have the overture unanimously passed; you have got a committee in Glasgow, successful in securing to you one of the best buildings you could have, and why do you now hesitate? Why should there now be room for hesitation? I say, without any wish to give offence, that I do not think it will be creditable to this Church if, after all that was done at last Assembly, and after all that is past and gone, there should be even the appearance of hesitation about acting upon what you then did at last Assembly.

I think our friends in Glasgow who made this offer will have cause to complain; and that is not the worst of it, I think our Church will run great and imminent hazard of losing the confidence of her good men, if this Church shall at one Assembly accept a donation of £40,000, send down an overture for the erection of a college with four professors, remit to a committee to make arrangements for the erection of the building, and upon its being ascertained that the presbyteries unanimously agree to the overture, and that all steps have been taken for the erection of the building, if it should at another Assembly hesitate about going into the matter."

After a somewhat protracted discussion the motion of Dr. Candlish was carried by a majority of 97.

When the Assembly met for the appointment of Professors, Dr. Candlish proposed Dr. Fairbairn, and, on his being elected, he proposed Mr. Gibson as Professor of Glasgow College, and the proposal was adopted by a large majority. It had been agreed at a previous conference that only two of the four professors should be appointed at this Assembly; but as it was found there was a unanimous concurrence of opinion in favour of the appointment of Dr. M'Cosh (now President of Princeton College), he was by acclamation elected as Professor of Theology and Apologetics in Glasgow College.

At the Assembly a special Committee was appointed, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, to inquire into the principles and method upon which the Sustentation Fund should be distributed. Their inquiries terminated after two years in the adherence of the Assembly to the method of an equal dividend.

Besides reporting on the Education Scheme, Dr. Candlish proposed a general approval of the Education Bill then before the House of Commons, and his proposal was adopted by a very large majority.

On the 17th June he spoke at a public meeting in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on behalf of the Sustentation Fund, and expressed his thankfulness for what the recent Assembly had accomplished in the way of putting an end to controversy on the subject. Referring to the aim of raising the stipends of ministers to a minimum of £150, and if that aim were accomplished, he said—

> "We are merely clearing the decks for action. The Church will always have enough to do; but if we accomplish this great object the Church will be free to respond to every call that God may address to her, and will have her hands clear for entering in at every door of usefulness, and will be entitled to look for an accession to the ranks of the ministry, of competent, talented, and godly men. She will be in circumstances, these things being secured, for reaching the masses now lying in ungodliness and misery, and for going forth, as God may give her opportunity, to spread the glorious gospel of His Son."

On the 19th June he wrote from Dundee to Mr. R. Paul—

> "I have to apologise for seeming to steal a march on you. But I got a note last night from Professor Fairbairn to the effect that Davidson had declined. (It was the earnest wish of many that Dr. Davidson, West Church, Aberdeen, should accept the appointment to the vacant Chair at Aberdeen Free Church College.) Fearing that we might miss our aim, unless we took some very prompt and decided step, I resolved to come on this morning here, and get Wilson to accompany me at once to Aberdeen, so as, if possible, to catch our man before he has got himself irrevocably committed. We proceed northward this evening at five. I do hope we may succeed in the object of our mission, for, in the event of Davidson declining, I fear we may get into some confusion. I think you will see that, in the circumstances, with so imminent risk of matters being settled in the wrong way before we could interfere, there was no time to be lost. I wish much we could have had you with us. I will take care to represent your views strongly, and express the desire you have to fulfil your commission. I shall be home (*D.V.*) to-morrow, and will let you know the issue."

Dr. Davidson persisted in his declinature.

On the 21st June Dr. Candlish wrote Mr. Dunlop in reference to the Education Bill, of which he moved the general approval in the Assembly, and stated that he would not object to teachers being subjected to examination by presbyteries of the Established Church, provided the examination was in public, so as to secure fair-play. He also stated that, instead of requiring teachers to subscribe the Shorter Catechism, he would "like far better a provision to this effect: that the teacher, on his admission, should declare, or subscribe a declaration of his willingness, *ex animo*, in good faith, to give instruction or to conduct the instruction of the scholars, according to the manner hitherto in use in the parochial schools of Scotland."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August Dr. Candlish supported the nomination of Mr. Lumsden to the vacant Chair at Aberdeen, and Mr. Lumsden was appointed by a very large majority.

On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of Glasgow Free Church College, Dr. Candlish spoke :—

> "He adverted to the feeling of disappointment, which could not but have mingled with the satisfaction arising from this day's proceedings, at the delay in filling up the remaining Chairs of the College in Glasgow, and expressed an earnest wish that, by the blessing of God, this undertaking might be thoroughly completed before another session could come round, not only as regarded the erection of the fabric, but as regarded the complete institution of a whole Hall. He also expressed, for himself and other ministers from a distance, the deep delight they had felt in being permitted to take part in the proceedings of this day. He felt to-day that he had never taken part in any ceremonial procedure more gratifying to himself, than when he could look back, as he now did, on their past contendings in College matters as finally and completely buried, and when they were now in a condition to go forward as a Church, harmoniously and unanimously, to complete the equipment of their three Halls."

In September this year Dr. Candlish again visited Ireland, in company with his two elder sons. He crossed the Channel on the evening of Friday the 12th; spent Saturday sightseeing in Belfast; and on Sabbath preached for Dr. Knox, who accompanied him and his sons to Portrush by rail, and then along the coast in cars to visit the Giant's Causeway. They returned to Belfast on Tuesday evening in time for the steamer for Greenock. A very pleasant excursion, which Dr. Candlish thoroughly appreciated.

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 1st October, he eulogised Dr. M'Crie on the occasion of his appointment as Professor of Theology in the English Presbyterian College; and at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November he took part in a discussion on the training of students.

When the Presbytery of Edinburgh met on the 7th January 1857, Dr. Candlish adverted to an overture transmitted by last Assembly on the election and calling of ministers. He said—

> "He believed that if they showed their people a well-regulated plan for the election of ministers, giving them ample scope and room for the exercise of their rights, they would not be troubled with unreasonably long vacancies. At least the instances would be very rare, and not worth legislating for; and he confessed that the assumption on the part of the Church of the exercise of any *jus devolutum*, however constitutionally right, and however carefully guarded and watched over, would be an invidious thing, and would be apt to create prejudice; and he dreaded no such extremity arising if they had some such directory as they now contemplated."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March Dr. Candlish adverted to the recent death of Mr. Hugh Miller, and to the great loss which the Free Church had thereby sustained. He moved "That the Commission record its sense of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Miller to the cause of Christianity, to the cause of truth and righteousness, and especially to the cause of the Church of Scotland in her contendings before the Disruption, and to the cause of the Free Church of Scotland since the Disruption."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in April a discussion arose as to the election of Dr. Candlish as a member of Assembly out of the order of rotation; but, on the vote being taken, Dr. Candlish was elected.

Writing on the 11th May to Dr. Henderson, who was then Convener of the College Committee, Dr. Candlish, after some remarks on the report which Dr. Henderson had prepared for the Assembly, proceeds to say—

"By the way have you applied to the Fergusson Trustees for a grant to our Bursary Fund? The U.P.'s have got one. Hog is not in a state to be troubled." (Mr. Hog, of Newliston, was Convener of a Committee on Bursaries.) "It would do no harm were you, as Convener of the College Committee, to send an application to the proper quarter. As to the Committee for the Endowment of the New College, Hanna, to whom, along with me, the matter was subcommitted, is in Ireland. When he returns I will see him. The debt movement is a sufficient apology for this year's supineness. But I will try, along with Hanna, to have some distinct proposal for next year drawn up, to be submitted to you."

Referring to a discussion in the Presbytery of Glasgow on the terms of a proposal for union with the United Presbyterian Church, drawn up by Sir George Sinclair, Dr. Candlish adds—

"I wish you had beaten Gibson. I hate Sir George's union movement, and think it neither honourable nor safe. But it would fall dead if it were let alone. Agitation will, I fear, make the mischief."

The time of the Assembly 1857 was very much occupied with the election of professors. Dr. M'Cosh having declined the appointment by last Assembly to the Chair of Apologetics in Glasgow, there remained two vacancies in that College to be filled up, and Dr. Hetherington and Dr. Douglas were elected. It devolved upon the Assembly to fill up the Chair of New Testament Exegesis in Edinburgh, and Dr. Smeaton was elected to that Chair. This election having created a vacancy at Aberdeen, Dr. David Brown was elected in succession to Dr. Smeaton.

When giving in the Report of the Education Committee, Dr. Candlish said—

"The fact that there has been an agitation going forward for a national system of education has contributed very materially to slacken the exertions of our people in many quarters. They have been waiting and watching, as if they were entitled to fold their hands and button up their pockets, and to stand gazing until the panacea of a national education Bill comes down from the Parliamentary heavens. Now I think it must be manifest to everybody that, according to all human appearances, the duty of the Church and of all her congregations is to act as if that national system were in Utopia, or *in nubibus*—in the clouds. I don't mean to say that it is so. I shall be very glad, indeed, if it turns out that there is any prospect of the settlement of this question of the national education of Scotland; and I don't despair of it. I shall not relax my own efforts in behalf of a national system; but still I think we have now fairly come to the point that we ought to prosecute our efforts as a Church without any respect whatever to the prospects of a national system of education. I think we have been long enough trifling with it; that we have been long enough thwarted, and made to hesitate and hang back in this educational movement of ours by the proposal of a national system. I think it high time that the Church should give forth to the world her determination, on the one hand, to welcome any national system of education that may be proposed, and of which she can accept without the compromise of principle; but, on the other, to make it clear that this Church will not hesitate in going forward, in consequence of the prospect in the distance, shadowy and vague, of some possible scheme that will solve the question of national education for Scotland."

On the subject of the Endowment of the New College, Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish said—

"I think that this subject—and I would desire that some emphatic testimony should be borne to the object which we have in view—the subject of the endowment of the College here, forms a suitable conclusion to the last evening of our meeting in this Assembly,—to all that we have been doing in our previous meetings in this place; and I feel that having a Hall in Glasgow fully endowed, not requiring any aid from the annual collection,—having a Hall in Aberdeen partially endowed,—I do feel that now we are called upon, without loss of time, there being no such obstacle in the way as that which the movement for debt extinction presented, to prosecute, and persevere in prosecuting, until it shall be completely successful, our endeavour to secure the full and complete endowment of our original, and central, and principal institution here in Edinburgh. It must be obvious that we are altogether in a false position when we have our central Institute or College here dependent merely on an annual collection; and all the more when we have alongside of it institutions of a similar kind endowed, either wholly or partially, elsewhere. And I venture to say that, if proper means be taken, it will be found that those who were most anxious in the west and north in the way of promoting the institution of Colleges in Glasgow and Aberdeen, will be the very first, and foremost, and most earnest, to manifest their interest in the central institution here, by coming forward to help in completing its endowment."

At a public meeting in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on the 8th June, Dr. Candlish moved a resolution to the effect that the meeting recognise the Waldensian Church as peculiarly fitted, in the providence of God, to be an instrument for promoting the evangelisation of Northern Italy, whether regard was had to the purity of her doctrinal standards, the zeal and faithfulness of her pastors, and the seemly Church order which she had maintained, or to her wonderful preservation amid the fires of persecution, and her freedom of action enjoyed since the Constitution of 1847, which had enabled her to carry forward the work of evangelisation in the kingdom of Sardinia; and it was therefore most desirable that all Christians who took an interest in the spread of pure gospel truth in Italy should afford that Church the means of maintaining and extending her evangelistic agencies, for the support of which, in the peculiar circumstances of her people, she must in great measure be dependent on aid from Christians of other lands."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in August, Dr. Candlish adverted to the Mutiny which had broken out in India. He said—

"That empire had been entrusted by Divine providence to our care, evidently for great and important results; and great sin lies on this country and all the Churches for neglecting the means God has put within our reach for ameliorating the condition of the millions in

India. But I do not purpose to dwell on these subjects. I am sure all of us must have had our hearts moved with sympathy and deep feeling as we read the harrowing accounts of the monstrous proceedings connected with this Mutiny. But with all this, I think we should still cherish good hope not only that these disastrous proceedings may come to an end, and that this Mutiny will be quelled, but that what has taken place will turn out to the furtherance of the gospel of Christ. I believe it may very likely turn out that this Mutiny, and the horrid proceedings on the part of the Bengal army, will be found to have inflicted upon Hinduism, the interests of superstition in India, and the whole system of caste, perhaps the heaviest blow they have yet received, and that, so far from these mutinies and disastrous proceedings having been occasioned by any undue zeal in the cause of Christ, it will turn out that it is those who have been most zealous in promoting the cause of Christ among the Hindus who will be found to be the saviours of that country in the long run."

On the 30th October Dr. Candlish wrote to Mr. Dunlop in regard to a difficulty, which the letter fully explains—

"I delayed answering your note until I could consult the session, and also make inquiries in other quarters. The result is a unanimous opinion that any kirk-session that may be constituted in connection with a station not yet recognised as a sanctioned charge, cannot be held to be in the full sense a kirk-session; for one thing, it has no right of representation; it is, properly speaking, either a committee of some mother kirk-session, or a committee authorised by the Presbytery to discharge certain functions of a kirk-session. It cannot, I apprehend, be viewed as a kirk-session in the full constitutional meaning of that term. If we are right in that opinion, then it plainly follows that you need not, and ought not, to resign your position as a member of our kirk-session, until the kirk-session at Corsock is made in all respects a constitutional kirk-session, which it can only be when the charge is sanctioned by the Assembly. Meanwhile, your being inducted as a member of the sort of provisional kirk-session at Corsock does not affect your standing as a member of our kirk-session here. You see we do not want to lose all hold on you so long as we can keep you among us."

At public meetings in November and December Dr. Candlish spoke, in relation to the Mutiny in India, on the duty of Government, and of Christians in this country, towards the native population, and on the importance of British Christians settling as colonists in that land.

In the General Assembly 1858, originated what may justly be regarded as one of the *causes celebres.* It was the case of Mr. Macmillan, minister at Cardross, who was charged with scandalous offences. The case came before the Assembly by appeal from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and by dissent of certain members of Synod. Dr. Candlish moved the resolution, which was carried by a very large majority, that the Assembly find the second and third counts of the libel proven, and Mr. Macmillan was suspended from the office of the ministry *sine die,* and loosed from his charge.

Mr. Macmillan thinking that the Assembly had exceeded its powers as a court of review, by finding the third count proven as libelled, when there was no appeal craving such a finding, applied to the Court of Session for suspension and interdict to prevent the sentence of the Assembly from being carried into effect. Dr. Candlish brought this application before the Assembly on Friday the 28th May, and the Assembly unanimously resolved to cite Mr. Macmillan to appear at their bar on Tuesday, the 1st June.

On Tuesday a messenger-at-arms placed a document in the hands of the Moderator, and withdrew. This document was a summons at the instance of Mr. Macmillan, claiming reduction by the Court of Session of the late sentence of the Assembly.

Mr. Macmillan being called, according to citation, appeared at the bar, when Dr. Candlish said—

"I move that the Moderator be requested to put to Mr. Macmillan the following question—Was this step, namely, applying to the Lord Ordinary for a decree of suspension and interdict against carrying into effect the sentence pronounced by the General Assembly in your case taken at your instance and by your authority, yea, or nay?" This being approved of, the Moderator put the question. Mr. Macmillan.—I instructed my agent—— The Moderator.—Yea, or nay; I want a categorical answer. Mr. MACMILLAN.—Yea. Dr. CANDLISH.—I move that the party be removed from the bar. Mr. MACMILLAN.—May I be allowed, Moderator—— Dr. CANDLISH.—I move that the party be removed from the bar. Mr. Macmillan having been removed, Dr. Candlish said—"Moderator, I have now to discharge a very solemn duty, and to move the General Assembly that Mr. John Macmillan be deposed from the office of the holy ministry."

This having been agreed to, the sentence of deposition was pronounced accordingly, and a special committee was afterwards appointed to watch over the interests of the Church in this matter.

These proceedings gave rise to protracted litigation in the Court of Session, which excited much public attention, and called forth the co-operation and sympathy of other nonconformist bodies, being justly regarded as an attempt to coerce the Church in the exercise of discipline in her unestablished condition. Ultimately, the attempt collapsed, Mr. Macmillan having ceased to urge his plea for reduction of the sentence, and for damages.

Dr. Candlish having heard that Dr. Cunningham had been seized with an affection of the eyes which threatened the loss of one of them, could not resist the impulse to write to him, and did so, beginning in the old familiar style that had been disused between them since their rupture—"My dear Cunningham," and pouring out his heart in expressing his concern and sympathy with him in his affliction. But so doubtful was he how this might be taken that he wrote the same evening to Dr. Guthrie (who lived near Dr. Cunningham) telling him what he had done, and asking him to call on Dr. Cunningham the next day, and see how the letter had been received. Dr. Guthrie did so, and Dr. Candlish was rejoiced to learn that Dr. Cunningham had been quite melted, and all the past estrangement was forgotten. There were no explanations or apologies, but a burying of the quarrel as if it had never been. The first time the two old friends met again was on the occasion of offering the Moderatorship of the Assembly to Dr. Cunningham.

On the 22d September Dr. Candlish wrote from Kilcreggan, where he was residing during the autumn, to Dr. R. Buchanan—

> "I have been spending the forenoon at sea with Nelson of Greenock, and he tells me he has seen Cunningham and his wife repeatedly within these few days, and that both of them are much depressed and cast down. One eye is really all but gone. It seems Mackenzie's treatment, blistering, etc., has not their confidence. Nelson assures me that they would gladly go abroad to an eminent oculist in Germany before the session begins, *if they had the means.* Mrs. Cunningham said so to him in so many words. Now, really something should be done. Even if Mackenzie is right as reported to you by Rainy, and the case is not so bad as he and his friends fear, still he ought to have it in his power to go at once, and have what he thinks the best advice. It would not do for you or me to originate a movement. It would be misconstrued. But it occurs to me that, if you approve, you might write to Robert Paul, sending this letter if you like, and urge something immediate and decisive being done. A few hundreds of pounds ought to be raised at once, and put into Cunningham's hands. Not a day should be lost. Of course it should be done very privately as well as promptly. Others besides Robert Paul might be written to. He would be a good person to convene a few friends."

Dr. Buchanan forwarded the above letter to Mr. Paul, with a letter from himself, in which he says:—

> "I need not say how happy I shall be to co-operate in any movement you may originate by taking steps to interest friends in this quarter in its support. I am confident the requisite funds could be raised in a few days. I shall hope to hear from you within a few days, and after you have conferred with friends in Edinburgh on the subject. For such an object, and such a man, I am sure you will not grudge the trouble."

This proposal soon assumed larger dimensions, and terminated in the presentation to Dr. Cunningham of upwards of £7000 as a public testimonial of gratitude for his eminent services to the Church, and as a provision for his family.

On the 9th November, Dr. Candlish wrote to Dr. Henderson, who was then Convener of the College Committee—

"I am happy to learn that you are not unwilling to prepare an appeal in regard to the endowment of our college. You are, by all means, the person to do it. And, whatever use we may make of it, it should, I think, be now prepared. We are losing, I am persuaded, legacies and donations, for want of some such appeal. A prudent use might be made of it, in promising quarters, even although we delayed any general movement for a time. I hope you will go on with it."

Then adverting to the question who might be proposed as Moderator of next Assembly, he says—

"I know that, failing Principal Cunningham, if his health should ultimately prevent him, as I hope it won't, Dr. Robert Buchanan is the man looked to, as our first Moderator in the new hall. Even if, as I trust and hope it may be, that Cunningham is able to take the office, I have reason to think that the Church will expect Buchanan to come next for 1860. After that, by all means try Forbes again. But, in the circumstances, with a new hall to inaugurate, and an old sore to heal, it must be first Cunningham, then Buchanan. That is my mind."

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in November, Dr. Candlish adverted to a proposal of Mr. John Maitland, into whose hands the old burned tenement at the head of the Mound had fallen, "to build and fit up premises there, suitable for the offices of the Free Church, and to place them at the disposal of the Church, on no other condition than this, that the proceeds of the sale of our present offices in Frederick Street be handed over to him." It is almost needless to say that Mr. Maitland's very generous offer was gratefully accepted, and in due time the offices of the Church were transferred to the place now occupied by them.

Dr. Candlish took part in a very lengthened discussion in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in the beginning of December, on the subject of the Sustentation Fund; and during the same month addressed a meeting in Queen Street Hall, on behalf of the Turkish Missions Aid Society.

On the 13th January he wrote Dr. Hamilton, London, saying—

"I could not answer your letter sooner, being thoroughly prostrated with an attack, first of severe cold, and then of still more severe gout. I have had a very miserable fortnight, and even now cannot say that I am fairly round the corner, though I hope, but with fear. I am thoroughly reduced, and won't be fit for ordinary work for at least a week to come. So I apprehend. And even after that I must be very careful for a while. The doctor decidedly vetoes my visit to London. He won't allow me to think of venturing from home this month. In fact I have no strength for study, or writing a lecture, and won't have probably for some weeks to come. I have been obliged to postpone the sacrament from the 21st (which I had got fixed with a view to the lecture) till the 29th, in the hope of being able to face it myself. If I am able for that it is all I expect. I trust, however, when this attack passes off to regain strength rapidly. You will see, however, that I am shut up to draw off from my London engagement at this time. I wish you would communicate this note to Alexander (Chelsea) and also to Shipton, Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Society. He will have no difficulty, I should think, in getting up some provisional substitute for my lecture. I would write him; but the writing of this note to you is, I find, fatigue enough. And I want him to have the earliest notice. The news of Mrs. Hamilton's illness (Mrs. William Hamilton) and death took me by surprise, and vexed me much. How many remembrances cluster round her husband and her."

At the meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 2d February 1859, Dr. Candlish expressed a desire for the institution of scholarships, such as would enable students, after completing their studies at home, to avail themselves for a year or more of the teaching at foreign universities.

On the 16th February he wrote Mr. Dunlop in reference to a proposed Education Bill—

"Mr. Duncan tells me that the Dean (Moncreiff) has so far agreed to a suggestion of his as to leave himself in regard to it in your hands, or Mr. Black's. The suggestion is that the Dean should make the Education Bill his own, Baxter having his name, along with the Dean's, on the back of it; that Baxter, for the Dean, should move the first reading; the Dean going south for the second. I do hope you will be able to get the matter thus arranged. It is of the utmost consequence if our movement is to have any chance of success."

This was a bill for abolishing the test imposed on parochial teachers. Dr. Candlish spoke in favour of it at a public meeting in Edinburgh on the 7th February, and again at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 23d of the same month, and yet again at a public meeting in Glasgow on the 28th. At the last of these meetings he said—

"I want the aid of our Established Church friends in solving this great problem. I cannot get it just now, and no one can. They stand behind that palisade of theirs,—that sort of abominable deep ditch of theirs,—and they neither can nor will come over to help us, to give us the aid of their understanding and sympathy. I do not want that the problem of a national education for Scotland should be solved by the Free Church, or the U.P. Church, or the other dissenting churches, but by the whole Presbyterianism of Scotland; and it is with that view I want that palisade of theirs pulled down, that deep ditch filled up, so that our Established friends may come over, and sit down with us, and give us the benefit of their full and deliberate consultation in regard to the best possible way of reforming and extending the parish school system of Scotland. I would like to view this movement in the light of a reform and extension of the parish school system of Scotland. I am not for putting it down. We will take out some of the rotten pins and props, and put in better ones, and then set to work and make large additions, add wing after wing, and make the inmates more comfortable and respectable, raise their salaries and status, and complete the original ideal of the Scottish parish school system. It has been Scotland's glory in time past, and will be still. Were these tests out of the way, I am perfectly satisfied that almost immediately we would see brother after brother from the Established Church coming and saying, We are ready to go along with you, heart and hand, in reforming and extending the parish system of Scotland, so that it shall really supersede the necessity for denominational efforts. All that is wanted is, that all denominations in Scotland shall combine and face the giant ignorance, as one united army, under the old standards of the Reformation, with the watchword given us by the founder of Presbyterianism in Scotland—'A school in every parish, a grammar school in every burgh town, and a university in every large city.'"

In 1859 the General Assembly met for the first time in the new hall, which they have ever since occupied. They met under the presidency of Principal Cunningham, whom all the members rejoiced to see in such a position. It was a well-merited honour, and his occupancy of the Chair was an indication that he was again to resume his wonted place in the councils of the Church, from which the sores of the College controversy had induced him to withdraw for a season.

The time of the Assembly was largely occupied with a matter which created a good deal of excitement at the time. Professor Gibson, Glasgow, thought that he had occasion to suspect some of the students of his class of holding unsound doctrines; and the College Committee investigated the whole matter, and reported to the Assembly. Dr. Candlish, as instructed by the Committee, gave in the report, and spoke on the matter contained in it at great length. He expressed the opinion that no grave theological question was involved. The Assembly concurred in this view, and in their deliverance gave a general admonition to the professor and students.

On the 27th May, on the report of a Committee who had been appointed to confer with Mr. Brownlow North, the Assembly welcomed "him as a friend of the Saviour, whom He had eminently qualified for addressing his fellow-sinners on the things which belong to their everlasting peace, and through whom, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, much spiritual benefit may be expected to come on the flocks whose ministers may invite him to preach to them the word of the great salvation."

Dr. Candlish, in moving the adoption of the Report, said—

"He rejoiced in the opportunity of making it plain that, as a Church, they were not limited and hampered with regard to recognising the work of the Lord, whatever might be the agency through whose instrumentality that work had been wrought. He attached as much importance as any man could possibly do to the ordinary rules and regulations instituted in the Christian Church,—he attached as much importance as any man could do to a highly educated Christian ministry. He attached importance to the ordination of the ministry; but he thought that if, as a Church, they had not the liberty of occasionally, when God in His providence seemed to be calling upon them, deviating from the strict observance of the rules and regulations of which they ordinarily approved, they should be greatly straitened themselves, and hinder, it might be, their participation in the good work of the Lord. He rejoiced exceedingly, therefore, in having the opportunity of making it manifest to all the world how freely they recognised the Divine mission in the work of such a man as they were now to welcome, and, as he trusted, many of their ministers would soon welcome to their pulpits."

On the 31st May Dr. Candlish moved the Assembly to appoint a Committee to watch over the matter of national education, with power to petition Parliament with a view to the removal of the present tests which limit the choice of teachers to those connected with the Established Church.

On the 17th June a meeting was held in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, to petition for removing the prohibition of using the Bible in the Government Schools in India. At this meeting Dr. Candlish said—

"I think we thoroughly satisfy all the demands of religious toleration, and do all that even our native subjects in India can expect at our hands, if we give them clearly to understand that while we hold our own religious opinions, and will act upon them, and will in the schools put a marked distinction between the Bible and all other religious books, we will not in any way interfere with their holding any opinions they may choose to hold,—that we will not in any way persecute or coerce them. Let this be done, and the native population will soon come to see that they are under the sway of a Government that respects the right of conscience; that they are under a Government that is honest and manly enough to avow its own principles, and yet is determined to see fair play and the fullest liberty given to all under its rule. It seems to me that unless we go at least that length we shall fail to make a right improvement of the dealings of God with us as a nation in connection with our Indian empire, and we shall have no reason to expect His blessing to rest upon us if we fail to discharge aright the trust which He has been graciously pleased to commit to us in again giving us possession of the vast empire of India."

On the 5th November he wrote to Mr. Dunlop:—

"What say you to the proposed appointment of Professor James Forbes to be Principal at St. Andrews, avowedly on the plea of ill health, and inability for other duty? It seems to me to be right in the teeth of University Reform under the new Act. Instead of securing suitable retiring allowances, it tends to postpone that question, when it might be raised in one of the best possible cases—that of a man like Forbes. And it effectually hinders the Principalship being made a useful office. It makes it a mere easy chair, or bed, for invalid and valetudinarian Professors. Then, to put at the head of a Scotch college a high Church of England Tory, who has never done anything for educational reform, but is an obstructive, is surely a most unworthy procedure on the part of a Liberal Government. Can you do nothing to arrest this?

At a public meeting in Edinburgh, on the 22d December, in reference to slavery in the United States, Dr. Candlish said—

"Some years ago there might be some pretence for saying that it was enough for anti-slavery men in America to bear testimony against slavery, to circulate information on the subject, and to endeavour, through the Press and otherwise, to leaven the public mind with sound views; there might be some shadow of pretence for this some years ago, when, as it seemed, the line was drawn, and slavery was limited and pent up,—pent up within a certain space, within which there was some prospect that it might die out in course of time,—that enlightened views might come to prevail, and that slavery might expire under the influence of truth. But the course of things has been entirely altered since slavery has taken the aggressive,—since slavery in America, not content with being tolerated in the places to which it was restricted, became aggressive in the worst sense—aggressive not merely in a lawful way—through the Legislature, in procuring the passing of such infamous Acts as the Fugitive Slave Law,—but aggressive by the bowie-knife and the rifle—as witness a Senator shot on the floor of the Senate;—aggressive, moreover, by force of arms, as witness the atrocities and illegal proceedings that have disgraced the province of Kansas. And, worst of all, these movements of slavery, so far from having been checked by the general Legislature of America, are getting the countenance of that Legislature, so that such enormities as those of Kansas, confessedly illegal as they are, are really supported and upheld by the whole force of the United States Army. Now, in these circumstances, the case has been altogether altered; and as to any hope which might have been entertained of the evil being pent up in certain localities, and silently and gradually disappearing under the progress of enlightened views, these must be given up; for we have here a hostile power,—hostile to liberty, hostile to God, and hostile to man,—raising itself in increased strength; drawn forth, not from above, but from beneath; bursting the bounds within which it was hoped it had been fettered, and coming forth to pollute the free air of the North, and to debauch men's minds all over America, and by sheer force of arms, and by the sheer force of importunity in the Legislature, threatening to break up the Union, and to compel the free soil of America to be stained by the curse of slavery."

On the 2d January 1860, Mr. Bell says—

"Dr. Candlish had a severe attack of gout which prevented him appearing in his own pulpit until the 12th February. Although he then attempted a sermon, the exertion was too much for him, and he went to Rothesay on the 29th February, accompanied by Mrs. Candlish and the female part of the family, while his sons James and John came to reside with us."

On the 1st March he wrote to Mr. Bell:—

"Here we are safe and well. The girls and maids, and Carlo (the dog), got down last night. They had a fine fair passage, arriving by moonlight, quite comfortably. Mama and I left Glasgow this morning at ten. We left the Broomielaw with the sun shining brightly and a mild breeze from the south, all giving promise of a good day and a beautiful passage. So it continued till we left Greenock, or rather Gourock, about twelve o'clock. Then it began to blow hard, and we had a tolerably rough sea. Neither of us cared to be in the cabin, it was so close and sickening. So we made ourselves as snug and comfortable as we could on the deck, under shelter of the funnel, and a lot of flour or potato sacks piled up in a convenient way for our purpose. I managed to keep myself quite dry and warm, especially as to the feet, during the whole voyage, and felt nothing at all disagreeable; in fact I rather thought I was benefiting by the exposure and the tossing. We got here a little before three, about an hour after our time. We found a carriage waiting, with Lizzie and Jane. The house we found comfortably prepared, plenty of fires, and dinner ready. I really am wonderfully fresh (in a right sense) and well. My feet are giving me no trouble, and I don't think I have got cold in any way from facing the wind and weather. You may be sure, however, that I will not presume upon my strength."

On the 23d March he again wrote Mr. Bell:—

"On the whole I flatter myself I have been behaving well, and I am very thankful to be in a position to report favourably of my advance towards my usual health. In fact I really am quite well, and see no good reason for not resuming duty. I am willing, however, to take the full benefit of the furlough which the kindness of friends has put within my reach. I suppose Edinburgh affairs go on without us pretty well. We don't hear much news beyond what the *Witness* gives. These movements (revival) at Newhaven and elsewhere are deeply interesting. I shall be glad to have a few lines from you."

"*P.S.*—If I remain over 8th April would there be any harm in my preaching once,—only once? The brethren here are very reasonable, and do not ask me. We worship in Balfour's Church, and he would like a sermon from me. I don't think it would be amiss for me to try my strength once before leaving. *P.S.S.*—On showing this to mama she frowns, and looks fierce at the above *P.S.* Nevertheless, I don't think it so very outrageous a proposal."

He returned to Edinburgh in April, and preached on the 15th and the following Sabbath, and on the 29th presided at the Communion. But his health was not re-established; and on the 14th May he went to try the German baths, and enjoyed there the society of Lord Panmure, He returned at the end of June to Edinburgh "looking well," Mr. Bell says "Considerably browned by the sun, and apparently free from complaint." After the Communion in July he went for summer lodgings for two months to Tighnabruaich.

Meanwhile, as may be supposed, the congregation of St. George's were not looking on with indifference, and so early as April the first movement was made towards having a colleague minister. Mr. Maclagan says—

> "It was strongly felt in the congregation that the best security, humanly speaking, for our retaining for a longer period than might otherwise be the case, the services and presence of Dr. Candlish, lay in his getting relief from a measure of pulpit and pastoral labours. It would be difficult, without apparent exaggeration, to describe fully the work which had been laid on Dr. Candlish for the quarter of a century preceding the period at which we are now arrived. It is not too much to say that no movement of any importance in the Free Church was made without his judgment being asked and given. On him emphatically lay the care of all the churches. . . . The idea of a colleague originated in the session, and doubts were felt as to how Dr. Candlish might regard it. . . . The proposal was accepted in the loving spirit in which it was offered, and a congregational meeting was at once called. The result was a unanimous call to the Rev. J. O. Dykes of East Kilbride," who was inducted on the 19th December 1861.

On the 18th September 1860 Dr. Candlish wrote from Tighnabruaich (Kyles of Bute) to Dr. Hamilton:—

> "Yours of the 12th has reached me here. I heartily congratulate you on the prospect of getting so soon into your renovated church. Your invitation to me to occupy the pulpit on the first Sabbath is a great temptation. I am exceedingly unwilling to decline your call. I feel all my old interest in Regent Square Church and congregation. And although not a few painful thoughts would crowd into my mind as I missed some well-known and much-loved friends, who would have rejoiced to witness the occasion, still I would have had great satisfaction in being with you and your elders and people at the inauguration of this new era in your ministry, and in the history of your church. But I feel I must deny myself the gratification. It is true that I am now, I trust, quite well, and hope by the blessing of God to resume my full ordinary work at home as soon as our residence here is at an end, *i.e.* in the beginning of October. But then I feel that I have been so long laid aside, or absent, about six or seven

out of the nine months of this current year, that I must, in the first instance, prove my restored health and strength by devoting myself for a season exclusively to my own proper pastoral work. On this ground I have already declined several urgent requests to undertake work beyond that sphere in the course of the autumn. No doubt I feel yours to be peculiar and exceptional. Still the 21st October will only be the third Sabbath of my resumed ministry ; and, moreover, it is the one before the Communion. Were the time of your opening after the 28th, I do not know that I could have found it in my heart to resist the temptation to 'have a finger in the pie ! !' But, as it is, you must excuse me."

On the 22d November he wrote Dr. Henderson in reference to the proposal made at the Commission of Assembly to appoint him Moderator of next Assembly :—

"As to yesterday's proposal, not a whisper of which had reached me beforehand, I would like to state my difficulty. Of course it would be affectation to appear indifferent to such a compliment, so proposed as it was ; or to hesitate as to the line of gratitude and duty, were it not for the feeling I have that I would not do justice either to myself or my friends. I am not adapted for the sort of thing required. Besides other very obvious disqualifications, my deafness, now I fear incurable, is a serious obstacle. I would, above all things, avoid any thing that might seem discourteous, or that might give offence. But I confess that if I could see my way to being in the Assembly for another year or so on my old footing, and then retiring, I would greatly prefer that. For I doubt if my occupancy of the chair would be either very dignified or very comfortable. It would not be the right man in the right place. I intend to consult Mr. Bell about my ailment, in reference to this proposal."

Although it appears that after this Dr. Candlish appeared at meetings of Presbytery and took part in the business, he did not do it so frequently or in such a prominent way as hitherto.

At the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March 1861, he appears to have been in greater vigour, and spoke much in his usual way in reference to the Australian churches, and on Tests for Schoolmasters. He also eulogised Sheriff Monteith who had recently died, and to whom the Church was so largely indebted.

Mr. Bell says—

"Saturday night, March 23.—I was sent for to see Dr. Candlish, and felt considerable anxiety about him for some time. He had been seized with a sudden intense pain in the top of his head. He felt, he said, as if something had cracked, or given way. It lasted for an hour or two, and gradually subsided. I have no doubt that he, as I did, was thinking of his father's last illness. He was soon quite well and able for his ordinary work."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Assembly 1861—Dr. Candlish Moderator—Irish Assembly—Cardross Case—Memoir of Rev. A. Gray—Pilrig Church—Death of Principal Cunningham—Supply of ministers—Dr. Cunningham's library—Education Bill—Assembly 1862—Dr. Candlish Principal, and Dr. Rainy Professor in New College—Home Mission—Ejection of ministers, 1662—Testimonial to Dr. Candlish—Normal School—Death of Mr. Gavin Anderson—Education Scheme—Lecture on the first General Assembly—Free Church principles—Assembly 1863—Union negotiations—College endowment—J. S. Candlish inducted at Logiealmond—Tighnabruaich—Letter to Mrs. Henderson—Address on Inspiration—Opening of Moray Church—Cunningham Lectures—Letter to Mrs. Henderson—Assembly 1864—Union question—Resignation of Mr. Dykes—Fountainbridge—Roseburn—New church for St. George's—Assembly 1865—Highlands and Islands—Letter to Mr. Dunlop—Letters to Dr. Buchanan—Assembly 1866—Union question—Use of hymns in public worship—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Death of youngest daughter—Letters to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Miss Campbell—St. George's Congregation.

Dr. Candlish was Moderator of the Assembly 1861, in succession to Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Robert Buchanan. Alluding to this in his opening address, he said—

"I suppose I do not greatly err in thinking that one reason which may have led to my being placed here now, rather than at a later date, is a sort of idea that somehow I ought to be associated in this expression of your regard with my two distinguished predecessors. That thought, at all events, is very welcome to me, and makes the compliment which you pay me doubly or trebly valuable. The valiant men who fought as champions with King David—nearest his person, highest in his confidence in camp and cabinet—are enumerated in the Scripture narrative by threes. He who in our battle might be held to represent the Jewish monarch—the great man now gone to his rest—

will ever occupy a place apart and alone in the history of the Church's latest contendings. If that history is to perpetuate the memory of any of the chiefs whom he had as captains round his banner, when two—as our Jashobeam and Shammah—receive honourable mention, it will be something worth while to have it recorded of your present Moderator, that 'after them was Eleazar, who was one of the three mighties.'"

"I congratulate you on your meeting again in the midst of an outpouring of the Spirit of God, and a remarkable work of grace pervading, as I may venture to say, more or less, the whole Church and the whole land. This is matter of deep joy and thanksgiving. It entails also a grave and solemn responsibility. I cannot doubt that a blessing followed the eminently wise, faithful, and affectionate communings of last Assembly, on the great subject which occupied so much of its time and thought. I feel assured that you also, by the grace of God, will prove yourselves equal to the occasion. The people of God have prayed, and are praying for you. They will watch with you, in intense sympathy, while you seek counsel of the Lord and of one another. And you and they will find, both now and afterwards, that the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save; neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear."

In his concluding address, Dr. Candlish said—

"The appeal which I venture to make is for men born of the Spirit to become students, that they may become preachers and ministers in our Church. I call for recruits to the academic and ministerial ranks from among the youth whom these revival seasons have roused to fresh zeal for Him who died for them. I long to see our colleges and halls thronged with young converts from many a revival scene. We need them; as many of them as choose; as many of them as have means; as many of them as friends may be inclined to help forward. Let them come early; the dew of their youth upon them; the youth of their natural, the youth of their spiritual birth time. I would not ordinarily relax their studies; I would not accelerate unduly their progress. By all means let our academic retreats have the benefit of revival accessions, and let revival aspirants to the ministry get the good of academic system and training; but let ministers be on the watch, in schools, and Sabbath-schools, and classes, and prayer meetings, for boys and lads whom they may hope to see ere long enrolled in Christ's preaching host. Let our men of worldly resources be prompt to lend their help. Let all who take part in revival movements seek so far to be discerners of spirits as to be able to seize on some stray souls that may be fashioned for Christ's work. Above all, in these days, on the one hand of spiritual awakening; but, alas! also, on the other hand of intense worldliness and selfish haste to be rich, let parents bethink themselves—parents who have money in abundance to give to the Lord—whether the Lord may not be asking them to give what is dearer far to him and to them—a first-born son even, a beloved child, to be a soldier of the Cross of Christ, and a herald of his salvation to a perishing world."

At the beginning of July Dr. Candlish attended the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and addressed them on the subject of education, contending for its religious character. He also addressed them on the Cardross Case.

Dr. Candlish spent the autumn of this year at Ardrishaig, where Mr. Bell tells us he paid him a short visit, and found him busily engaged with a Memoir of his friend the Rev. Andrew Gray, to be prefixed to a posthumous volume of sermons: "He evidently felt it to be a labour of love, very congenial to his feelings."

On the 19th October he was present at laying the foundation-stone of Pilrig Free Church, and addressed those present on the propriety of erecting handsome and attractive churches for worship.

On the 14th December the community were startled by the unexpected intelligence of the death of Principal Cunningham, and on the same day Dr. Candlish wrote to Dr. Henderson—

"I have just got your note. I cannot almost think of this dire calamity. Probably it may be as well to wait till you come in on Tuesday. The funeral is on Wednesday. I will try to arrange for a meeting of the College Committee and the Senatus after the funeral. I found the Professors to-day talking over matters. I have offered to read the lectures of one course three times a week, and I think Bannerman and Bruce-Cunningham, between them, will read the other course. I can easily do it, for I know well the writing, and I would like it. Strange to say that. Is it not? I am very sad."

On the following Sabbath, after alluding to the loss which the Church and the country had sustained by Dr. Cunningham's death, he referred to his personal bereavement. He said—

> "I call him friend, my earliest friend among my brethren here, whose associate I became nearly thirty years ago—my friend to the last. Most devoutly do I thank my God that I can say so. That which might have been to me the most overwhelming of all aggravations of this calamity has been averted; and without a single drop of bitterness mingling with my tears I can follow my friend's remains to their last earthly home. I thank the giver of all good, the healer of all breaches, the author of peace, and the lover of concord, for this great mercy—that not yesterday, but some years ago, the darkest cloud that ever gathered over my happiness here below, in sc far as that happiness lay in human fellowship, passed quite away, and we were to one another as we had been before. You will pardon these personal allusions; you will sympathise with me as I have made them. I believe that you and the whole Church grieved for the estrangement, of which, let me, in all sincerity, take to myself a full share of the blame; and you and the whole Church were glad when it took end."

On the 24th January 1862 he wrote Dr. R. Buchanan chiefly regarding the employment of a London agent in the Cardross Case, but at the close he says, "I was fairly obliged to succumb on Tuesday night, and let the horrid cold or influenza have its way. I am now better, but 'rale silly.'"

On the 29th January, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish called attention to means for obtaining additional supplies of Ministers and Missionaries, and made several suggestions as to facilitating preliminary studies towards entering the University, by evening classes conducted by Professors or Tutors connected with the Universities.

At the close of the meeting of the Commission of Assembly in March, Dr. Candlish presided at a meeting held with a view to the purchase of the library of Dr. Cunningham for the New College, to be kept apart by itself, and for procuring a bust of him to be erected in the library of the New College. Both proposals were heartily carried into effect.

On the 21st April Dr. Candlish spoke at a public meeting in Edinburgh in favour of an Education Bill introduced into Parliament by the Lord Advocate (Moncreiff). After alluding to various objections to the bill, he said—

> "Out of desire for the general welfare of the community, and a wish to see this question settled, they were making very considerable concessions as regarded the security for the kind of teaching that they would like to have in their schools ; and, for his own part, he would be very willing to make very large concessions in regard to the measure of security we have for the teaching, provided always that in these new schools there should be such management as they could be fairly asked to trust. He would willingly consent to concessions if the management of the schools was a fair representation of what might be called the parentage or community of Scotland ; but if he were asked to give up the kind of security which he had in the connection between the school and the Church, he could not give it up, and would not give it up either to the Duke of Buccleuch and the parish minister, or the Duke of Sutherland and the parish minister. But he was ready, with perfect confidence, to give up the sort of security that he now had as to the kind of teaching in the connection between the schools and the Church to the management of the parentage of Scotland—to the management of the general community of Scotland."

He spoke also in support of the bill at the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and again at a special meeting of the Commission of Assembly on the 1st May.

At the Assembly 1862, Dr. Candlish was appointed Principal of the New College, Edinburgh ; and, on his motion, Dr. Rainy was elected Professor of Church History in the same College.

On intimating his acceptance of the office of Principal, Dr. Candlish said—

> "I am one of the staff, one of the body, one of the faculty—call it what you like—with my excellent friends now in office within the College. And all I would say is that, so far from having any sort of

idea, as some seem to have hinted, that this appointment gives me any sort of right of rule or government over my brethren within the College, I feel that my function now is to go to them and say—I am your servant, I am at your disposal ; if you can point out any way in which I can promote the interests of the College, or in which I can do any good whatever to students, you may command me, I am at your service. It is only upon that footing that I would go among my brethren. The mere question of presidency at a meeting is of no sort of consequence, nor would any man attach the slightest importance to it. I go among my brethren of the New College simply saying—I do not yet know really what the functions of the office may be—I do not know what in that office I can do, consistently with my prior engagements as pastor—I go amongst them and say, I am ready, if you can point out any way in which I can benefit the College, or do good to the students, to place my services at your disposal."

On moving the approval of the Report of the Home Mission Committee, Dr. Candlish said—

"A man could not live upon the past, either physically or spiritually ; he could not live upon the food of yesterday, but must pray for daily bread ; he could not live upon the grace of yesterday, but must pray for the promise, 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be.' In like manner, as a Church, they could not live upon the past, but must live, for the present and for the future, depending upon present grace vouchsafed and future grace promised. He would not, however, like that they should be found casting away old memories and principles. Still, it was true that if they were to occupy the land they must occupy it as a Missionary Church, and as the late Dr. Chalmers wished them to do, in a territorial way. They were to occupy the land not only as a Missionary Church in a vague sense, but as a territorial Church, in the sense of their having distinct fields of labour, first for congregations, and then distinct fields of labour for the individual members of congregations."

In reference to the Bicentenary Commemoration of the Presbyterian Ministers ejected in 1662, Dr. Candlish said—

"Had time permitted he would have directed attention to a matter in which he had taken a somewhat leading part, namely, the services which the Puritans, expelled in 1662, rendered to the cause of theological literature. These services to the cause of theological literature, and, indeed, to the cause of piety generally, were becoming more and more valuable as years rolled along. He need scarcely say that the best way of keeping in remembrance what the cause of Christ owed to these godly men would be to keep alive among themselves and their people the savour of their theology and their piety, as embodied in their noble works. He trusted this mode of keeping in remembrance these noble men would not be lost sight of, and that increased efforts would be directed towards the accomplishment of an object which the Church had already declared to be so desirable—the having the works of these Puritan Divines in every manse of the Free Church of Scotland. In this way their works would be made to tell upon the preaching of their ministers, and so to tell indirectly upon the piety of their flocks."

When giving in the report of the Education Committee, Dr. Candlish spoke warmly in support of the Education Scheme, and expressed his conviction that very few of the Free Church Schools were set down in places where they could fairly be dispensed with—that they were doing a good work in the cause of education—so valuable that they could not be discontinued without serious damage to a good cause.

A brief consultation among a few friends during the sittings of the Assembly led to a movement for raising a sum of money, partly as a testimonial of the services of Dr. Candlish to the Free Church, and partly as a provision for his family. In a circular connected with this movement Dr. Guthrie says, "I need not tell you how much the Christian Church in general, and the Free Church in particular, owes to the remarkable talents, warm-hearted piety, genius, unselfish devotedness, and Herculean labours, as I may say, of Dr. Candlish."

On the 28th October, at a breakfast in the Hopetoun Rooms, the presentation was made to Dr. Candlish of £5640 by the Earl of Dalhousie, who had taken a warm interest in the movement. In acknowledging the testimonial, Dr. Candlish said—

"I have tried, before coming here, if I could put my thoughts into any form that would be to my mind adequate to express my feelings; but I have utterly failed. I receive in the same spirit in which it is offered this munificent testimonial. I receive it frankly, being perfectly willing to own myself a debtor to all the friends who have taken part in this movement. I give them credit for the motives which have animated them; and they will, I am sure, give me credit for the motives which animate me when I frankly accept what is frankly given. I need scarcely repeat here what I said to the friends who first communicated this movement to me, that I certainly was never more taken by surprise than when I received from my most esteemed and beloved friend, Mr. Dalziel, the intimation that such a gift was, not in contemplation, but had been already secured. I very heartily thank all the friends connected with it for the manner, as well as for the substance, of this munificent gift. On behalf of my partner and myself I beg to tender our hearty thanks. Nor will I disguise from you that the proceedings consummated this morning are fitted greatly to relieve a parent's heart; that the proceedings which have been consummated this morning are especially welcome to me in connection with her whom I may be called to leave behind me. I need not say that it is in this view that I specially welcome this gift. I have already said such a proceeding as this is not fitted to elate or to elevate. I feel very deeply humbled; and I feel very grateful to all present, and to all my friends, for the kind construction they have put upon my attempts to serve the Church to which we belong, and, I trust, serve the Head of the Church Himself. I ask still a continued interest, I do not say in your friendship, for I know I have it; but I would say, Brethren, pray for me; pray for us, that we may be strengthened for whatever work and whatever warfare may be yet before us, and that we may be fitted to receive, not the approval of friends, but the approval of Him who says, Well done, good and faithful servants."

On the 24th June Dr. Candlish presided at the opening of the Normal School, Moray House, and addressed the meeting in a speech in which he reviewed the rise and progress of the school.

On the 6th of July Dr. Candlish sustained a severe personal loss by the death of Mr. Gavin Anderson, who had long acted as church officer in St. George's, and who was in many ways very serviceable to the church, and was held in much esteem by the congregation. On the following Sabbath Dr. Candlish, preaching from Romans xiv. 7-9, concluded with " a very just and tender tribute to the memory of his friend and trusty coadjutor."

On the 3d November Dr. Candlish was formally inducted as Principal of the New College by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Sir H. W. Moncreiff preaching and presiding; and on the 5th November he delivered his inaugural address.

At a Conference in the Free Assembly Hall on Home Missions and Education, in connection with the meeting of Commission in November, Dr. Candlish gave a historical view of the Education Scheme, and concluded by saying—

> "He believed no system of education could be forced down the throat of Scotland against the views of the Free Church. He did not think that the views of their friends in the Establishment—at least of the intelligent party—in regard to the question of education differed very materially from their own. But should the Free Church relax her efforts, if she let go her influence, there was no saying what system of education might be established in Scotland, or how latitudinarian or how infidel it might be. He hoped, therefore, that the Church would awaken to a right view of her position in regard to this question of education."

On the 1st February 1863, Dr. Candlish delivered a lecture in St. George's Church on the first General Assembly, and, after adverting to the wisdom and discrimination which characterised the Assembly's Acts, and the social and domestic reforms which it instituted, referred to the responsibilities under which Scotchmen lie in reference to the Reformation. "He considered that we had all much to answer for the great work begun at the Reformation not having been fully carried out. All sections of the Church were to blame; and the dividing of her organisation and influence was not the least of the causes of the immorality of the country."

For a considerable period during the spring of this year Dr. Candlish was laid aside by illness from public labour;

but on the 13th May, at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, he proposed an overture to the General Assembly on the principles of the Free Church. In supporting the overture he said—

> "They knew that on all hands their people, especially of the rising generation, were exposed to the argument, or rather the assertion, that, after all, the difference between the Free Church and the other religious bodies in the country was very insignificant, and that there was no reason why they should continue so bigoted in their attachment to the Free Church, as in contradistinction to the other churches in the land, seeing there was so little difference. The employment of such arguments was, he thought, enough to make them take every opportunity that occurred in the providence of God for throwing the shield of protection around their people; and the only shield they could use was that of giving their people such statements and arguments on the subject of their contendings, as might open their eyes to the shallow sophistry with which they were assailed on all sides."

In the Assembly 1863 Dr. Candlish proposed the appointment of Mr. Davidson as colleague and successor to A. B. Dr. Duncan in the New College, and the proposal was carried by acclamation.

It was at this Assembly that the first step was taken towards a union with the United Presbyterian Church, and a Committee was unanimously appointed for negotiating the terms of union. These negotiations were carried on till 1873, when they were broken off in consequence of the determined opposition of a considerable section of the Free Church. From first to last it was Dr. Robert Buchanan, to whom was assigned the leading part in these negotiations, which he conducted with singular wisdom, and ultimately abandoned with poignant regret. The memory of his speeches on this subject delivered in the Assembly, from year to year, with such eloquence and power, is yet fresh. Dr. Candlish was throughout an interested and active member of the Committee. The first proposal for union in 1863, which was made by Dr. Buchanan, was supported in powerful speeches by all those who usually took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Assembly, among others by Dr. Candlish, whose speech terminated the discussion. I cannot refrain from giving a few paragraphs of it—

"I would just like, before the discussion comes to a close, to express, or at least try to express, the sense I have of the peculiar solemnity of the position which we now occupy. I have no hesitation in saying, as some have said before me, that I look upon this day's proceedings in connection with the proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, as by far the most important ecclesiastical event that has happened in Scotland since the Disruption—perhaps even more important than the Disruption itself.

"We may be under a temptation to magnify, in a temporal point of view, the advantages of this union. We may be under a temptation to dwell upon the moral power and influence which this union would give to the dis-established Church of Scotland—the free United Church of Scotland—not only in this country, but over the world. But I look forward to the future, not merely as holding out very bright prospects of increased power and increased influence, but rather as involving very grave responsibilities, in connection with vastly increased ability to promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls. And I would desire all friends of this movement, in anticipating the future, to anticipate it in that spirit. For, if it should please the Lord to make us who have been two separate churches in the land henceforth one, to bring us all together,—I hope not a solitary brother on either side left behind, if it should please Him thus to weld us into one, can we doubt that it will be for some great work connected with the glory of His name?

"Sir, if I could venture to hope that within a few years this blessed consummation might be reached, if a Free United Church of Scotland, thoroughly Calvinistic, thoroughly Presbyterian, non-established as to the State but established in the hearts of the people, were to be set up in the land, prosecuting zealously the ends which each of the two Churches is now prosecuting, as regards both Home and Foreign Missions,—I say I cannot doubt that a mighty influence for real good, in the highest sense, would be exerted, not only upon the whole community generally, but, I will add, without offence, on the Established Church itself.

"If we could present to Scotland and to the Established Church the spectacle of a great body united upon Scriptural principles for prosecuting the work of God, not distracted about matters of form and ceremony, not led away by the temptation of an alliance with high church or broad church over the border, but prosecuting steadily the Lord's work, according to the good old notion of the Calvinistic Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Sir, if we could do this, our brethren of the Establishment would become ashamed of their gew-gaw novelties they seem to be desiring, and I am persuaded also that in that Establishment, if such a spectacle were exhibited, their professors of divinity, instead of cultivating the intimacy, on theological grounds, of the Maurices and Stanleys, and others of like tendencies, across the border, would be right glad to come back again to the old Scotch theology. This seems to me a bright anticipation. Let us, by the blessing of God, exhibit in this country a united Church, such as we hope to see formed—a Church prosecuting simply the good work of the Lord, undisturbed either by divers winds of doctrine or by divers winds of—what shall I say ? by divers winds of the organ. Let us once be in a position to present such a Church in Scotland, then most firmly I believe that we should see a speedy end put to influences which I must say at this moment fill my mind with the deepest alarm. For I cannot look at the Established universities, and some of the men who are presiding over the theological training of students, but with the very deepest alarm. For if unsound views or latitudinarian principles begin in the Established halls of the country, they will not end there ; they will soon pervade all other bodies. And I believe that nothing will check the progress of such evils as these so effectually as this very union which we are now proposing. It would make us heart and hand united, shoulder to shoulder, in maintaining the old truth, and standing on our guard against all novelties.

"Let us always steadily contemplate the vast magnitude of this movement. Let us not forget that, as regards Scotland, its magnitude is unprecedented since the Reformation. It is a proposal to rebuild the walls of our national Zion. It is a proposal to rear again our Jerusalem—again to nationalise the Church of Scotland. In the view of its magnitude and its vast importance I cannot avoid referring, as I close, to two texts of Scripture which have been much on my mind and upon my heart during these few days past. The first is what is said of aged Eli, that his heart trembled for the ark of God. Surely, if ever it could be said of any man that they were touching the ark of God in a very delicate manner, it may be said of us, and of our brethren of the sister Church. And, Oh ! I desire that all of us should go forward to this work in the spirit of aged Eli, our hearts trembling for the ark of God. The other text is this promise of our blessed Lord: 'If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father.' That text affords a warrant for believing that, when God's Holy Spirit moves two or three, or any number of His people, to concur in praying for one particular thing, according to His holy word, that thing will be done. Now, I cannot doubt that we have evidence of its being put into the hearts, not of one or two, but of a large multitude, of his praying people in both Churches to agree as touching this one thing, that they should ask that the two Churches, so thoroughly one in principle, in profession, in work, should be thoroughly one outwardly, as they are thoroughly one at heart. I think that that prayer is one which we may well lay hold of, and one upon which we may build with confident expectation."

Dr. Candlish submitted to this Assembly a scheme for the endowment of the Free Church Colleges, which has never been fully carried into effect. He said—

"The very least sum that could be named to accomplish this great object would be £80,000, especially as it might be supplemented by some legacies which, he had reason to believe, were bequeathed to some of their Colleges. He proposed that £20,000 should first be raised by large contributions from wealthy members of the Church; and that, when this was secured, an appeal should be made to the congregations generally to subscribe in five years the other £60,000, it being understood that all subscriptions would be conditional upon the entire sum being raised."

To this Assembly also, besides giving in the report of the Education Committee, he submitted the report of the Foreign Missions Committee, having taken temporary charge of the work of that Committee.

In July this year Mr. J. S. Candlish (now Professor Candlish, Glasgow), was elected minister at Logiealmond, and on the 11th October Dr. Candlish introduced him to the congregation, after ordination on the previous Thursday.

On the last Sabbath of August Dr. Candlish preached at the opening of a new Free Church at Tignabruaich, in the Kyles of Bute.

On the 20th October he wrote to his daughter, Mrs. Henderson :—

"I would have written you in time for your entering your manse, if I had got your letter soon enough. As it is, I postpone all the things I have to say on the occasion, sad, serious, or sunny, till I see you. Only I assure you of my most earnest wishes and prayers for your peace and happiness, yours and A——'s (her husband) together, in your new abode. I hope it may prove to you both a centre of love and mutual joy, and to the people for whose benefit it is erected a source of much good. I have made it a condition of my consent to Maggie and Molly visiting you at this time, that they make at least two pairs of bands for James during their sojourn with you! Four should be the number. You will see to this; else neither they, *nor I*, will darken your door again."

On the 6th November he preached at the opening of Moray Church, and adverted to the origin and past history of this Mission Congregation under the ministry of Mr. Gall.

In the spring of 1864 Dr. Candlish delivered the first "Cunningham Lecture." His subject was the "Fatherhood of God." The publication of the lectures was the occasion of a volume combating some of the views contained in them, by Dr. Crawford, Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, to which Dr. Candlish published a reply.

On the 13th May he wrote to Mrs. Henderson :—

"Fancy our position to-day. I am absolutely reduced to the miserable bachelor life I used to live of old. All the girls are at Logiealmond. I wish I was there. The east wind here is horrible. The weather there is, as James reports it, delightful. Well, from exposure to the east wind, mamma chose, in our present crippled and helpless state, to have a horrid attack of neuralgia, or tic in her face. She went to bed groaning under it last night. This morning I had to leave her sleeping, and, with the help of Margaret, get breakfast as well as I could for myself and Jack. Mamma got better, under Mr. Bell's treatment, and came down to dinner. But she lay down on the sofa immediately after, and is lying there still. And I had to be tea maker. Just think of that! I don't think I have been in such a predicament since 1830. Is it not dreadful? You must come back."

Dr. Candlish, as usual, took an active share in all the business of the Assembly 1864. As Convener, for the time being of the Foreign Missions Committee, he reported their proceedings, and at an earlier diet of the Assembly moved the appointment of Dr. Duns as lecturer on Natural Science in the New College. I have not thought it necessary to record any of his speeches in this Assembly, except a few sentences from his speech on the Union question—

"I would desire to say one thing, as regards my state of mind, in reference to this whole movement. Personally, I feel great freedom in going forward in this movement, for a reason that made me feel very great freedom in all the movements in which I took a part before the Disruption. That reason is this,—that in all these questionings or contendings we were never left with an alternative. We always found ourselves in circumstances in which we were shut up to the particular course we took, and could not on principle contemplate any other. Every event leading to the memorable Disruption was forced upon us. We were never allowed a choice consistent with principle. We were always guided by God's holy providence showing us the way, and His good Spirit enabling us to walk in the way. But He never showed us two ways in either of which we might walk safely, honourably, and consistently with principle. That was to all of us a great relief, considering the enormous responsibilities connected with every step we took in that struggle. These responsibilities, sir, would have formed a burden altogether too oppressive for the shoulders of men to bear, if it had not been for the consideration that, with singleness of eye, we could not possibly take any other step, at each stage, than that which we did take. Now, I feel the same satisfaction here. The movement for Union is not of our seeking. I could scarcely even say it is of the seeking of our friends of the United Presbyterian Church, who first moved in it. I believe it comes from above. At all events, so far as we are concerned, we did not raise the question. Others raised it in a regular form, and brought it before us in a manner which shut us up to the consideration of it. And when shut up to the consideration of it, I always felt that, as in the former case, there was no alternative. For whenever the question of Union among Christian Churches is competently raised, the *prima facie* argument is in favour of it. The burden of proof lies on the other side. Whenever the question of Union is so presented to me I cannot get rid of it. I cannot evade it.

The presumption is in favour of Union. The presumption is so clearly in favour of Union, according to the Word of God, according to the prayer of Christ, that I am shut up to the consideration of the practicability of Union. I cannot say that we will not consider it. This has been to me a very great satisfaction,—that the question came before us in a way that left us, as it seems to me, no alternative, if we would obey the law of Christ, but to look at the proposal, and deal with it calmly and deliberately. Nor are we to make up our minds upon it at once, or conclude that the thing is hopeless, upon an imperfect report like this, bringing out merely the first question that has been canvassed.

"It is needless to enlarge further. All I say is, that I feel as much shut up in this as I did in last Assembly, to go on and consider this question. And, therefore, I have all the liberty now I had then. I felt I had no alternative then. I feel in the same way now. But I must add that, while I feel the same necessity, I feel equally great, or rather greater, encouragement, and freedom, and hope. I shall go forward from this Assembly more sanguine than I went from that of last year. I do not determine prematurely whether I can see my way to Union or not. But I have seen enough to satisfy me, from my intercourse with beloved fathers and brethren of that sister Church, that a Union, if at all consistent with principle, is most desirable. Fain would I embrace every man of that United Presbyterian Committee on the floor of this Assembly Hall as a brother."

Soon after Dr. Candlish had to experience a new trial. The health of his colleague, Mr. Dykes, had never been robust, and, during the year, had become so feeble as to induce him, under medical advice, to tender his resignation, and to try the effect of another climate. His resignation was accepted by the Presbytery, and early in 1865 he sailed for Melbourne, and Dr. Candlish was again left in sole charge of the congregation, the place of Mr. Dykes being in the meantime supplied by temporary assistants.

Advancing years and bodily infirmities, however, did not diminish the ardour with which he prosecuted a work which, from the commencement of his ministry, had engaged his earnest efforts. By the removal of the Rev. J. H. Wilson to Barclay Church, which had been erected for him, Fountainbridge again fell under the charge of St. George's congregation. But in 1865 the Rev. John Morgan was called and inducted to Fountainbridge Church, and in July Dr. Candlish proposed that his congregation should enter on a new field of labour for territorial mission work in the suburb of Roseburn, in the west end of Edinburgh. This work was willingly undertaken; and in due time a church was built, and a minister called and inducted.

Towards the end of the same year Dr. Candlish and his congregation had to contemplate the erection of a new church for themselves, their church in Lothian Road having been acquired by the Caledonian Railway Company for the erection of a new station. There was much difficulty, and difference of opinion, as to the choice of a new site, and for a long period the congregation met for worship in the Music Hall, till at length a site was obtained in Shandwick Place, and the present church was erected on it.

Except in two cases of discipline Dr. Candlish did not take a very prominent part in the proceedings of the Assembly 1865. Speaking in reference to the Report of the Committee on the Highlands and Islands, he said—

> "We cannot expect there should be large contributions locally in the Highlands and Islands. We all know the poverty of the people, and the precariousness of the sources of subsistence on which they have to rely; and since we have taken the responsibility of being the Church pre-eminently of the Highlands and Islands, and since we have taken the responsibility of welcoming the inhabitants of all that district to adhere to us, and since they have responded to our call to so large an extent, it becomes us very specially to consider their very peculiar circumstances. It becomes us to consider how ordinances can be supported,—not merely now for the present generation, but in perpetuity, and from age to age.

The attention of Dr. Candlish was called, early in 1866, to the question of University Education in Ireland, in which the United Presbyterian Church had manifested some interest; and on the 24th February he wrote to Mr. Dunlop in reference to a measure then proposed by the Government. He says—

"There is little intelligence and little interest in the subject here. And I confess I am anxious to see my way more clearly to some principle on which I can make a firm stand. It is my own fault. But I am so ignorant of the present plan, in its details, and of the proposed modification of it, that I feel myself very incompetent to state the case as against the Government scheme, either privately or publicly. For example, if what is suggested is, that students of the R. C. College should be allowed to be candidates for degrees on the same terms as students of the Queen's Colleges, can we object strongly to that on principle? Or, if it is intended to constitute the examining body in the University, I mean the body having power to confer degrees, with some reference to religious denominations being fairly represented, always by competent men, is that very much against what we would be prepared to regard as legitimate and fair? Of course if there is to be any endowment of a R. C. College we must object as we do to Maynooth. But, if that is not intended, I would like to see much more clearly than I see now what ground to take in opposing either of the above arrangements."

In reference to a question then pending in the Presbytery of Glasgow, he wrote, 11th May, to Dr. Buchanan:—

"I feel a deep interest in the subject, for the unbroken identity of the law has long seemed to me to be the real battle-field. I mean the law in its forensic judicial aspect. We cannot maintain it in that character as a matter of revelation, unless we maintain its identity under all dispensations. And if we cannot so maintain it, farewell to the atonement and all relative experiences. I would make short work of the threefold distinction under the Jewish economy. 1. The ceremonial law, or the law of sacrifice, becomes in the gospel a realised and accomplished fact. 2. The judicial or national law is simply modified, as regards its manner of administration, by the theocratic government, but is in itself really moral; if it were not, the credit of the old dispensation suffers. 3. Even the moral law is in the same way affected by the theocracy, as in the relaxation of the seventh commandment in the toleration of divorce, but is nevertheless the everlasting law."

Again, on the 18th May, he wrote Dr. Buchanan:—

"I have long had the impression that our fight must be for the moral law. Ever since I looked into Maurice that has been my conviction. The atonement, and indeed all our theology, hangs on the moral law."

On the previous day he wrote Dr. Buchanan on another matter, saying:—

"I very much agree with you as to the psalmody movement. It must not be allowed to bulk too much. I want some hymns; but not so much as to distract the Church. The best thing we can do is to have an understanding that no extreme views are to be pressed."

In the Assembly 1866 Dr. Candlish elicited an extraordinary burst of enthusiasm by a speech on the Union question. There had been some indications of a desire to embrace the Established Church in the negotiations for Union, and this appeared in the Assembly, in more than one of the speeches, along with an insinuation that some of the fathers were abandoning their old principles. This thoroughly roused Dr. Candlish, who repudiated the charge with a vehemence and power characteristic of his best days. During the course of his address and at its close the Assembly and the audience greeted him with enthusiastic applause, rising to their feet, and loudly cheering.

On the question of the use of hymns in public worship, Dr. Candlish said—

"It is said we have in the Bible a directory for praise, and no directory for prayer. That is to say, we have in the Bible—in the Psalms—materials of praise provided, and not materials for prayer. I thoroughly and out and out deny that the Book of Psalms is a directory for praise more than it is a directory for prayer. There is as much prayer as praise in the Psalms. I see no room whatever for saying that the Book of Psalms is purely a psalmodical book. It contains prayers as well as praises. No doubt they are prayers that may be sung; but where is the difference? It contains as much to direct us in prayer as in praise. The prayers could be used without being sung, though they are put in the way in which they may be sung. It is read for praise from the pulpit every Lord's day; we pray as well as praise in the words of the Book of Psalms. That seems to me to take away altogether the distinction between praise and prayer as parts of the worship of God. And I cannot understand how we should be more hampered and fettered as regards the use of our words in the one part of divine worship than in the other."

On the 1st August Dr. Candlish wrote to Dr. Buchanan chiefly on matters relating to the Union question, and added at the close:—

"I am not in the mood for very much thinking or writing. I hope and believe that I have got over this attack. But I find it has left me very feckless. I shall need rest and retirement for a while. I hope I may be the better, otherwise than merely physically, for all this. We are just starting for Elie, where a visit from you would be very welcome."

At Elie he suffered a very sore bereavement by the death of his youngest daughter Mary, at the age of fifteen, after lingering for about six weeks in growing weakness, and in a state of unconsciousness for the last week or ten days. The family returned to Edinburgh on 3d October, bringing her remains with them to be interred in the Old Calton burying-ground.

On the 8th September he wrote Dr. Buchanan:—

"Thanks for your very welcome letters. I should have written sooner, but that I have no great inclination at present to enter into business such as you are so sadly worried with. Beyond a task which I have set myself to keep me up, I have little heart for writing. We are still very anxious, though there are some hopeful symptoms, at which we fondly catch, if only the patient can hold on a little longer. I feel deeply your sympathy. And I do assure you I sympathise with you."

Again, on the 20th September, he wrote to Dr. Buchanan:—

"We are waiting on day by day, hour by hour, for Mary's departure. I may say all hope is gone. Dr. Todd, a very skilful and kind man, who advises with Bell, had her head shaved and blistered; but with little or no expectation of any good result. She swallows with great difficulty a spoonful of brandy and ice ; nothing more. She lies very quiet, but complains of heat in her head. *Ora pro nobis.*"

From repeated communications to Dr. Buchanan towards the close of this year it appears that his mind was much occupied with various matters relating to the Union question, and especially as to what might precisely be meant by an open question, and what liberty of speech and action might be allowed in regard to such a question. About this time, from growing infirmities, he contemplated an entire withdrawal from all public work, and was induced to continue services which were regarded as supremely valuable, only by the earnest remonstrances of some of his warmest friends.

On the 1st January 1867 he addressed the following letter to Miss Campbell :—

"I write a few lines for my wife and myself to send you the usual compliments of the season, and to express our gladness and thankfulness at the good accounts we have of your improved health. You will not expect a long letter when I tell you that my sister died this morning at six o'clock. You know the sad state in which she has been for years. We cannot grieve over the event that brings to her, as we humbly hope, a change from earthly vacuity to heavenly intelligence and joy ; but sorrowful memories, old and recent, crowd upon our hearts, and half closed wounds are reopened. Pray for us, and specially for me, that I may do the Master's work, and submit to His will. We have reason to be thankful that we have all our kith and kin with us, and all well, except Robert, who left us in excellent health."

At a meeting of the Deacons' Court of St. George's congregation it was resolved to recommend the calling of the Rev. J. H. Wilson, Barclay Church, to be colleague to Dr. Candlish ; but the movement came to nothing in consequence of the decided opposition of Mr. Wilson. It was resolved, however, that four weekly prayer meetings should be held in the Church, conducted by the elders, for direction in obtaining a colleague.

CHAPTER XIX.

Assembly 1867—Mission to Jews—Chair of Evangelical Theology—American Churches—Union question—Leaving Lothian Road Church—Switzerland—Church in Shandwick Place—Death of Dr. Hamilton—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Address to Congregation—Call to Mr. Laidlaw—Assembly 1868—Irish Presbyterian Church—Union question—Call to Dr. Dods—Letter to a lady—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Assembly 1869—Union question—Church in Wales—Education Bill—In North Wales—Church in Shandwick Place opened—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Proposal to call Mr. J. H. Wilson—Proposal to go to America—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Letter to Mr. Maclagan—Letter to Mrs. Henderson—Assembly 1870—Union question—Call to Mr. Whyte—Letters to Mr. Maclagan—Letter to Mr. Paul—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Induction of Mr. Whyte—Fountainbridge—Meeting of friends of Union—Letters to Dr. Buchanan—Assembly 1871—Union question—Viewforth Church—Letter to Mr. Bell—Letter to Mr. Maclagan—Illness—Goes to south of England—Letter to Mr. Bell.

In the Assembly 1867, after Dr. Cappadose had been heard in connection with the report of the Committee on the Conversion of the Jews, Dr. Candlish said—

"I take the opportunity of saying that I feel deeply indebted to Dr. Cappadose for the statement he has made to-night as regards the relation of the New Testament to the Old. I think the statement he made on that subject was exceedingly valuable, and exceedingly seasonable, as showing that the root—the ground of the whole of our gospel—is to be found in the Old Testament, and that we have no standing at all in the New Testament apart from the Old. Such a statement, given forth by a man thoroughly competent to form a judgment upon the subject, is most valuable."

When proposing the appointment of Dr. Duff to the Chair of Evangelistic Theology, Dr. Candlish said—

"The setting up of this Chair is certainly a sort of experiment; and we require the benefit of the experience of a few years—and long may he be spared to discharge its duties—under so eloquent a lecturer and so effective a missionary as Dr. Duff, by which time he will have become so conversant with the Professors of the several Colleges, and with the students, as to be able to suggest to the Church more particular arrangements and a more detailed constitution. I rejoice, therefore, that very large discretion and liberty is left to Dr. Duff to carry out such views as may seem to him best. He will thus have opportunities of acquiring experience in this direction, so that in the course of a few years he may be in a position to advise the Church fully on the subject."

After the Assembly had heard deputies from America, Dr. Candlish said—

"I cannot but express the exceeding delight with which we now resume relations with the American Churches. It was a deep grief to me when, some years ago, the friendly intercourse was interrupted, in so far as one branch of the Presbyterian Church in America was concerned, all the more because I was instrumental in the writing of those letters which caused the correspondence to be discontinued. The point turned upon slavery, that curse which, wherever it exists, destroys all human feelings, and almost all Christian sympathies. We have reason to bless God that there is now no such obstacle to the continuance of the most intimate relations with that branch of the Presbyterian Church with which our intercourse was thus interrupted, and that we now see our way to a large and friendly intercourse with the other branches of the Christian Church there.

"I suppose that the position in which the American Churches are now placed is unprecedented in the history of Christianity. They have a work set before them never set before any branch of the Church, and have, therefore, a strong claim upon the sympathies, aid, and prayers of the Church of Christ, to meet the unprecedented emergency."

On the question of Union, at this Assembly, a motion was carried, by a very large majority, that, "As regards the first head of the programme (the relations between Church and State), there appears to be no bar to the union contemplated." This led to the resignation of several members of the Union

Committee, and somewhat altered the state of the question in future Assemblies; the discussions turning very much upon the point as to the consummation of the union at the expense of a disruption in the Free Church, in the event of the minority adhering to their views. At this Assembly Dr. Candlish said—

> "In regard to this question of Union, I have always looked upon it rather in the light of duty than in the light of expediency. I am not blind or indifferent to considerations of expediency in this question—to the good and the advantage which may be expected, under the Divine blessing, to result from it, by so compact a testimony to the truth as will be borne by the whole of the Disestablished Churches throughout Scotland being united together. I am not blind or indifferent to the advantage that would give us in dealing with the masses, in converting the outcast, in carrying the gospel of the grace of God over the whole of the land. I am not blind or indifferent to these considerations—far from it; but I repeat I have always looked on this question rather in the light of duty than in the light of advantage or expediency. I said, when the subject was first broached in this House, that I thought that was the right view to take of it—that the *onus probandi*, the burden of proof, in my mind, lies on the side of refusing to unite—the whole presumption, *prima facie*, founded on the Divine Word, must be in favour of Union. It is the duty of the Christian Churches to unite, unless very serious obstacles interpose. We are bound to watch and look out for opportunities of healing the breaches in the Lord's vineyard; and whatever Church, or branch of the Church, in the land, it may be, that comes near to us and offers us a plausible and probable ground of our being able to see eye to eye so far as to be able to work together, I have no doubt that the right hand of fellowship should be extended to enter into negotiations with them, and, sinking minor differences, we should endeavour to come to a thorough understanding on the essentials, and go forth united on the Lord's side."

On the 9th June, Dr. Candlish preached for the last time in Lothian Road Church, from Matthew xi. 28-30, the same text from which he had preached at the opening of the Church. On the two succeeding Sabbaths he preached in the Music Hall previous to a prolonged holiday on the Continent, from which he did not return till about the middle of October.

From Zurich, on the 19th July, he wrote to Mr. Bell—

"Your letter, which I got last night, was the first intimation to me of James Bonar's death. Indeed, we rather wonder that no newspaper or letter was waiting for us here, or has reached us up to this time. But we gather from you that all is well. The tidings of Bonar's removal grieved me much, though I cannot say that I was greatly surprised. He was a truly good man, and one of the most pleasant to do business with in the good cause that I ever came in contact with. I may have an opportunity, at the opening of the College session, of paying some slight tribute to his worth and services. Meanwhile I would feel obliged by your expressing to his wife and other relatives my sincere sympathy and my deep sense of the loss which his departure from among us must be felt to be. Our Disruption ranks are rapidly thinning. A new race is pushing us aside.

"We got on from Brussels admirably well; saw the Cologne Cathedral, the Rhine scenery, and the skirts of the Black Forest, in most favourable circumstances. We have been here two days, and think we will like the place. We have had a drive, and a sail (in a rowing-boat, very oddly propelled by pushing). Last night and all yesterday the view of the Alps was amazingly grand, especially at sunset. We have taken apartments in the Hotel de Bellevue to live *en pension* for a week. They are high and airy, looking out on the lake and the mountains. We intend, if satisfied, remaining there quietly for two or three weeks."

On the 2d August he wrote to Dr. Buchanan from the same place, and spoke of Zurich as a delightful place, and of enjoyable excursions on the lake and on land. He had nearly all his family about him, and this added much to his happiness. He says—

"I rather prefer a quiet residence, with easy excursions, not implying long absence. I can make an exertion, I find, as I did last Saturday. But I have hints occasionally, warning me to *ca' canny.* If I attend to these hints I think I shall get on with care, and much benefit."

From Interlaken, on the 15th August, he wrote to Mr. Bell :—

> "We have been enjoying ourselves very much. The weather has been hot ; but we have managed to see and do a good deal of tourist scenery and work." [He goes on to speak of the delights of Lucerne, and of his ascent of the Rigi, and the sunrise there.] "Fancy your humble servant walking both up and down, and on the top. I could not have dreamt of it a month ago. But this climate does wonders. Yesterday we came here by the Brünig Pass, a long day's drive. Now, for the future, that you may know where to send letters, this is our plan. We propose to start on Monday (19th) for Lausanne, where we mean to leave our heavy luggage. On Tuesday we start for Chamouny, either by Geneva or Martigny, returning by the route we do not take in going. We mean to be at Chamouny on the 20th, and to remain till the 25th, when we return to Geneva or Lausanne. From Lausanne, when we are satisfied with it, we go on to Paris, and, after a short stay there, we think of spending a week or ten days at the seaside at Dieppe, from whence we can get easily by a short sea-voyage to London."

He wrote to Dr. Buchanan, from Lausanne, on the 28th August :—

> "We have been doing a good deal in the way of travelling, climbing, and seeing great sights for the last week or two. We have been at Chamouny, through the Tete Noire, from Martigny. We had previously visited Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald from Interlaken. We had some splendid views of Mt. Blanc, especially on Monday last, when we travelled in a return carriage from Chamouny to Geneva—a singularly glorious drive in a glorious day. We have had capital weather on the whole."

From Dieppe, on the 17th September, he again wrote to Dr. Buchanan, saying that he thought it a very nice place for a short sojourn. "I hope we shall be the better of this way of winding up our wanderings." The remainder of the letter is occupied with prospective Church movements as to the appointment of a Moderator and Clerk of Assembly.

On the 5th November the foundation-stone of the new church in Shandwick Place was laid by the Earl of Dalhousie ;

and, in the evening of the same day, a congregational meeting was held in the Assembly Hall, which was addressed, after prayer by Mr. M'Gillivray, Roseburn, by Lord Dalhousie, Lord Ardmillan, Sir H. W. Moncreiff, Dr. Moody-Stuart, Dr. Rainy, and Dr. Candlish.

At the end of November a very sad occasion called Dr. Candlish to London, when, on December 1st, he preached the funeral sermon of his dear friend Dr. James Hamilton, to whose memory he paid a fitting tribute, describing him as "a man whose loss evangelical Christendom deplores; whose bright, radiant, genial, hearty look, at once, on his immediate entrance into any circle, diffused over it all a certain nameless charm of unstudied, cheerful, natural, and easy piety; in whose presence nothing impure, unlovely, or unloving, nothing sordid, selfish, or mean, could long survive; under the spell of whose benign and blessed temper, always giving thanks, converse was sure to cease from being mere earthly and idle talk, and to become serenely, happily, and even joyously, fellowship of a more heavenly sort."

At the same period, Dr. Candlish having intimated in the *Daily Review* that it might be better for various reasons he should keep away from the public business of the Church, a letter of remonstrance and appeal against this course, numerously signed, was sent to him.

On the 12th December he wrote to Dr. Rainy:—

> "Please let me off from my engagement for next Tuesday. The real and sober truth is this, that my friends must let me alone for a while. My temper and my health suffer; and I can do no good, but only ill, to the Church and the cause of Union. That being so, I think it best to ask to be excused from public action, and therefore also from private consultation. I make it my very earnest and particular request that my friends, whose affection I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, would leave me out of account in present circumstances."

On the 28th December he issued a printed address to his congregation in view of a collection for the Mission School at Roseburn; but, adverting generally to his impaired health, and the consequent transition state of the congregation, concluding by an earnest appeal for decision as to their personal interest in Christ:—

> "Never more than now was there a necessity for such decision. In the surging sea of restlessness and doubt now rolling all around, it is your only safety. A personal, experimental Christianity; an assured and appropriating faith—that, and nothing but that, will stand the shock of the wild thoughts and loose ways that stamp the character of these last days; nothing else will save your own souls, or fit you for witnessing boldly, and contending manfully, for the whole truth of God and the highest good of your fellow-men."

In January 1868 the Committee charged with looking out for a suitable colleague pastor, resolved to recommend the Rev. John Laidlaw, of Perth, to the congregation; and the congregation, at a meeting in February, unanimously accepted the recommendation. Mr. Laidlaw was accordingly called; but in March, when the case came before the Presbytery of Perth, Mr. Laidlaw declined the call, and it was not proceeded with.

In the Assembly 1868, after deputies had been heard from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Dr. Candlish advised the forming of a Sustentation Fund in that Church. He said—

> "This would stimulate our movement amazingly, and would give us great encouragement. Not only so, but it would really give encouragement to all the evangelical Churches throughout the world in the same way, and would proclaim to the States and Rulers of the world that, however we may testify as regards their duty, we are not dependent upon them. It is not we that need them, it is they that need us. It is not we that depend upon the State, it is the State that is bound to use our instrumentality for the advancement of the truth. I think things are coming very much to the point when the Establishment principle must be maintained in that view, in that connection, and in that line."

In the discussion on the Union question, Dr. Candlish said—

"I suppose scarcely any one will maintain now, that, apart from mere inferences, there is anything like an assertion of the doctrine of civil establishments of religion in the Confession of Faith. I wish our friends would look along the whole history of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation downwards, and see if they can put their finger upon any one period, or any one event, that implies that the principle of a national establishment of religion was decidedly and formally made a primary consideration. If it be a principle at all—which I doubt—going along the whole of the Church's history would you ever find at any period, from the very beginning of this Church of ours, any event that proclaimed, formally and directly, the principle of a national establishment of religion as a vital principle which she is bound to maintain? I deny it. I look at the very beginning, and let it be remembered that from the very beginning the Church of Scotland was *de facto*—in point of fact—an established and endowed Church. The idea of any other kind of Church was not entertained. It was never dreamt of in these times. The Church, as constituted at the Reformation, was the only sort of Church that men then could have any idea of—namely, a national Church—a Church established and endowed by national authority and by national resources. That was the beginning of the Church. And what was the testimony the Church had to bear from the very beginning? What was the first point on which the Church had to testify—the doctrine of a civil establishment and endowment of the Church of Christ? Nothing of the sort. She was in the position of an established and endowed Church at the time. But nobody raised the question. It was never raised in those days; but all through the period, from the first point down to the second Reformation, the Church was testifying, testifying, testifying, from year to year, and from generation to generation—for what? Not for civil establishments of religion, but for the independence of the Church, and the sole authority of the Lord Jesus in His own house. And what was the testimony after that? Of course I need not refer to 1638, and the testimony borne then for the overthrow of Episcopacy; that was a testimony simply for the exclusive authority of Christ in His own house, and the liberty of His servants in His house. That was the testimony then. And what was the victory achieved at the Revolution? Did anybody boast that the victory obtained at the Revolution was a triumph of the establishment principle? Was ever that dreamt of as a real reading of the historical fact? No, sir; it was claimed as a victory for the exclusive right of Christ to rule in His own house.

"I might go through the whole course, embracing the history of the separation of brethren from the Church; all through its history, from the beginning and through the eighteenth century—what is the reading of the history? It is simply this, that a Church, happening to be in the position of being established and endowed by the State, claims, notwithstanding that establishment and endowment, even in virtue of it, independence. And that is the history of the Disruption, and of the Disruption testimony. Our testimony then was this—nothing else, and nothing more—that, though we are an established and endowed Church, and could plead Statute law in support of our claim, we are entitled to be independent of State control. That was our position. That admitted just those two things, namely, that the fact of our being established and endowed cannot be pled against our independence, that it is not enough to say, as Sir Robert Peel and those who decided against us said, that *ex necessitate rerum*—out of the necessity of things—an established and endowed Church must be under the civil control. Our testimony was against that. No, we answered; our being established and endowed does not of necessity involve our being subject to State control. We bore this testimony then, and we are bearing it still."

In December of this year a fresh attempt was made to obtain a colleague to Dr. Candlish, and the congregation presented a unanimous call to Dr. Dods of Glasgow. But in this case, as in the call to Mr. Laidlaw, the call was declined.

On the 5th January 1869 Dr. Candlish wrote to a member of his congregation who had intimated her withdrawal from the Free Church in consequence of the steps taken towards Union:—

"I am sorry that you should feel yourself obliged, in vindicating the step which you have resolved to take, to impute to me personally, and to those with whom I act, for the Church as such is committed to nothing, what we strongly disclaim and disavow. We deny out and out your 'undeniable fact.' We have not departed nor asked the Church 'to depart from its original principles.' We have not 'taken up new ground.' We have not 'abandoned the Establishment principle.' We have not even agreed to its being an open question. All that we ever held to be essential to the integrity of that principle we insist upon as decidedly as ever. I utterly repudiate the charge of a 'combination against all the Protestant Established Churches in the kingdom, etc.' Those on whose authority you allege that, know or ought to know that it is untrue."

This letter had the effect of changing the resolution contemplated.

On the 5th February he wrote to Dr. Buchanan, partly in reference to proposals regarding the Union negotiations, and partly also in reference to the call of the congregation to Dr. Dods, expressing his fear, from what he had heard, "that some one had been giving erroneous or exaggerated views about the congregation." He concludes by saying, "Will you come in on Tuesday and stay with us? We have a few students at dinner, and one of the brethren to meet them. It will be a great treat to them, and a great favour to me, if you will consent to join our small party."

In the Assembly 1869 there were two motions on the Union question; one by Principal Fairbairn to the effect that the Committee on Union should take no further action during the year, but give the Church time more deliberately to weigh the whole matter; the other by Mr. Nixon, to discharge the Committee. Dr. Candlish spoke at length on the subject, and concluded by saying—

"We should consider what our position will appear to be in the face of Christendom if we adopt the course proposed by Mr. Nixon's motion. What has been done during these six years has not been done in a corner. We have representatives from the Presbyterian Churches in the United States. What report are they to carry home to their constituents, if they find us, after six years of deliberation, refusing so much as to allow the report to be considered, but discharging the whole matter, and breaking up the whole negotiations? We have a higher responsibility still. I do not anticipate what the result of those negotiations may be. I am no prophet. Perhaps, after full, fair, and thorough consideration, it may turn out, whether on the merits of the case, or from the circumstances of the Church, or from the difficulties that have arisen and the divisions that prevail, that Union is impracticable. I am perfectly willing to acquiesce in that, provided it is arrived at after full and fair consideration, and not under the menaces of schism and division. I am perfectly willing if, as the result, it should turn out we are not in circumstances to consummate this Union, that we had better break off Union altogether—I am prepared to acquiesce. But I still hold that, even if I entertained the views of the friends on the other side, after all that has been done, I could not conscientiously adopt the course they propose."

In introducing to the Assembly Mr. Pryce, a member of the Welsh Presbyterian Church, Dr. Candlish said—

"The brethren in Wales are thoroughly Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in their order, and they assume the name now of the Welsh Presbyterian Church. This they are entitled to do, for purely through study of the divine Word and the leadings of Providence, without external influence to any extent worth noticing, they came to the conclusion of being thoroughly Calvinistic in creed, and really Presbyterian in their government,—and they are really the National Church in Wales, though not established. The Established Church has a mere partial existence, and the Presbyterian Methodists are the National Church, as was well proved by that immense gathering of 30,000 people (a meeting at Bangor, in September, when Dr. Candlish was present). All the works round about, the slate quarries, etc., were stopped, and all classes of the people came into Bangor; and the effect produced upon me was such as I shall never forget—to see the whole of that vast assembly listening with profound emotion, the tears running down from their eyes, and chiefly from the eyes of the men, young and old. I confess I could not restrain my own before the service was over. I cannot enlarge upon this, but I venture to propose that, after hearing my somewhat informal communication, the Assembly should agree to appoint deputies to the next quarterly meeting in September of the Presbyterian Church in North Wales."

In reference to an Education Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyl~~e~~, Dr. Candlish said—

"They found themselves in this position, that they could not altogether approve or disapprove of it. There were some good things in it yet, even after it had been mangled in the House of Peers, and the

Convener had admitted that some good things had been put in by the Lords in Committee. But still there were so many bad things in it—so many objectionable things—so many things that were intolerable—so many things that Scotland never should be asked and never could consent to accept; there were so many of those things of which they could not approve—that, therefore, they came to a sort of lame and impotent conclusion apparently, but one which, when the whole of their position was considered, would show that they had gone about the consideration of this great national measure with calmness and deliberation, under a deep feeling of responsibility, and with no other end in view but only that of making the measure as good as possible for the good of the people of Scotland.

"He desired, before sitting down, to acknowledge, what could never be lost sight of in connection with a movement of this sort—the services rendered to the cause of education by the present Lord Advocate. Though introduced by the Duke of Argyll into the House of Lords, probably because the House of Commons had its hands full enough with other matters, and introduced by his Grace heartily, wisely, after a right loyal Scottish way, in that speech in which he did such justice to Scottish character and Scottish feeling—the measure was to a large extent traceable to the Lord Advocate, and it was very much a bill such as he himself would have introduced into the House of Commons. But apart from that consideration, and looking back upon the past, he believed very few men could have persevered, as the Lord Advocate Moncreiff had persevered, in prosecuting the great enterprise after so much discouragement, so many defeats, so much hostility in some quarters, so much indifference in others."

Towards the close of the Assembly Dr. Candlish moved the adoption of a call to solemn prayer by the office-bearers and members of the Church for a revived interest in spiritual things.

Dr. Candlish spent the greater part of his autumn holiday this year at Beaumaris, in North Wales, and returned to Edinburgh in October improved by his sojourn, preaching for the last time in the Music Hall on the 17th October.

During his stay at Beaumaris he wrote Mr. Maclagan on the 9th August:—

"You and Meldrum are the elders named by the Assembly as the deputation to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Convention for North Wales. It meets next week at Carnarvon. The deputation will be received on Wednesday, the 18th, in the forenoon. Thursday is the great day for open air preaching, and you should arrange to remain over that forenoon also, say till one or two o'clock. It is about the most impressive sight I ever witnessed. We were present at Bangor last year, and I am told the gathering at Carnarvon will be even greater than it was. I do hope you will be able to come."

On the 24th October the new Church in Shandwick Place was opened, Dr. Candlish preaching in the forenoon, and Dr. Dykes in the afternoon. Dr. Candlish announced the cxxvi. Psalm as his text, and in concluding his discourse said—

"Let us not suffer this occasion to pass away without some revival at least being begun. Then, under that new impulse, let us gird ourselves for the work which the Lord lays to our hand. Let us with new alacrity, new zeal, new faith and hope, arise and work. Let us sow. Let us go forth bearing precious seed; prepared for trial, disappointment, and delay; but not on that account growing weary in welldoing; rather on the outlook for pledges and earnests that may be given even here, though it be the day of small things, of the abundant fulfilment of the promise at last,—'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'"

In a letter to Dr. Buchanan, on 13th December, Dr. Candlish says, referring to the Union movement—

"I like your suggestion to Rainy as to fairly raising the question—Is the endowment principle to bar union? I should have been at Crieff from Saturday till Wednesday, but a horrid bilious attack floored me on Friday night, and I am only now getting over it. *These things tell.*"

In January 1870 a meeting of St. George's congregation was held with the view a second time of asking the Presbytery to moderate in a call to the Rev. J. H. Wilson, Barclay Church, to be colleague to Dr. Candlish; but a letter was read from Mr. Wilson, so strongly adverse, that no further step was taken.

On the 4th February he wrote to Dr. Buchanan as to a conference of a few friends on the Union question and on National Education.

Mr. Bell notes that on 22d February—

"It has been proposed to send Dr. Candlish to America on a deputation. He consulted me this morning on the matter, with reference particularly as to his health. I requested a day for consideration. He made up his mind to decline the proposal, on the ground of his physical energies being no longer equal to the undertaking."

On the 26th February he wrote to Dr. Rainy—

"I am better to-day. I have been too much worried this week. Such Icelandic weather does not suit the seventh decade of life, with podagric and other pleasant tendencies. I must be more of a sort of hybernating animal. I must tarry at home and spin—What? Spiders' webs."

On the 29th March he wrote to Mr. D. Maclagan, evidently in high spirits—

"I desire to express my thanks for your kindness in undertaking to preside over the social meeting, and also, through you, to express my regret for my unavoidable absence. I greatly delight in all occasions being taken advantage of for drawing closer the bonds of Christian sympathy and brotherly fellowship. I wish you all, yourself and all friends, a very happy evening."

On the 6th May he wrote to Dr. Buchanan regarding the motion on the Union question which might be proposed at the meeting of Assembly, and adds, "I wish I could say I am gaining strength as I would like. But it is not so. Still I have hope if I stretch my *furlough* to the 17th."

On the 21st May he wrote to his daughter Mrs. Henderson, on the death of her infant son—

"Your nice letter greatly pleased me. I thank the Lord, from the bottom of my heart, for the grace granted to you and Archie. I cannot say or write much to comfort you. But you are seldom long out of my thoughts, and I inwardly mourn and weep with you. I feel it as a knock-down blow to myself when I look back on the delight and joy of having you here, so bright and radiant, with so darling a boy. But, like you, I try to be grateful for these few weeks, and would not for worlds part with the dear recollection of them. It is good for you, and a blessed reflection, to have had a little one in your arms whom Jesus has now taken into his own. I cannot for a moment doubt that you and he will meet at last, and though earthly relations may not be exactly renewed in heaven, I feel assured that you and he will know then how you were connected for so brief a little day here. I often think of the vast multitudes of infants taken early away from this cold earth to a warmer clime as one of the precious, most precious, fruits of the Lord's redeeming work. I am very anxious that Archie should come in for a day next week. I think he should. It would do him good, and be very comforting to many friends to see him here interesting himself in the Lord's work among us in the Assembly, and exchanging thoughts with us at home. I weary much to see you, and must see you soon."

In the Assembly 1870, Dr. Candlish moved that it be remitted to Presbyteries "To give their special attention to the following point, with a view to send up their opinion thereon to next General Assembly, namely, Whether, apart from other considerations bearing upon the present movement, there is any objection in principle to the formation of an incorporating union among the negotiating Churches, on the footing or basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith, as at present accepted by these Churches." In supporting this motion, Dr. Candlish said—

"I am fully convinced of the painfulness of this controversy, but I am of opinion also that sometimes it is necessary to clear up fully the path of duty before the Church by means of discussion and controversy. I have been familiar with controversy since ever I entered the Church; I have been familiar with controversy amongst ourselves. I do not refer to the chronic controversy, which ultimately became acute enough between us—the Evangelicals and the Moderates in the Establishment, who have so suddenly, and with such singleness of eye, become now to be of opinion that patronage is an evil. I remember the Moderatorship controversy; and no one who was alive at the time of the Disruption can ever forget how terribly the controversy raged, and that not for a short time. I should be sorry were the controversy with us to be so bitter as the Disruption one, which appeared to be very threatening and alarming. I remember the College controversy—good cause I have to remember it—it broke the dearest friendship I ever had in the world, though, thanks be to God, the breach was healed. These controversies were thought to be serious at the time, and looked very alarming, but God in his providence carried us through them, and we were not one whit the worse for them in the long run. In one respect we are much better; and I agree with Dr. Buchanan in thinking that this may be the Lord's will at present, especially if we approach this discussion in the spirit of calmness and moderation, which I earnestly pray the Lord we may.

"I myself can scarcely expect to see the issue of this movement, and I am perfectly prepared to submit to the Divine providence, if it shall appear that he intends to chastise us by longer waiting. Ardently as I long for the healing of the breaches of our historical Church of Scotland, I am quite prepared for years of waiting if it shall in any degree tend to make the consummation, when it comes, more cordial, more intelligent, more loving. But I feel that I am not in a position, and that the Church is not in a position, to consider whether there should be delay or not, until the amount and character of the agreement or disagreement in point of principle is ascertained in a constitutional way; and it cannot be ascertained in a constitutional way otherwise than by asking Presbyteries to say if they have any objection in point of principle."

The congregation of St. George's having resolved upon inviting the Rev. Alexander Whyte, of Glasgow, to become their colleague pastor, the Presbytery of Edinburgh met to moderate in a call to him on the 2d June, and on the 23d of the same month Mr. Whyte agreed to accept the call. Meanwhile Dr. Candlish had gone to Buxton for the benefit of his health, and on the 24th wrote to Mr. Maclagan—

"The wire flashed to me yesterday, about four o'clock, most excellent news, which, though not confirmed by any fuller epistolary information, I suppose I may assume to be true. It set me up at once. I was very *fidgety* and anxious, as the crisis drew near, not being sure but that some untoward hitch might at the very last moment blight our hopes. Now, I thank God, all is so far well. For the congregation I cannot doubt that a signal spiritual good has been got, if only they receive it humbly, meekly, prayerfully, believingly. And with me, His poor, unworthy, unfaithful, and unprofitable servant, how graciously has the Lord dealt! I can now look forward to the closing years, if years be granted, of my earthly service and ministry with some good hope of their being not burdensome to me, nor altogether useless to my beloved flock. What has really oppressed me hitherto has not been my doing too much work—I might have been doing more—but the disheartening impression of so much being left undone, and so much that is done being done so unsatisfactorily; for no mere assistant can really supply a pastor's place. Now I hope to return, if God bless the means I am using for the recovery of my strength, at least as able as I was before my illness, for all that I was then doing. And I can do it under a feeling of relief from unfulfilled responsibility, and confidence in an acceptable and congenial colleague, that cannot fail to impart fresh buoyancy of spirit and hopeful cheerfulness to all my labour. In this way, I trust that if it be the Lord's will to spare me for a little longer, it may be not for languor and listless apathy, that might otherwise creep upon me, but for a brief course of service, with a worthy yokefellow, in the congregation that has done so much for me. Alas, that I have done so little for them! I have written to Mr. Whyte taking him to my heart. And I have told him that I don't think he should be inducted till the beginning of October, when the congregation is decently gathered, and the communion on the 30th is drawing near. I have mentioned my summer and autumn arrangements, and have told him my reasons for letting him know all this immediately—namely, first, that he may not feel himself hurried in parting with my old and dear friend Dr. Roxburgh, with whom I deeply sympathise; and, secondly, that he may have as long an interval as possible between his two fields of labour. I have asked him also to pay us a visit here in July, when we can fully talk over the affairs of the congregation, and begin, at least, to mature plans for our winter campaign. May the Lord grant his blessing in connection with all that we may jointly propose and do."

Again, on the 4th July, he wrote to Mr. Maclagan, among other things saying—

"I really think I am getting on steadily in spite of very unsettled weather, which, however, the doctor says is not against us. He is satisfied with my progress." And on the 8th July he says—"I think I am beginning to get on—very feeble still, and with occasional sharp warnings."

On the 21st July he wrote to Mr. Paul, who had accepted a call to Coldstream, saying—

"I heartily congratulate you on so cordial and unanimous a call, and warmly approve of your acceptance of it. I consider that, generally, the first call has a prior claim, and Coldstream is a good locality for work. You may be assured of my earnest desire and prayer for your comfort and success. It is a real and grievous disappointment to me to be obliged to deny myself the gratification of introducing you to your flock. It is so, because I would have liked so much to express my high esteem of you, and my grateful and reverential remembrance of your grandfather. But observe how I am situated. Although much better, as I think since I came here, I still feel the need of a little longer trial of the virtue of this place ; I consider it, indeed, my duty to make full proof of what seems to be doing me good."

On the 22d September, he wrote to Dr. Buchanan from Aberdeen—

"I was very glad indeed to see your handwriting again. I almost grudge you your walks on hills, and your rural retreat. For myself, I have been very quiet ; but though greatly the better for Buxton, Crieff, and Aberdeen, I am still very feeble as regards walking, and easily put out of sorts. With care, however, and the use of cabs for business, and fresh air, I hope to get on. We go home to-morrow, and I intend to resume pulpit work on Sabbath. I have made up my mind to decline evening engagements this winter ; and, generally, to take things as easily as I can. The Union agitation is a great worry. I have enjoyed rest from it exceedingly. No Free Church debates at Buxton !"

On the 9th October Mr. Whyte commenced his ministry in St. George's as colleague minister, and was introduced to his new charge by Dr. Roxburgh.

About the end of the year Mr. Morgan of Fountainbridge, being about to remove to a new church to be built at Viewforth, with a view to help this movement, at the instance of Dr. Candlish, the congregation of St. George's purchased the church which they had originally erected, and commenced missionary operations anew in that district.

On the 24th March 1871, there was a meeting held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, of the friends of the Union movement, at which the Earl of Dalhousie presided. Dr. Candlish, when moving that he should take the chair, observed that circumstances seemed now to be much altered, since fifty-two presbyteries had given it as their judgment that there was no bar in principle to union among the negotiating churches Dr. Cairns and Dr. Rainy were the chief speakers.

In a letter to Dr. Buchanan on 2d May, Dr. Candlish intimates his purpose of going to the country for a fortnight. He says—"The winter's and spring's ministry has told a little, and I feel that I may hope to cast up in good time, much refreshed."

Again, on the 10th May, he wrote Dr. Buchanan in reference to the resolutions on Union to be proposed at the Assembly, suggesting some change in the order of them. He says—

> "Mind they are not my resolutions originally, but yours, which I simply, at your request, put into form. I deeply feel along with you, and sympathise with you, in all this dreadful worry. I would fain give in at once, and have done with the whole movement. But we dare not incur that responsibility. And if we must go on, it must be with our trumpet giving no uncertain sound. All this uncertainty and perplexity in the minds of our friends makes me somewhat anxious. But you and I have been carried through worse straits than these. Let us hope and pray that the clouds may rise and disperse. I intend to go home on Monday evening. Thereafter I give myself wholly to your business in the Assembly. We are all greatly the better of our visit to this beautiful neighbourhood. We have had capital weather."

In the Assembly 1871 Dr. Candlish spoke on the negotiations for Union. In response to the remit of the previous Assembly, it appeared that a majority of presbyteries were of opinion that there was no bar in principle to union on the basis of the Westminster Confession. Dr. Candlish said—

> "Since our friends still press for a discontinuance at least of the

present negotiations, I really think they are bound to give us an answer, a categorical answer, to two simple questions. The first of these is—On what terms would you unite with these negotiating Churches? Or, rather—Are there any terms whatever on which you would unite with them? They continually say, and I believe them, that they are not averse to union; that, on the contrary, they are friendly to union. Well, in these circumstances, it is surely honest and fair that they should come forward and answer this, namely, What is it that you would insist upon as indispensable to a union with these negotiating Churches? The other question is—Are you prepared to make that on which we are told you take your stand a term of ministerial communion, and of entrance into office in our Church?

"Though I hold as strongly as ever the doctrine of the lawfulness, in certain circumstances, and the duty of the civil magistrate establishing the Church of Christ, I am not prepared to impose that doctrine on entrants into our Church, and I am not prepared to exercise discipline against any minister who should avow his disbelief of the doctrine. It is a serious matter, and must be seriously looked at. It is not our United Presbyterian brethren alone who have been alleged not to hold the doctrine of Christ's supremacy over the nations and their rulers. It is a charge also brought against myself and a number of other respected fathers and brethren in our own Church."

On the 17th June the foundation-stone of Viewforth Church was laid, and Dr. Candlish addressed those who were assembled, giving a brief history of the congregation.

This summer Dr. Candlish again resorted to Buxton, and on the 10th August wrote from thence to Mr. Bell—

"We are getting on here very nicely indeed. For myself, I feel the better for being here. I take the bath at 89°, and hope to get next week into the natural bath. I am able to walk about, slowly, a good deal, and don't need Bath chairs. We drive almost daily. We continue to pass our time very idly and pleasantly, though there is no great variety of occupation or amusement from day to day. We hope, however, to be able for Chatsworth before we leave this. If Dr. Robertson approves we think of spending a week or so at some seaside place on our way home. We shall then be a few days in Edinburgh, perhaps staying over the second Sabbath of September, after which we intend to proceed northward, perhaps by Dumbarrow, and then to Aberdeen, where we may remain over the 1st October."

Passing through Edinburgh, early in September, he wrote Mr. Maclagan on the 9th—"We are here only for a day or two. Having to pass through Edinburgh at any rate, I thought it right to take a diet, giving Whyte another half holiday." He advises Mr. Maclagan to go to Buxton and put himself under the care of Dr. Robertson.

During the month of October he was able to officiate in St. George's; but on the 5th November, after addressing the students at the opening of the New College, he was confined with an unusually severe and protracted attack of gout, the pain of which he endured with wonderful patience; and on December 16th Mr. Bell writes—

> "Dr. Candlish is improving sensibly from day to day. He remarked to me last night, 'My illness seems to be providential as regards Mr. Whyte, by giving him an opportunity of taking his proper position in the congregation.'"

The illness, however, disabled him from public work during the winter, and in April 1872 he went for a lengthened sojourn in the south of England.

CHAPTER XX.

Letter to Dr. Buchanan on Union—Letter to Mrs. Henderson—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Letters to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Mr. Bell—Letters to Mr. Maclagan—Pastoral letter—New College—Letter to Mr. Bell—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Letters to Mr. Bell—Letters to Miss Fraser—Address to Students—Conference at Inverness—Debt on New College—Letters to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Resumed Preaching—Funeral Sermon of Dr. Guthrie—Bust—Letters to Dr. Rainy—Letter to Mr. Moody-Stuart—Assembly 1873—Motion on Union—Explanatory statement—Preaches for the last time—Letter to Dr. Buchanan—Letter to Dr. Rainy—Letters to Mr. Maclagan—Letters to Dr. Rainy—Closing scenes.

BEFORE leaving Edinburgh for the south, Dr. Candlish was able to write Dr. Buchanan a communication which, had health permitted, he would have spoken in the General Assembly. It is dated 28th March 1872, and exhibits what the friends of Union proposed to do. Only a part of it is given below—

"I address you, as Convener of our Church's Union Committee, for the purpose of offering a brief explanation on the subject of a proposal, recently made in that line, of co-operation with a view to incorporation, which I understand the deliverances of the Supreme Courts of the negotiating Churches, at their last meetings, to have contemplated. I do this, not because my opinion is at present of much consequence, but because I must take upon myself a considerable share of the responsibility of having suggested the proposal—which is simply this, that ministers of congregations in any one of the Churches should be eligible to charges in any other of them, upon their complying with the regulations of that other Church relative to the calling and induction of pastors. I confess I have been astonished at the kind and amount of excitement which this proposal has caused in certain quarters; so much so, that I cannot but think some very strange hallucination or bewilderment about it has got possession of the minds of some of our brethren. At all events, their clamour is apt to confuse our people ; and therefore I wish to bring out as clearly as I can the actual state of the case.

"As regards the history of this matter, I need not go farther back than the Disruption year 1843 ; scarcely even so far back. After that event, in the early years of our existence as a non-established Church, there was a great demand for ordinances all over Scotland ; the number of charges which we were obliged to sanction being very considerably larger than our own ministers and probationers could well supply. Brethren from other Churches, especially from the Irish and English Presbyterian Churches, were eagerly sought or cordially welcomed. It was soon found, however, that the laxity then tolerated was leading to confusion, and might disturb the peaceful relations happily subsisting between these Churches and our own. It was found also that the state of the law and practice, so far as our own Church was concerned, was in a dangerous degree vague and uncertain. Repeated attempts of a legislative character were made from year to year, until at last the General Assembly, in 1850, passed into a standing law, after the consent of Presbyteries had been got through the Barrier Act, the code of rules and regulations now in force. These require that every probationer, or minister without a fixed charge, coming from another Church, and seeking admission into the Free Church, shall apply through the Presbytery in which, or within reach of which, he resides ; that he shall answer categorically a series of somewhat stringent questions about his standing, his education, his life and doctrine, his motives, etc. ; that the Presbytery, being satisfied with his answers, shall report the case to the Assembly ; and that, upon his admission being sanctioned by the Assembly, he shall be obliged to spend a year of probation under the Home Mission Committee, or some Presbytery, before being eligible to the charge of a Free Church congregation. These conditions are strictly insisted upon with reference to all probationers and unattached ministers, to whatever religious communion they may have previously belonged. It is provided, however, in the close of the Act, that they shall not be insisted upon with reference to ministers having charges in certain Churches, when they are called by congregations in the Free Church ; such ministers being eligible without any other condition than their simple compliance with what the Free Church demands in every case of an orderly translation of a pastor from one charge to another within her own bounds.

"The Churches thus exempted from the application of the Act in the special instances of orderly translations of ordained and settled ministers were the Irish and English Presbyterian Churches, and the Presbyterian Churches in the Colonies with which we were in close connection and communion. There was no question then about an incorporating union; though with one of the Churches, the English Presbyterian, such a union might have been, and indeed at one time was, some years before, contemplated. But it never was imagined in 1850 that the guarded and limited measure of exemption then adopted was, or was meant to be, or could be, or could be meant to be, a step towards incorporation,—or part of a plan for an incorporating union. Why should it be thought to be so now?

"The Churches then named in this measure of exemption stood, no doubt, in a very intimate and friendly ecclesiastical relation to our Church. But they were independent Churches, having their own rules as regards the training, testing, and licensing of students, and as regards the calling, ordination, and settlement of pastors. These differed materially from ours. Even in the Colonial Churches, which drew most of their supply of ministers from the Free Church, as being their mother Church at home, the arrangements about these matters were made by themselves, independently of us, and not necessarily or always uniform with ours.

"Nor did the manner in which brethren in these and the other Churches signified their adherence to the standards, and their willingness to be bound and tried by them, occasion any difficulty or scruple. Why should it,—or why need it,—have done so, when every one called to a charge in our communion was required to answer the very same questions and sign the very same formula that our own licentiates or probationers, and our own pastors and professors, were required to answer and sign? Surely, even if the way of ascertaining and recording their soundness in the faith in the Church they were leaving might be thought imperfect and unsatisfactory, that could not be matter of much consequence when, in point of fact, they acquiesced out and out in our way, and were inducted in strict accordance with our laws and usages and forms.

"Let the real nature of the step proposed be considered calmly. It is not meant to relax the ordinary conditions on which we receive candidates from other churches seeking admission into ours. These remain as they are. No new or wider door is opened in favour of ordinary applicants, be they communicants or students, or probationers or ministers. It is simply intended that if a congregation in our Church should happen to fall in love with the minister of a congregation in the U.P. or R.P. Church,—say with Dr. Cairns or Dr. Goold,—as our English congregation in Inverness lately fell in love with Dr. Black of the Irish Presbyterian Church in Dublin,—they may have the man of their choice settled over them in our ordinary way, without its being necessary for him to go through the process prescribed in the Act 1850 for ordinary applicants,—or, in other words, to demit his charge in England or Ireland, and spend a year of probation as a preacher at large in Scotland. That is really the whole concession. It was thought a right, and indeed necessary, concession at the time, in consideration of the close relation in which we stood to the Churches then named. If we had been on anything like a similar friendly footing with the Churches now named, there can scarcely be the shadow of a doubt that they also would have been comprehended in the exceptional or explanatory clause annexed to the Act. Surely, in suggesting such a comprehension of them now, we need not be held liable to the suspicion of designing any violent innovation, or any jesuitical plot for the purpose of entrapping the Church unawares in a Union snare, or seducing simple friends to join in the dark the wily Union Committee. At all events, the proposal might surely be discussed calmly in Church Courts and other competent meetings, without such a cloud of dust being raised, and such rash and random personal imputations being cast abroad.

"For my part, if it shall turn out, as perhaps it may, that, in the judgment of the ensuing Assembly, providence is apparently shutting us up to a course of procedure even still more cautious than that taken last year in reference to this great cause of Union among the Churches; if, for whatever reason,—whether the conviction of our friends, or regard for the kind of action followed by our opponents, or the growing pressure of other questions, it may be found expedient to pause, so far at least as to abstain from the immediate discussion of practical arrangements, I confess I shall feel myself able to acquiesce all the more readily in such a sort of truce under the modification of our law of 1850, for which I plead, than I could otherwise be. Let our Assembly approve of the modification, and send it down by overture to our Presbyteries, in terms of our Barrier Act. And let our action be met by corresponding action on the part of the Supreme Courts of the other Churches. I certainly will not construe that into anything like a pledge or committal in favour of Union, or the getting in by stealth and stratagem of the thin edge of the wedge. I shall regard it as a right thing in itself, and a fitting recognition of the actually and presently existing state of our ecclesiastical relationships. And I shall hold that, taken along with the successive deliverances of so many Assemblies, from 1863 to 1871, and the overwhelming majority of returns from Presbyteries in 1867, it conclusively demonstrates these two things, namely, *first*, that in entertaining the question originally, and appointing a committee from year to year to ventilate it, we did but discharge a sacred duty, and have been owned by God as doing so; and *secondly*, that our labour has not by any means been in vain, but has achieved results fraught with present benefit to the churches, and destined, in better times and in better hands, to be fruitful of benefit immeasurably more important and vital.

"My inability to take my usual public part in the proceedings of our Church must be my apology for this communication."

On the 16th April he wrote to his daughter Mrs. Henderson—

"Do pray God so far to restore me to health and spirits as to let me do a little more work. But, above all, pray that I may be patient and submissive."

From Patterdale, on the 29th April, he wrote to Dr. Buchanan—

"I write simply to give you the above address, for I would like much to hear from you. We reached this place on Tuesday last, and intend to remain here for a week or two. It is most glorious scenery; and, as the weather, after being very cold and boisterous, seems to be mending, we hope to enjoy short drives and walks, and so to prepare for longer journeyings southwards. I think I am already getting good. I was in church yesterday (first time since October).

He wrote to Dr. Rainy on May 1st—

"I got your very nice and welcome letter on the morning of our leaving home (Thursday, 18th). We did enjoy your account of your voyage and your adventures. Now for my progress. We got on very well to Galashiels on Thursday, Langholm on Friday, Carlisle on Saturday. Weather cold and threatening; but travelling very snug and comfortable. I suffered less than I feared from restlessness and nervousness. Sabbath and Monday we rested at Carlisle. I was out of sorts, and glad of two days' quiet. On Tuesday (23d) we came on here (Patterdale) very comfortably, and have established ourselves in most capital rooms, with splendid scenery all round. We may probably remain here for a week or two, as there are nice drives and short walks in the neighbourhood. Last week we could only take short walks, for the weather was very broken and ungenial. On Saturday it showed symptoms of improvement. On Sabbath we drove to a very nice little church, about a mile and a quarter from our hotel. I ventured to attend for the first time since October, and enjoyed the service, read at least as well as you could read it, and a neat, little, old-fashioned moderate sermon delivered by a round, gentlemanly divine, in thorough old-gentlemanly style. The weather is now all that could be desired, and the scenery is looking beautiful and grand. I hope these fine days will continue for a while. Meantime I think the change has done all three (himself, wife, and daughter) of us much good already. My wife needed greatly some relief, for really I was beginning to be afraid that her anxiety and my fidgetiness would break her down. Here she has no charge of housekeeping, and not much trouble with me, and she and Maggie seem to enjoy the calm retreat. For myself, I begin to have some sense of improved strength, though still apt to be overcome, or nearly so, at times. I can face what would have quite upset me ten days or so ago. I humbly hope I may yet be fit for some little work before I am called away.

"I need not be giving you news from Helvellyn ! ! You would be struck with Dr. Davidson's death. We old stagers are going fast. You must relieve Buchanan at the Assembly. He writes to me that he needs it, being within three months of seventy."

Again, on the 22d May, he wrote to Dr. Buchanan from Stafford—

"We came here from Ullswater yesterday, and we go on (*D.V.*) this forenoon to Malvern. I have stood the long journey, railway and all, on the whole very well, with some slight threatening of my former restlessness, which, however, I was able tolerably to resist. On the way I learned the sad news of Islay Burns's death. I was greatly shocked, and now I am anxious about what the Assembly may do. I hope they will do the bold thing, and fill up the vacancy."

From Malvern, on the 30th May, he wrote to Dr. Buchanan, expressing his gratification at the result of the proceedings in the General Assembly in reference to filling up the vacancies in Glasgow College. His eldest son James was appointed Professor of Theology, and Mr. Lindsay Professor of Church History.

On the 13th June he wrote from Malvern to Mr. Bell—

"We think of leaving this next week, on Thursday the 20th. James is to be here on Tuesday the 18th. We intend, if all is well, to go first to Oxford, and remain there over Sabbath the 23d ; then on Monday to proceed by Portsmouth to Shanklin, Isle of Wight, the place that Maclagan and others recommend so warmly for summer and autumn. We make no stay at Portsmouth, reserving that for our return. I hope we may find Shanklin to be a place where we can quietly sojourn for six weeks or so, if not even a little longer."

On the 27th June he wrote to Mr. Maclagan expressing his anxiety to have the remaining debt on his church wiped off :—

"It should not," he says, "be a very difficult affair. If you, or any other, think that my writing personally to any friend would be of service, I am willing to do so. By all means let the work be ended, and let me have the relief and satisfaction of announcing this in a few pastoral words to the congregation at or before the July Communion. Do bestir yourself, *more tuo*, and greatly oblige me.

"We enjoyed Oxford immensely, though it was, along with the journeyings, rather fatiguing for me. We have got into capital quarters here, and I think we may be very comfortable. It is indeed a lovely spot, and the view most charming. Tell me what is going on when you write. Buchanan says Dr. Rainy (senior) gave him a very touching account of poor Norman M'Leod's last testimony. I always thought that, loose as he was, he had the root of the matter in him."

To Mr. Maclagan he again wrote on the 10th July :—

"I think I am gaining strength decidedly here ; only with some alternations of weakness and depression. James and Archie (his son-in-law) are both here, and that keeps us up."

He wrote also to Mr. Bell in a similar strain, as to the progress of his health, and clearing off the debt.

The pastoral letter which he told Mr. Maclagan he purposed to write is dated 15th July :—

"In view of the approaching dispensation of the Lord's Supper among you, I desire to address to you a few words congratulating you on the privilege you are about to enjoy, and regretting my inability to share in the enjoyment of it. I have reason, indeed, to be very thankful that I can announce a considerable change for the better in the state of my health, such as permits me to entertain some fair hope of joining with you in the next celebration of the Holy Ordinance. This is truly a lovely spot; differing much in the character of its scenery from the grand and solemn mountains of Westmoreland, the picturesque hills and rich and vast orchardfields of Worcestershire, and the stately and palatial colleges on the banks of the Isis; but having varied charms of its own not less fitted to captivate the eye and affect the heart. Then the place has an attraction for spiritual minds in its precious evangelical memories and associations. It is still redolent, so to speak, of the deep piety of the saintly pastor and the humble cottager. We are in the immediate neighbourhood of the churches in which Legh Richmond preached, the little thatched house where the dairyman's daughter lived, and the large graveyard where she and her sister were buried. To visit such objects of interest is a pleasant, and should be a profitable, religious exercise, recalling past instances of the triumph of divine grace, and stirring the soul to new and present acts of faith and prayer. It is gratifying to be warranted in believing that the gospel is still freely and faithfully preached in not a few of the pulpits all around, and that some goodly leaven of vital godliness is still at work among the families of the people. May the Lord grant us grace to receive a quickening and awakening impulse from our sojourn here; and may He bless abundantly, with all spiritual blessings, the place of our temporary habitation.

"Our plans as regards our future movements are of course still unfixed. As the season advances and October draws near, we shall be naturally disposed to turn our faces northwards, and may probably make trial for a little while of some watering-place or other healthful retreat, bringing us nearer home than we now are. I need scarcely say how gladly I shall welcome the day,—not now, I trust, very far off,—when I may be permitted to return and be among you again, and to lift up my feeble voice once more in the congregation to which I have ministered so long. Assuredly I shall not spend my strength, if it comes back to me, in any ministry elsewhere, that might delay my resuming my own duty at as early a date and to as great an extent as may be found practicable and safe. But I must be guided by the dealings of God with me, aided by the advice of those kind medical friends who have studied my case. I owe it also as a duty to you, whose extraordinary liberality has made my movement this summer in search of health so easy and agreeable, that I should make full proof of the remedial measures recommended, and thoroughly complete the experiment now in course of being tried. The most satisfying evidence I can give of my grateful sense of your munificence, as I am sure you agree with me in thinking, will be that I make free use of your gift, and turn it to the best possible account for the accomplishment, if it please the Lord, of the object contemplated,—the continuance for a little longer of the pastoral tie of love that has already bound us for so many years to one another.

"I cannot lose this opportunity of congratulating you on another matter, the entire extinction of the debt upon our place of worship.

"I cannot sufficiently express to you the intense satisfaction which this new proof of your 'ready mind' has afforded me. Not only has the issue of the movement taken a burden off my mind—for it would have been felt as a burden, I fear, to the last, if I had been obliged to hand over to my dear colleague a church laden with debt, but still more has the manner of the movement cheered and comforted me. I accept your prompt response to my appeal as a personal kindness. And I do still hope that my brother Mr. Whyte and I may have the satisfaction of conducting worship among you for such time as God may permit us to work together, in a Church upon which no pecuniary claim can rest.

"But I must not further indulge in personal reflections. I simply conclude with the assurance of my unabated interest in your spiritual welfare, and my earnest hope and prayer that the services of this Communion season may be greatly owned and blest by God for your comfort and edification. I trust you will recognise me as being present with you in spirit though absent in body. I will not be forgetful of you at the Throne of Grace. I call to mind the sentiments of David, as brought out by him in plaintive strains, under his experience of sad and solitary absence from the fellowship of those with whom it was his delight to go up in company to the house of the Lord. Thanks be to God, neither you nor I can ever be so desolate as was the royal Psalmist. Still we share, more or less, his experience, and may humbly appropriate his language:—'Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed. For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness. For the Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly. O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee." "O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me, let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles. Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy: yea, upon the harp will I praise Thee, O God, my God. Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.'"

On the 29th July he wrote to Mr. Maclagan regarding repairs and changes needed in the New College, and hinting that, to meet the expense, a collection might be made in the congregations of the Synod.

Two days afterwards he wrote to Mr. Bell:—

"I take blame and shame to myself for not having written to you sooner. Somehow I expected to hear from you before you left town on your northern tour, and now I have really nothing to tell you. We jog on here very quietly and pleasantly, and I think I am making progress, though I still feel very lazy and listless sometimes. Still we are better. The weather has not as yet been oppressive. The sea is delightful. The thunder-storms, very grand, have cleared and cooled the air. We enjoy our drives and walks on the shore and cliffs; and we have got most excellent and comfortable lodgings. We think of remaining here, if you approve, for some weeks. Towards the end of August we have some idea of moving northwards, and spending some weeks at Tynemouth. Robert (his son) tells us it is a nice watering-place, where we can get good quarters. And it is so near his work that he could be with us almost every afternoon. This is, of course, a strong inducement to us to make trial of the place, and all the more because it is on our way home."

To Miss Fraser, a member of his congregation, he wrote on August 1st—

"I need scarcely say that I read your letter with very deep interest, and that you may be assured of my hearty sympathy and earnest prayer. It is good to see and recognise the fulfilment of the promise, for it is a promise, whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth. We have felt much for you during your severe attack, and now that you have told me of your anxious exercise of soul, I feel all the more. You cannot doubt that it is of the Lord, and you will not forget that he makes the bones which he has broken to rejoice. Let me simply and affectionately remind you that the issue or fruit of such a dealing with you as you describe on his part must be your looking away from yourself altogether, and from any spiritual movement or work of grace in your own conscience and heart, that you may take again in childlike faith to the only and all-sufficient ground of a sinner's confidence and hope,—the free grace and finished work of the blessed Jesus. Let us more and more closely cleave to him the more we are made to know of the evil of our own sin. May the Spirit minister to you out of the fulness that is in Christ, and let nothing shake your confidence in him. Dear Miss Fraser, I beg to be specially remembered by you at the throne of grace. Do pray for me that my soul may be visited in mercy, and that trial may be sanctified to me, and through me to others. Let us ask and expect an outpouring of the spirit of all grace on all our brethren and friends as well as on ourselves. We are glad to learn of your safe removal home, and very thankful that we have been able to minister to your comfort by affording you a refuge from the confusion the accident occasioned. With best regards to your sister, in which my wife and daughter join."

And again, on 8th August, he says to Miss Fraser—

"I need scarcely say with what satisfaction I read your account of the Lord's most gracious dealing with your soul. You surely take a right view both of the sore conflict and of your deliverance from it. The great adversary has been at work, but a greater than he has interposed. And now you can recognise the Spirit's blessed operation, both in the new insight which he has been giving you into your own heart, and in the fresh experience you have got of the 'gentleness' of Jesus. I do trust you will now be kept in perfect peace, your mind being stayed upon the Lord. You must, however, make allowance for your great bodily weakness, which may more or less occasion mental depression, and the enemy may sometimes take advantage of that. But do not heed his dark suggestions. Walk in the light of the Lord. It is with you now the clear shining after rain. Let your language be, 'I will trust and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song. He also is become my salvation.'"

On August 1st he wrote to Dr. Buchanan, chiefly in reference to the Education Act:—

"It will be very important to keep distinct these two practical matters; the transfer of our schools and the working of the new plan generally over the country. Neither of these should be entrusted to the enemies of the bill. But the latter especially requires consultation and joint action among all friends of a sound religious education. By all means try to get alongside as many as you can in all the Churches, and let there be preparation for co-operation here. As regards our own schools, perhaps the Education Committee, properly watched, might do the work needed. But the other matter should not be left in their hands.

"We go on here very quietly, and I think I am really making progress. We shall probably remain till the end of August, or nearly so, and then we think of spending some weeks, on our way north, at Tynemouth."

To Dr. Rainy, on August 13th, he wrote:—

"I think I am now decidedly getting over my silly nervousness and gaining strength. I feel every way better. We shall probably remain here till towards the end of September. We like the place, and it seems to suit."

On the same day he wrote to Mr. Bell:—

"Before getting your letter we had almost resolved to give up the idea of taking lodgings at Tynemouth. We are so comfortably lodged here, and the place is so delightful, and seems to agree with me so well, that we are inclined so remain till we start for home towards the end of September. We may stay at a hotel in Newcastle for a few days *en route*, so as to see Robert, and perhaps he may visit us here. I am glad to report favourably of my progress. Within the last week or two I think I am decidedly better in every way."

Again, on the 24th August, he wrote to Mr. Bell:—

"We go on here in a very humdrum jog-trot routine, which suits me. The weather is glorious, and our daily drive is delightful, though monotonous. We varied our routine by going into Ryde on Thursday, and spending the forenoon with William Fraser and his family. And we have occasional other diversions. I think I am now really mending. The last week or two I am sensible of a change, as I hope, for the better. I am beginning to have more of the feeling of health."

He returned to Edinburgh on the 27th September, and preached in St. George's on the forenoon of the 6th October, after an interval of very nearly twelve months. On the 12th he wrote to Dr. Buchanan:—

"I don't think I have suffered from preaching on Sabbath. I mean to try again to-morrow. But I am really most cautious, and determined to avoid all week-day ministerial work, and all evening engagements."

He preached the action sermon in St. George's at the Communion in October and in January 1873.

On the 6th November he addressed the students in the New College, at the commencement of the session, on selfishness, as unjustly applied to the evangelical system. Mr. Bell says his address "showed his usual mental power and acumen, and we ought all to feel very thankful for his recovery, after the sufferings and weakness of last year."

On the 27th November he spoke on the subject of Union in his Presbytery; and, walking home with Mr. Bell after the meeting, he said, "One is glad to find that he is still able to make a speech."

Towards the end of 1872 a conference was held in Inverness with Highland ministers favourable to Union, to encourage them under the grievances they were suffering from agitations, by which members of their congregations were alienated from their ministry; and on the 6th December Dr. Candlish wrote to Dr. Buchanan in reference to this:—

"I hope you are now better, for I was much vexed to hear of your illness. I do trust you will not suffer from your run northward. It was surely a little of a venture, and I would like to know the issue as regards both your health and the business on hand. For myself I am holding on tolerably, or rather indeed wonderfully, all things considered. Only I have not much confidence yet in my thorough recovery. I have great reason to be thankful."

In January 1873 he prepared a "Statement and Appeal" for raising £750, which had been expended in painting the rooms in the New College, and in making some alterations; and in reference to this he wrote to Mr. Maclagan on the 8th:—

"I found it more difficult than I expected to draw up a satisfactory paper. To obviate misconstruction, I may explain that my subscription of £25 is just about the half of what I receive as Principal, being the annual interest of a sum destined by the donor for the Principal. It was given in Cunningham's time." (His proposal was to raise the amount in subscriptions of £25 each.)

On the 4th February he wrote to Dr. Buchanan chiefly in reference to a paper of the Duke of Argyle in the *Contemporary Review* :—

> "Has not the Duke done right well and nobly? How terse, and how exhaustive! It is a crushing blow. What can Knight say to it. How admirably Argyle reasons and writes, seizing the salient points, and putting the sophisms in so brilliant a light. I think he has greatly helped us, without of course intending it, and he has served the cause of truth."

On the 21st February he wrote to Dr. Rainy, and, in view of the approaching Assembly, suggested that, instead of some others who had been named, Dr. Buchanan should be called to occupy the chair. In a letter to Dr. Buchanan, a few days afterwards, he expressed his acquiescence in the proposal of Dr. Duff as Moderator.

On the 2d March Mr. Maclagan says—

> "By an almost supernatural effort he preached the funeral sermon of his old and attached friend Dr. Guthrie, from the text Hebrews ix. 27, 28. Feeling his own feebleness, and anticipating a not distant departure for himself, he closed his sermon with the memorable words, 'Friend and brother, comrade in the fight, companion in tribulation,—farewell! But not for ever. May my soul, when the hour comes, be with thine.' This sermon was preached at Dr. Guthrie's special request."

On the 16th March, in company with Mr. Bell, he went to the studio of Mr. W. Brodie, when his measurements were taken for a bust, which, when completed, was placed in the entrance hall of St. George's Church.

On the 30th March he wrote to Dr. Rainy expressing much anxiety as to the state of the Church on the Union question. The air was full of rumours, and a disruption was threatened and apprehended. Dr. Candlish proposed something like a cabinet on each side, and that all negotiations between the parties should be through the heads of these cabinets only. " We know," he says, " who should be our organ—Dr. Buchanan. We should be deaf to all interlopers and subordinates. We leave it to Buchanan to receive any overture from Begg."

In April Dr. Candlish went to Crieff, where he remained till on the eve of the meeting of the General Assembly. From thence he wrote to Dr. Rainy on 7th May :—

> " I have had a smart attack of bile, and have been mostly in bed for three days. I am better to-day, but terribly disinclined to writing, or reading anything serious."

During his stay at Crieff a remark of his may be noted as a curious anticipation of what was soon to take place on the visit of the American evangelists. Hearing of some *outrée* remark having been made in the pulpit, he said—

> " Perhaps we would all be the better of being able to say such things. They arrest attention at least. We have been too much in bondage to propriety ; but there is, I think, a change coming. The Church needs an awakening, and will soon see it. I'll not see it ; but you will see it ; and it will come in a way that will surprise many. People will have to be less particular as to the instruments ; and ministers may have to stand aside and see things done by others, and even possibly in ways they do not altogether like, and which some may count irregular."

Up to and even during the sitting of the General Assembly, there was much anxious deliberation as to the terms of the motion on Union to be proposed to the House, although the friends of Union had resolved on the substance of what they were to propose at the meeting of Assembly. On the evening previous to the Assembly's sittings there was a conference of the friends of Union held in Free St. George's church, very numerously attended, at which Dr. Candlish read and explained the motion he intended to make on the Mutual Eligibility overture, which had been approved by a majority of Presbyteries. On the 25th May he wrote to Dr. Moody-Stuart:—

> "Your letter to Dr. Rainy has been carefully considered by Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Wilson, and other friends, besides myself. After minute study we are unanimously of opinion that the difference, if any, between your way of putting the thing and ours is not in the least material, and is not one that requires or warrants any modification of our motion. That motion has been framed after the fullest deliberation, and under the influence of a sincere and most anxious desire to go as far as we possibly could in the direction of meeting the difficulties which our friends who are opposed to us feel in providing effectually the securities which they desire."

On the 28th May the motion was discussed in the Assembly. Dr. Candlish proposed the resolutions, which were adopted. They were at first keenly opposed, indeed, and a disruption was threatened, and seemed impending. But after taking a night to consider the subject, and in view of a slight modification of the resolutions, to which Dr. Candlish assented, this catastrophe was averted, and the resolutions were passed without a vote, the minority dissenting. The nature of these will be sufficiently apparent from the following extracts from his speech:—

> "The motion which I have to make divides itself, as we say in the pulpit, into three parts. I shall deal with these three parts as briefly as I can.
>
> "The first part is an acknowledgment and acceptance of a defeat. In the beginning of this motion we take the attitude of beaten men. We surrender—we surrender to a minority—and we desire to surrender to a minority in all good faith, and with all possible cheerfulness; but it is a surrender. We acknowledge them to have beaten us. They have got the victory; they have compelled us to desist from prosecuting the movement towards incorporating union.
>
> "The second part of my motion relates to the passing of what is called the Mutual Eligibility Overture into a standing law. The only interpretation I could put upon the dropping of this overture, after the opposition that has been made to it, and the grounds of that opposition, is just simply this, that this General Assembly, by reject-

ing the overture, would be substantially declaring an interpretation of the Standards on one side of a question which I hold the Standards not to have decided. Sir, I am not desirous of excluding from the Church those who believe that the doctrine of a national establishment of religion is within the four corners of the Confession; but I will not consent to exclude from this Church, as a branch of the living Church of Christ, those who are conscientiously of opinion that that doctrine is not within the four corners of the Confession. Here would be my difficulty—a difficulty not pressing upon my own conscience, for I hold the principle of a national establishment of religion, and the perfect lawfulness, and in certain circumstances the duty, of the State to acknowledge and endow the Church of Christ as an Established Church; but if it were declared, either directly or by inevitable implication, that all office-bearers, whether now in the Church or henceforth to enter it, were bound to acknowledge, or to hold and avow, that that doctrine of the civil establishment of religion is in the Standards, and that doubt or even denial of the proposition that that doctrine is in the Standards were to exclude these office-bearers from the Church—that might not drive me out directly, for I hold the doctrine of Establishments, and I do think our Standards give some countenance to it, but I am by no means clear that I could continue to be a minister or member of a church constituted upon the footing of declaring that the Westminster Standards embrace the principle of a national establishment of religion, and that none who doubt or deny it could hold office within her pale. That cuts pretty deep. It is not a matter of feeling, or of sentiment, or of brotherhood, but it cuts deep, because I hold it to be a matter of Christian principle—I should not say of Christian charity even—but I hold it to be unlawful for any church to insert as a term of office what is not absolutely essential as declared in the Word of God.

"And now, as regards the declarations,—I ask it to be clearly understood that the declarations were framed not because we thought them necessary as an expression of the mind of the Church, but with an earnest desire to go as far as we possibly could in satisfying our friends on this point. The declarations are very fully framed, the one being a declaration of the spiritual independence of the Church, and the other a declaration of Christ's headship over the nations, and their obligation to submit to him."

In concluding his speech Dr. Candlish said—

"I think this Church owes it to herself, as well as to those other

Churches, to spare no pains in making it perfectly clear how very deeply we regret the breaking up of the Union negotiations, and how very highly and how very warmly we esteem and embrace as Christian brethren those with whom we have been negotiating. I would like again to repeat that I hope the proceedings of this day will go on without reference to disruption—there won't be a disruption, there can only be a very small secession—without any reference to that or to the Civil Courts; and more, that, when this discussion is over, we shall all of us, unitedly and separately, join in acknowledging that the Lord's hand is in the arrest laid upon us in the matter of incorporating union—the hand of an offended God—a God to whom we have given umbrage—against whom, in short, we have sinned. I cannot look upon this arrest in any other light. I repeat I take my full share of the guilt of the sin for which he may be visiting us in this dispensation. I recollect hasty words spoken, perhaps hasty words written; I recollect bitter thoughts; I recollect uncharitable feelings; I recollect many sad shortcomings and many backslidings in connection with this very movement, on account of which I pray the Lord to humble me, and give me the grace of repentance. We have all had our share in this sinning, for I hope there is not one in our Church who will deny that the arrest, as coming from the Lord, is to be traced to its legitimate source in the sin of the agents. I do trust there will be much humiliation, much acknowledgment of sin, and much prayer. I would only say, in closing, that I hope our prayer will be for the speedy revival of the Union movement. I do not expect to see it. I do not expect my beloved brother Dr. Buchanan to see it. I am no prophet, but although I may not live to see it, and many others of the fathers may be taken away before it comes, I do venture to predict that you will not all be in your graves before that day comes, and that there will be a goodly remnant of you when that day comes. Sir, we cannot stem the tide of Christian opinion and Christian feeling. That tide of Christian opinion and Christian feeling will grow and swell and accumulate till every barrier shall be thrown down, and all shall be of one mind to unite in the Lord. Possibly the way may be prepared for even a wider union. Possibly there may be a preliminary—the removal of the Establishment in this country—drawing every evangelical man within her pale to unite cordially in the Union movement. I do not expect myself to see that either. It may come sooner than the other, and if it comes sooner than the other it will greatly help on the other. Anyhow, I believe after all the irritation of this discussion is somewhat allayed, after a little time is given, the instinct of the Christian mind, the impulse of the Christian heart for the unity of the Churches will break forth, and a new and more auspicious movement will begin, which may God hasten in his own good time."

On a subsequent day Dr. Candlish produced and read a document which he craved the Assembly to engross in its records, with the names attached to it. It was subscribed by upwards of four hundred ministers and elders, and is as follows:—

"We, the undersigned ministers and elders, respectfully tender the following EXPLANATORY STATEMENT, which we crave the Assembly *ex gratia* to insert in their record, along with our names subscribed thereto, and the names of those who may adhere to it, for the exoneration of our consciences and for the information of posterity:—

"'I. We have all along recognised, and do still recognise, the hand of the Lord and the Spirit of the Lord in the origin of this Union movement—in its happy and hopeful progress from the beginning hitherto; in the remarkable calmness, courtesy, frankness, and brotherly confidence, forbearance, and affection which have characterised all the proceedings, and especially in the result reached and recorded in the document containing "*Principles which the negotiating Churches hold in common*," and "*Statement as to the application of the preceding principles*," embodying, as we hold that document to embody, with unprecedented fulness, clearness, and precision, the Scriptural doctrine of the essential relation of the civil magistrate to religion and the Church of Christ, together with the most limited and well-defined statement of the outstanding point of controversy under that doctrine, anent the lawfulness of Civil Establishments.

"'II. We have all along felt, and do still feel, that the prosecuting of the movement towards Union is not a matter of discretion, to be ultroneously undertaken or abandoned at the Church's pleasure, but a duty of deep and abiding obligation, such as can never be evaded or postponed without serious responsibility being incurred.

"'III. We consider that such responsibility, in the present instance, is greatly aggravated by the solemn finding of all the negotiating Churches, either unanimously, or, as in our Church by two successive Assemblies, with the concurrence of a large majority of Presbyteries,—that, in view of the result reached in the negotiations, there is no bar in principle to Union on the basis of the Westminster Confession, as held in common by all the Churches."

> "'IV. In the necessity which we find to be laid upon us of deferring to the scruples of beloved fathers and brethren,—consenting on that account to the interruption of negotiations for Union, and accepting for the present the Act now passed into a standing law,—we desire to own the interposition of Him who rules over all, and sees and judges all; while at the same time we acknowledge in this dispensation the evidence of much sin and shortcoming on the part of the human agents concerned,—the guilt of which we take largely to ourselves,—earnestly hoping for the concurrence of our brethren with us in the prayer, that the Lord may search us and try us all, that He may see what wicked way is in us, and lead us in the way everlasting—the only way in which real union can be sought and found.'"

After the rising of the Assembly Dr. Candlish preached to his own congregation on the 8th and 15th June; on the latter occasion, as it proved, for the last time.

On the 23d June he wrote to Dr. Buchanan:—"We hope to start for Whitby to-morrow. I am very shaky and nervous. I hope the change may do good. Begbie gives me encouragement." He had been at Whitby in 1871, and liked the place.

On the 2d July he wrote to Dr. Rainy:—

> "I have been very ill with a bad cold, caught by exposure to a sudden storm in a vile railway shed, fit only for cattle. But I am getting better; only weak as water, and very shaky. I have a capital doctor. My wife also has suffered terribly, but she is mending."

In the same letter he sent a proposal, which he purposed bringing before his Presbytery, indicating the position the Free Church should assume in relation to other Churches. And again, on the 19th July, he wrote to Dr. Rainy:—

> "What of my proposed motion? I am very much inclined, unless there is some serious objection to that course, to have it tabled at the next meeting of our Presbytery, with notice of my intention to move it in October. I don't see any harm likely to come out of the step I wish to take. And I think, in the view of past, present, and future speeches and movements, it may do much good and prevent mischief."

On the 6th July he wrote to Mr. Maclagan :—

"Has anything been done about the getting of additional signatures to the "Declaratory Statement ?" (Referring to the statement on Union at last Assembly.) It seems to me that there is yet time to send down, to all our Union ministers, or elders where the ministers are anti-union, slips containing the document, ready for being signed by ministers and elders in all our parishes. This may easily be returned, compared, and classified, before the ordinary Commission in August, when the final result may be announced, and the affair held closed. Thus there would be on record a full report, as it were, for coming times.

"I am getting on now ; was at the Congregational church this morning ; very good."

Again, on the 19th July, he wrote to Mr. Maclagan in reference to a subscription of £1000 by Sir David Baxter, recently deceased, for College endowment, desiring him to consult me as to the best way of approaching the trustees with a view to payment. The subscription, as it turned out, was given conditionally on the whole sum proposed being raised ; and as this was not done, the trustees quite rightly declined payment.

On the 25th July he wrote to Dr. Rainy—

"Where are you ? In America ? Or in the moon ? I saw the name of a Dr. Rainy among those present at the Academy Exhibition. Could it be you ? I wrote you about my motion. I am rather anxious to have notice given of it next week for October, unless you and others object. It cannot well do any harm, and may be a timely note of warning to all and sundry, and a hint of what should be our position."

Again he wrote to Dr. Rainy on the 26th July—

"I am always very obedient, and therefore quite acquiesce, although I still feel the desirableness of having a note soon sounded. I quite accept the suggestions as to amending the motion."

On the 2d August he wrote to Mr. Maclagan—

"I think I am really making some progress. I am doing a little work, but enjoying idleness much. I am not fit for long walks ; but lounging on the parade or on the sands is very agreeable. Then we have fine drives and fine weather. I don't easily get rid of occasional internal pains. But that symptom, I hope, will gradually abate or disappear."

On the 9th August he wrote to Dr. Rainy—

"Yours of the 4th came safely; brief, curt, and unsatisfactory. Not a word in answer to my question as to your own plans and movements. Do tell me about your going to America, and give me some news. You can't expect news from here. We lead a quiet, humdrum, monotonous life; but a life not at all unpleasant, and I think good for my health. I write a little, read most unprofitably, lounge on the cliff and sands, and drive daily, weather permitting. Yesterday, on our drive, we saw harvest begun, a very ripe and rich field of barley being cut down. As to my motion, just put it in the fire."

This is the latest letter of his which I have seen. The end was drawing near.

Mr. Bell has noted, 26th September—"Dr. Candlish returned from Whitby yesterday. He is pretty well; but thinner than he was, disinclined for solid food, and feeble. I am disappointed with his condition. It is *unpromising* at the close of his holiday and an absence of three months from all his usual employments."

On the 6th October, Mr. Bell says—"Dr. Candlish very weak and in bed. When I called I found the dear old doctor a good deal cast down, having been sick and uncomfortable all afternoon. He repeated what he had said to me several times already, 'The tabernacle is gradually coming down; I am an old man, and verging towards the natural conclusion. Fresh warnings are being given, could we only see them. How unprofitable it all appears on looking back.'"

Mrs. Henderson says—"It was on the 6th October I went in the evening to stay two days. Our father was in bed and very weak, but cheerful, and very pleased to see me, and spoke as if he would soon be better. He was interested in everything, and was up for half an hour the next three days in the middle of the day, and liked us to sit and work in the evening beside his bed. On Thursday the 10th Dr. Begbie saw him, and told him his fears. That evening my mother said he wished Maggie and me to go up to his room. He told us quite calmly the doctor's opinion; asked us to try and keep cheerful, and told us to pray for him. He said 'he had only asked the doctors three questions, and to each of them they answered, No: Would it be long? Would it be painful? Would it affect his head?' and he said how thankful he was. On Sabbath he said to me, 'Pray for me. I do not want deep experience, or great rapture, but just wish to rest on the facts that Christ died, and that he is mine;' and then lifting his hand over his head, he said—

'Jesus, my Lord, I know His name;
His name is all my boast;
Nor will He put my soul to shame,
Nor let my hope be lost.'

Again he said, 'I find it difficult sometimes just to realise that Christ is a person.' And then, again, 'I seem to see him come into the room and say to me, Fear not.' That afternoon Dr. Rainy preached in St. George's. I told him there was a word that Dr. R. used very often, 'God's love-worthiness,' and he seemed so pleased with that, and once or twice repeated, 'God's love-worthiness,' saying it meant so much, and asked if we had ever heard it before. One morning, on asking how he slept, he said, 'I have had a very good night; short sleeps, sweet hymns, and verses to think of when awake, and pleasant dreams of the olden times.' On Monday morning A—— came in. When he went in, he drew him down, and bade him kiss him, and said, 'Give thanks for her (Mrs. Candlish), she has been so wonderfully supported; she has never once broken down.' Again and again, as she sat by his bed, he said, 'Isn't she a marvel? How wonderfully she has been upheld, and she will be upheld.' That forenoon he saw little

Mary and John, his eldest daughter's children. They were lifted up on his bed, and sang 'Rock of Ages.' He kissed them, and said, 'Love Jesus, and meet me in heaven.' After they left he was very much overcome, and said, 'How these monkeys get round one's heart. I would like to have seen them up a bit.' In the afternoon my mother asked if he had any message to give me for little Jessie. He said, 'Just what I gave the others, love Jesus, and meet me in heaven.' Then he asked me if she would remember him, and said he was so glad he had been at Crieff in spring."

October 9th. Mr. Bell says: "Dr. Candlish very weak, and taking hardly any nourishment. He asked me to tell him candidly what Dr. Begbie and I thought as to his condition, and if it was likely to be long before the end came? I told him that if his inability to take nourishment continued, it could not be very long. He thanked me very earnestly, and said that it was a great blessing to know what we thought, and that he did not desire that it should be long. He then asked me to engage shortly with him in prayer. After I had endeavoured to do so, he again thanked me for the present and all past kindness. It is very touching to see him so calm, clear, and composed."

On Saturday evening, 11th October, there was a congregational prayer meeting in the church, largely attended. It was presided over by Mr. Bell, and Lord Ardmillan, Colonel Davidson, and Mr. Maclagan conducted the devotions.

Mr. Maclagan saw Dr. Candlish on that day, and has noted: "On entering his bedroom he had in his hand the *Weekly Review*. He was not reading, I think; and on seeing me he laid it down, and said: 'It is decided now, quite decided.' 'Do you suffer at all?' 'No acute suffering, but dull pain here,' laying his hand on the upper part of the stomach, 'and a sense of exhaustion.' 'You have much comfort and peace?' 'Yes, no excitement, but peace.

Pausing a little, for I was overcome by his perfect placidity, he said, as if to relieve me, 'My powers of digestion are gone—the organ is worn out—I am living on stimulants, and these I cannot always retain—I cannot touch solid food.' 'Well, we are all thinking much of you, and praying for you.' 'Yes, pray—pray for a more realising sense of Christ for me.' 'I was thinking as I came along that your call to go is an answer to the Saviour's prayer, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me may be with me where I am."' 'That's it.' I told him it was affecting to see the sorrow of the young men of the congregation on his account. 'Ay,' he said brightening, 'tell them from me how thankful I am to leave them in such hands as Whyte's; but, indeed, I am most thankful to leave you all in such hands.' I rose to leave, and he said, 'I am weaker than yesterday, and cannot see many people. I saw Rainy to-day, and he prayed with me, so I will not ask you to-day, but next time you must do so. Come *de die in diem* to see me. I have arranged to see Ardmillan. He, and Urquhart of Portpatrick, and myself, are I think the only survivors of the Glasgow College set.' I kissed his forehead, and said, 'The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace.' Pressing my hand, he said, 'Thank you, thank you.'"

In connection with the above it may be best to insert here some notes I have received of brief sayings uttered by him on several occasions:—Mr. Meldrum: "You are realising the comforts of the gospel?" Dr. C.: "I have a deep sense of sin, and a firm reliance on the Saviour." Mr. Meldrum: "Do you suffer?" Dr. C.: "Not much, I am dying of inanition, like these poor fellows at the North Pole" (the American explorers). Mr. M. asked if he had much of the sensible presence of Christ. Dr. C.: "No, my experience is more objective than subjective. I would not wish it to be higher or lower than it is. I have a deep sense of sin, but a sure confidence in my Saviour." One day Elizabeth, the housemaid, being in his room, he asked, "Is that Elizabeth? come here. I have often been sharp to you about my study fire. I am sorry for it. Will you forgive me?" Shaking hands with her, he added, "I pray that when, like me, you come to lie on your death-bed you may have the same peace I enjoy through my Saviour Jesus Christ." To Dr. Buchanan, he said: "My wife has been God's best earthly gift to me. She has comforted me in all my troubles and cheered me all through." On being lifted into bed, October 11th, he said: "Vanitas vanitatum—all is vanity." Mr. Bell: "That is what Dr. Guthrie said; but his arms were stronger to the last than yours are now." Dr. C.: "Ah! but my arms are not so weak as my legs; and I was just saying to Jeanie (his sister-in-law), that if you were to set me in the pulpit, I still could make you all hear on the deafest side of your heads." To Mr. Henderson, his son-in-law, he said: "I do not desire any ecstasy or excitement, but would rest on facts, not feelings—the facts that Jesus died, and that he is mine." At another time he said, "I cannot say I have very great sense of sin or of forgiveness, but I know—I *know*, whom I have believed." Speaking about several things to his son James and to Mr. H., he said, "You will have troublous times before you, but I think we have left you some beacons how to avoid extremes." To Mr. Whyte, he said: "Give to the congregational meeting from me Paul's message to the Ephesian elders—"I have kept back nothing that was profitable to you — I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." At another time he said: "I go to prepare a place for you. Have you ever thought that he is preparing a place for us by all his dealings with us *here*? The place may be here. I have never thought that out, and we must not speculate." James: "He is come to receive us to Himself; that is the main thing." Dr. C.:

"Quite right, that is everything." To Miss Mackay, who said: "What shall we do without you?" he made a deprecating movement of his hand, and said: "To me to live is Christ. Your father knew the meaning of that." To Mr. Bell, after asking if it would be long now, he said: "I'm not impatient. I can say, I wait for Thy salvation, O Lord. Salvation! What a word that is. Absent from the body—absent from the body—What is that? What a thought." To Dr. Rainy he said: "Pray for a quiet passage." To Mr. Whyte: "Go and pray for a poor dying sinner." To Miss Campbell: "Don't pray for me as your minister, but as a poor dying sinner." To Mr. J. H. Wilson, who thanked him for all his goodness and kindness to him during so many years, he said, "My good friend, I consider it to have been one of the best things in my ministry when I brought you to Edinburgh, to Fountainbridge, and I have thanked the Lord for it a hundred times."

On the 12th October Mr. Bell says: "To-day, when I was pressing him to take a little nourishment, which he had not done for many hours, I suggested that some Irish moss, boiled in milk, which he had taken some days ago, might agree with him. I remarked that a small wine-glass full would be better than nothing. He raised his eyebrows, as if astonished, and holding out his hand, said: "Does the man suppose that I am a Brobdignag giant, when he makes such a proposal? A wine-glassful! a tea-spoonful would be more like the thing."

October 14th. Mr. Bell says: "Dr. Candlish continues much the same—weak, and unable to take any nourishment; but clear, calm, contented."

October 15th. Mr. Bell says: "Dear Dr. Candlish is still in life, but manifestly much weaker. His mind is unclouded. He suffers a good deal of pain. He abruptly remarked, 'To speak of a man composing his mind is absurd.' I remarked, 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee.' 'Ah, yes; but the idea of a man composing himself is absurd.'"

Friday, October 17th. Mr. B. Bell called with his father. Dr. Candlish said, "I am terribly low, Ben." "But the Lord is with you, sir." "I trust so." "We are all praying for you in the provinces." "Ah, yes; many, many are upholding me with their prayers." "Pray for me, a poor dying sinner." "I owe everything to you, Dr. Candlish, under God." "Thank you for that."

Mr. Henderson has noted, "The last distinct sign of consciousness was on the Sabbath forenoon when I repeated Isaiah liv. 10, 'The mountains shall depart and the little hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.' He put out his hand and took mine and pressed it warmly."

text

For more than a week, besides some special services, there was a daily prayer meeting in the hall of St. George's church, in which various ministers and elders took part.

On the evening of Sabbath, 19th October, at twenty-five minutes before midnight, Dr. Candlish drew his last breath.

So calmly ended a life of restless and most beneficent activity. Those who were with him in his last days wondered at the placid quiet with which he, who had been so often impatient of repose, waited the coming issue. This repose was wonderfully delineated on his countenance as I saw it on the second day after his death. Every wrinkle which thought and hard labour had traced was smoothed away, and he lay like a child asleep.

The news of his death caused a wide-spread lamentation; and manifold tributes to his character and work were given from the pulpit and the press. The whole community mourned his loss, and felt what a blank was made by his death in the philanthropic and christian life of Scotland. He was buried, on Friday, the 24th October, in the Old Calton burying-ground, where so many of his family had been laid before him—his father and mother and children. The funeral was a public one, and the cortege formed a long procession,—the Magistrates and Town Council; the Professors of the New College; the Free Church and United Presbyterian Presbyteries of Edinburgh; the Kirk-Session and Congregation of St. George's; and many ministers and others from far and near. All the way from his house in Melville Street to the place of interment, the streets were lined with silent and weeping onlookers.

On the Sabbath immediately following, the Communion was dispensed, as had been arranged long previously, and the funeral sermons by Dr. Buchanan and Dr. Rainy were not preached till the succeeding Sabbath. About two months before his death, and when he expected that he might be able to preside at this Communion, he wrote to me from Whitby, asking me to assist him, as usual, on this Communion Sabbath, and to preach in the evening. This engagement held, notwithstanding of what had intervened; and the spectacle of the large congregation, all in deep mourning, was overpoweringly solemnising. At the close of the evening service I could not but advert to the recent sad event, and to him whom I had known so long and so intimately; and I may be pardoned if I close these memorials of a beloved friend with what I then uttered from the pulpit:—

"We have been very recently committing to the dust the body of one who must ever live in our memories and affections—a brother dear to us, and the loss of whom we deeply deplore. For such a loss there are tears, as is most meet, but surely not the anguish of departed hope. Nay, was it not better for him to depart and to be with Christ?—to rest from his manifold labours, and to reap the harvest of his toil? He is not wholly lost to us. We have not been laying in the grave that which was dearest to us. It is not our friend who is lying there, but the tabernacle in which for a season he dwelt. The friend whom we loved and revered, with all his rich endowments and fervent affections, has entered into the land of unclouded light and of undying love, to be with Him whose glory it was his delight to exhibit to you. We know, because Christ lives, that he also lives; and understands, far better than he ever did before, what life in a risen Saviour is. We have reason to bless God for an end so peaceful and calm as his has been. He had time given him to contemplate the approach of the last enemy, and he did it without quailing; with no rapturous enthusiasm, indeed, in anticipation of victory, but with still, majestic calmness, as realising the solemnity of the change he was about to undergo; meek, humble, grave, as one about to enter into the presence of the great King. We dare not, and would not complain that the Lord has taken him. Surely he needed rest, and the Lord has given it to him. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.'

"To see Dr. Candlish in the bosom of his family, sustaining at once, as he long did, the relation of son, and husband, and brother, and father, one would have said that his home was the peculiar sphere in which not only his greatest happiness was found, but in which the rich endowments of his nature were unfolded with singular grace and attractiveness. The entire simplicity of his nature drew children to him, and he was among them as a child. In nothing more strikingly than in this did he seem to me to reflect the image of Him who took the little children in His arms and blessed them.

"I need not speak here of his gifts and power as a preacher of the gospel. I can only say for myself that I never heard any preacher who moved my nature so deeply. It was not merely the clear-sightedness and intellectual vigour; the subtle discernment of the most delicate shades of meaning; the exegetical tact with which he seized and unfolded the subject-matter of his text, so as to make it almost a fresh revelation; nor was it merely the force and fervour with which his thoughts were expressed, the glow of eloquence and the deep pathos to which his voice was so peculiarly fitted to give utterance; it was all these, and more; it was that his whole heart and mind were thrown into his theme, and he stood before us as an ambassador for Christ, beseeching men to be reconciled to God, having come forth as from the presence of Christ, and all aglow with that love which Christ inspires. It was this, I believe, which produced such a unison between his preaching and his prayers. It is difficult to say which of them was the most impressively powerful. The fruits of his preaching have yet to be ascertained. The Lord placed him in such a position here that it was not his congregation and this city only that profited by it, but the seed sown by him was scattered widely over many lands, and is already yielding plentiful fruit.

"Much has been said of his more public labours in the service of the Church. It is only those who have been minutely conversant with its manifold affairs that can form an adequate estimate of these. During the past thirty-five years, and more and more in their onward course, there lay upon him the care of all the Churches. His hand was in every movement, and his counsel was asked and given in every perplexity. In all departments of the Church's affairs his services were available, and rendered with a heartiness, and efficiency, and ripe wisdom, such as if one of them only had been his entire business. Missions to the heathen and to the Jews, education, and all the home enterprises of the Church, which of them has not greatly profited alike by his practical sagacity and by the energising power which he infused into them?

"His wonderful versatility and alacrity have sometimes been perversely spoken of to his disadvantage. Alas, how ungrateful we are to the Lord for his best gifts! Surely it was a token of His singular favour to the Church that He should lend to her, at such a time, a minister of such rare endowments, of such equipoise of mind, of such aptitude for all that needed to be done; not a man of one faculty only, but a man who proved himself capable of serving her efficiently in all her work and labour of love.

"It followed from the fact of his manifold endowments, that no man in his generation—very few, indeed, in any generation—has filled so large a space in our recent ecclesiastical history. Alike in guiding the councils of the Church, and on the arena of open conflict, Dr. Candlish held the foremost place. None who have heard him can ever forget his power as a great orator. His speeches are fresh in the memory of both friends and foes, and did noble service to the cause which he espoused. He, and many who were near him and beside him, lived through a stormy time, and were engaged in a conflict which roused many stormy passions. He was always in the hottest of the strife; and to him more than to any other who contends in such a warfare, it is due to say that he never uttered a word which needed to be recalled. There was no malice or bitterness in his speech. He was always and everywhere magnanimous, noble, unselfish. He was a man not seeking his own things but the things of Christ; and this kept him calm amid the storm. He was like John, indeed, a son of thunder; but he was, at the same time, an apostle of love.

"It has been said that he was not always consistent in the views which he advocated. I apprehend that the same thing might be truly alleged of every man who has taken a prominent part in public affairs, and who, at the same time, has had his eyes open to see the horizon to which he was advancing. The highest, and the only laudable, consistency is, that our views shall be brought into harmony with existing facts. No man can anticipate the future. Events change, and the Church is brought into new relations, and loyalty to truth demands that we adapt our position to the events of the time. It is the same battle we have always to fight. But it is not always against the same foes, nor is it waged upon the same battlefield.

"But his battle is over. He has finished his course. Ours is the bereavement. His the unspeakable gain."

CHAPTER XXI.

DR. CANDLISH AS A THEOLOGIAN,

By Robert Rainy, D.D.

It is not necessary to add anything to the life now before the reader. Dr. Candlish's portrait may be safely left to the hands of one who knew him so long and can depict him so well as Dr. Wilson. Yet I am glad to be asked to contribute a few words on some features of his mind and work, and so to be associated, however slightly, with the record of his life.

Dr. Candlish's countenance, remarkable in many ways, revealed very plainly one fact about him — I mean, an extremely sensitive nature — a nervous organisation that felt promptly and felt keenly. In so far as impulses hence arising might have been a source of weakness, he was able to disregard or control them, in spite of all the rubs of a career which was not too tranquil. But the sensitiveness was always there. In a man less endowed with force of character it might have prevailed in the form of shy and secluded habits. In him it only revealed itself occasionally in a certain *brusquerie*, which denoted the effort needed to make his way resolutely through the business in hand. This was a feature that sometimes puzzled a stranger; those who knew him even a little had no difficulty in putting the right construction on it.

But this same sensitiveness, this openness to vivid and subtle impression, had much to do with making him what he was in all departments of his life. It conferred on him much of his power as a speaker, in the pulpit and elsewhere; much of his influence as a leader of men; much of his special aptitude as one who took part in the thought and utterance of his time. For it made him sympathetic; it gave him intelligence of other minds, and ready apprehension of the lines on which they moved; and it combined with the acuteness and quickness of his intellect to furnish the resource which so remarkably characterised him. One of his qualities was an instinctive or divinatory perception of the line to be taken in emergencies; and that was largely due to his power of rapidly summing up the processes which must be going on in various classes of minds around him.

Living at a time when the Church to which he belonged was passing through momentous experiences, such a man was sure to be laid hold of; the Church's conflict and the burden of her daily life could not but claim him. With his vivid and rapid conceptions of each successive phase of things, his power of influencing men, his grand capacity for effective speech, and his versatile dexterity in affairs, he could not fail to be drawn into the main current of action. Still less could his hand be spared from the helm, when men had come to perceive how generous his aspirations were, and how nobly he conceived the Church's life and work. To such a man an appeal, spoken or unspoken, came constantly, which could not be resisted. His life was consumed in the daily business and burden of his Church, and in the public questions in which, by herself, or along with other Christian bodies, his Church took part. He was not without his reward. More than any other man after Chalmers, he inspired his brethren with the spirit of dauntless effort, which alone could have made good for the Free Church the place she took. And he was singularly loved and trusted. He might at particular times meet with sharp opposition; but his loyalty, his unselfishness, and his splendid generosity were universally relied on in the Free Church, perhaps even more than his capacity and his force were admired.

It would be foolish to say that work, which tasked him so hard and proved so fruitful, did not interest him, for it interested him intensely. Still more foolish would it be to say that he missed his vocation. And yet it is true that, while the current dragged him on, he never ceased to cast wistful and longing glances towards other lines of work. He would fain have done more in connection with the great questions which were rising on the age. They appealed to a mind so sympathetic, so acute, so apt for discussion, and so pervaded by the great Christian verities. But his life had taken shape too decidedly, and it prescribed limits to him which he could not surmount. He made room, indeed, for efforts and services in the field I have named, which are in many ways remarkable. But the kind of service for which he laid the foundations in his youth—that which implies a wide and minute survey of the labour of other minds, and the persistent and continuous application of the full strength of his own—this was no longer possible when multifarious affairs had usurped his manhood and laid their burden on his busy days.

For the work of an expositor and a theologian he had the fundamental qualification, that the Christian faith possessed and held him as an actual world of truth, which he was to take possession of for himself and open up to others. He felt himself dealing with a revelation of facts, relations, and forces, which exist and are in operation. It was an actual disclosure of the living mind of God, the holy life of God, in contact with His creatures. Whatever degrees of certainty or uncertainty might attend him in his efforts to ascertain what the disclosure precisely comes to, he felt himself in contact always with the Divine mind, the Divine Being, revealing. In this connection we may place his views about the Scriptures. He manifested clearly enough a distaste for the debates about minutiæ, which sometimes arise in connection with Scripture questions: but he did so in the interest of a high view of inspiration. He felt himself sitting at the feet of a divine informant, and listening to a divine voice. The tracts, somewhat occasional in their character, which he issued on this subject, all had it for their object to clear away misunderstandings or perplexities which might hinder others from doing the same.

His way of dealing with divine truth, and with the problems it presents, depended on his special cast of mental power and tendency. It is easier, however, to recall this, than satisfactorily to characterise it. By universal consent he was a remarkable dialectician. The argumentative worth of facts and principles was obvious to him. Acute, rapid, and precise, he loved to disentangle the threads of a difficult and intricate argument; perhaps he sometimes loved too well to force upon the general mind the value of a distinction finer than it cared to see. This, carried over to theology, implied an aptitude for dogma, and more particularly for dogmatic precision and refinement. The significance of principles, and of principles in their detailed applications and unfoldings, precisely apprehended, came home to him. His manner of embracing principles and doing justice to them was to apprehend them *so*. In this he differed from Chalmers, who rested on the broader lines, and manifestly distrusted whatever savoured of doctrinal detail. But then it is to be remarked that the special aptitude of Candlish, now referred to, wrought in the service of an interest wider than itself. The aptitude itself is logical or dialectical. And there are theologians for whom this is the ruling interest. For them the determinations which the logical aptitude supplies have merely this interest, that they go to build a reasoned whole of ordered truth in which the mind may rest; they promote the sense of rational congruity in the system, as coherent in itself. It is enough for such men that the system, as a whole, stands connected with worthy views of God and right life for man, and that no part of it is *demonstrably* inconsistent with these interests. They are not sensitive to the bearing which individual doctrines may have on various kinds of minds, and on the general mind. They hold it enough to know of each, that it has its specific warrant and its congruity in the system, and that no conclusive objection can be brought against it. I remember speaking once to a very eminent man of some of the objections usually brought against Calvinism. He remarked to me, with great conviction, that he did not believe that any of the doctrines of Calvinism, even when misapprehended and misunderstood, ever had given occasion to Antinomianism, ever had hindered the discharge of duty, or hampered evangelical activity. Of course Antinomian people —people who were disposed to neglect their duty—had made a pretext out of them, and would continue to do so. But he did not believe anything ever said about human freedom, inability, sovereignty, or the like, had been really operative in that way. He said this, one could see, because he did not feel that he would be in the smallest danger himself. He might be indisposed to do his duty; but the general scope of Christianity was too plain to him to admit of his deceiving himself, or embarrassing himself, with any contrary conclusion that attempted to build itself on one element of the complex system. Now Dr. Candlish, equally resolute in his Calvinism, never would have said that nor thought it. On the contrary, he powerfully felt the importance of truths, or doctrines believed for truths, as the lines along which feeling and action were to move, and spiritual life was to be propelled. He felt for his own mind, and for other minds of various types, the significance which detailed beliefs must have as springs of action and conditions of life. Hence he was sensitive to the perplexing influence which misunderstanding or imperfect apprehension must here exert. The value for feeling and action due to each element of dogma was an interest always present to his mind. His keen dialectic translated itself into a sensitive perception of the vital counterparts to each dogmatic belief. Hence the task imposed by his religious interests on his dialectical activity was twofold; it was so to conceive the texture of coherent principles, demanded in a theology, as both to bring out in great detail the ratiocinative beauty and unity of truth, and also to exhibit it in every point as helping and carrying on the life in God which the gospel reveals and offers.

Only this must be understood subject to an important limitation. He most emphatically recognised the obligation to bow before clearly revealed truths, even when they carry with them difficulties to us insuperable, or problems by us insoluble. He emphatically recognised also, that truths which on one side or in one application may be of momentous worth for the conscious Christian life, may carry with them on another side an awful aspect of mystery and gloom. One of his latest utterances to students was a call to loyalty, in the way of explicit adherence to such truths, and faithful declaration of them.[1] And the loyalty which he commended he certainly displayed throughout his ministry.

With this limitation, I think I may say that the characteristic I have described was a large element in the method or movement of Dr. Candlish's mind in the sphere of Christian truth. It is an element which may be overdone, or allowed to prevail too far. There is a strength and truth in the attitude of mind, which, confident in the Divine worth of Christianity as a whole, marshals the principles which build it up, without too tremulous a regard to the way in which each for itself considered, may impress or sway human feelings. A very wise and strong example of that method was embodied in Candlish's friend Dr. Cunningham. It is a very possible thing that the other method, in its effort to meet the complex exigencies it contemplates, may become too ingenious and too subtle in its handling of details. Yet it cannot be given up. It is grounded on a thoroughly profound apprehension of the vitality of Christian truth as the revelation of the living God, dealing with living though fallen men. It is the Pauline method; and without it there can be no truly great preaching, without it there can be no fruitful and desirable progress in theology.

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[1] See his addresses to the students of the New College, published in the volume entitled *The Gospel of Forgiveness.*

Dr. Candlish's special aptitudes were exercised partly in the interpretation of Scripture, partly in dogmatic discussion and debate.

As to his manner of dealing with the Scriptures, the activities of the preacher and the expositor may be taken together; for I do not deal here with the sources of his peculiar power in pulpit oratory, which are illustrated in other parts of this volume, but only with the manner of his handling of Scripture. His preaching was commonly expository, and his expository work survives mainly in the form of discourses. And this I think may be said in the first place, that for him everything in the Scriptures looks towards life and practice. Whatever may be his interest in dogma, whatever his dialectical eagerness and aptitude, it is all polarised by a reference to the divine life. Revelation for him is organised throughout as the expression of a purpose and the revelation of an economy, in apprehending which we rise into newness of life. It is true, certainly, that such a ruling conviction might exist, more or less, in association with very narrow and technical notions of conversion and sanctification. With Candlish, on the contrary, the striking thing is the richness and nobility of his conception of the Christian character. His is no starved nor dwarfed ideal. Whatsoever things are true, honest, pure, lovely, of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, any valid form of human goodness, or any attainment that may beseem a redeemed child of God, he is the servant of them all, bound to bring them within view and within reach, and to celebrate their hopefulness and their obligation. Now, in the second place, with this in view, he throws himself frankly on the great evangelical verities. Vivid conception of these, thorough acceptance of them, constitute his standing-ground. These are the certainties with which all valid Christian aspirations stand connected, out of which they grow. The relation of sinful man to immutable law, the need and nature of regeneration, the decisive change in conversion, forgiveness through atonement, justification by faith,—these are not merely saluted as the proper flag under which to sail, but they are the vital and central truths through which he deals with life and man. And as these go with him to his audience, so they go with him through the Scriptures. Well assured, so far, of the mind of the Author of Scripture, he has no difficulty in finding his way to evangelical doctrine from any part of the Bible, or from any aspect of Christian teaching. But then it must be added, thirdly, that where many stopped he went on. If the evangelical doctrines do represent revealed realities, and are not mere abstractions, then they will come into view in manifold phases and embodiments; they will open themselves in changing aspects and relations; they will prove wider, deeper, richer, than any summary definition of them. Moreover, the fundamentals, granting them to be fundamental, are not all the building. They are the simple groundwork of what is infinitely rich and various. The consciousness of all this prevades, as I think, Dr. Candlish's biblical work. The evangelical testimony, in its simplest forms and applications, is dear to him. But he is on the watch to see and show how variously those principles are embodied and presented. He is convinced that without losing their identity and value they admit of being enriched by a great wealth of accessory principles, whereby the knowledge of God becomes more sure and wonderful, and the spiritual life of the believer is encouraged and advanced. It is easy to understand, therefore, how it was that (along with the Psalms) the Epistles especially attracted him. In these the doctrines of the faith are applied to the life of the Churches. In being so applied they find their explanation and their corroboration. That was precisely the field which Dr. Candlish felt to be congenial. *For* working it he welcomed all the modern helps and exact methods in interpretation. *In* working it his tendency was to find and establish lines of principle, by which the organic unity of truth and its bearing on life should be visible. And his faith in the work was, not that the Reformation doctrines exhaust the Scripture teaching, but that, as great instalments of it, they enlighten and encourage yet further search. In this sense his exposition was theological; he aimed at principles and sought for them. "The dislike of definition, the disposition to take refuge in generalities, under the guise perhaps of respect for the letter and language of Scripture," he repudiated as weak, retrograde, and fruitless. His expository method was theological; yet not theological like that of some writers, whose object is mainly to construe each successive view into the well-known categories of the theology with which they set out. It was theological, but the theology was in the attitude and was referred to the interests which I have tried to describe. Perhaps his discourses on 1 John and on some portions of the Epistles to the Corinthians, are among the most characteristic specimens of his work.

Pastoral work opened a constant field of exercise in the exposition of Scripture; the formal discussion of theological topics, as such, was less easy to combine with ecclesiastical cares, and with the responsibilities of the most prominent pulpit in Edinburgh. Still his grasp of principles and his quick perception of tendencies enabled him without difficulty to define his position towards the theological movements of the time, and his power of statement and discussion never failed him. It was in this department, however, that he felt most keenly the want of leisure. He could not give his thinking its completest form or its adequate illustration. More than once in his life he gave rather pathetic expression to his submission to the destiny which twice brought him to the verge of a professorship, and then drifted him away again. Perhaps he overrated the degree in which this fortune of his lowered his power of performing theological service. At all events, while frank and incisive in propounding his views, he was certainly far from arrogant in the manner in which he asked consideration for them.[1]

I have said that he frankly adopted and maintained the essential positions of the Reformed Theology. When the noisy tumult of Tractarianism with its *Via Media* cleared away—for while the tendencies it embodies continued to be important, as a theological alternative it soon became bankrupt—the Reformed Theology remained in presence of the growing Broad Church tendencies. These revealed themselves, as yet, chiefly in a relaxation of the older views concerning the peculiarity of Scripture, and in a distrust of dogmatic positions and dogmatic methods. Men retreated from the received dogmatic to rest in views which claimed to be attested by the affections and cravings of the heart, and to be corroborated by larger views of Scripture and Christian history.

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[1] *Fatherhood of God*, 3d edition, pp. 89-90.

The point in the Reformation Theology which was sure to be especially attacked by the school just referred to is not far to seek. The new school had no quarrel with the primary characteristic of the Reformation Theology; in so far, namely, as men individually are called to Christ, are summoned to recognise in Him the Revelation of God, credible for each, the way of access to God, and of life in God, directly propounded to each. All this might take on a new colour in the hands of the new school, but was far from being repudiated. Much otherwise it was, however, with the next outstanding feature of the older theology. This was the prominence of the juridical element, the regulative influence of Law (embodying right, obligation, desert), and of Rectitude as the guardian of Law. In this form, according to the Reformation Theology, the original relation of God and man is seized and exhibited. In a steadfast harmony with this the operations of grace are conceived to proceed. By means of the unchanging standard hence arising the work of salvation is measured and revealed. And on this strong foundation—a foundation in God's nature and man's—the worth and worthiness of the blessings of redemption are conceived to be secured. This juridical element, this regulative influence of Law, and of Justice maintaining Law, is the dogma-building element in the most characteristic parts of the Reformed Theology, its anthropology and soteriology. In saying this I do not imply that the element named is the only one—nor that it is the most momentous and central one—nor that it is the chief fountain of influence and motive. But it is the cementing element; that by which relations are made conceivable. By means of it dogmatic precision and definite relations between one dogmatic position and another are introduced and fixed. It was sure to be attacked therefore: First, because the dismissal of it was the readiest way of relaxing doctrinal coherence and precision; Secondly, because this juridical conception has dark and solemn aspects on the state of men here and hereafter, which the new school thought inconsistent with the character of God, and with the necessities of the human heart. At the same time also the Scripture teaching which proclaims the juridical element in the relations of God to men had to be explained away. This, therefore, was the point to which the relaxing and broadening tendency of the time energetically attached itself. The polemic was carried on by various men of great energy and devotedness. They were persuaded that in this way only room could be made for the due place and influence of what they regarded as the vital Christian verities, especially the Fatherhood of God and the filial character and privileges of men. The attack was directed against the Reformed Theology, as the foe in presence; but the questions raised had a far wider sweep; for the object in view was the expulsion of juridical ideas, which were embodied in one form or other not merely in the Reformed Theology, but in the teaching of the whole Church of Christ, with the exception of the earlier school of Alexandria. Among these men Maurice stood conspicuous by many admirable qualities.

Dr. Candlish took part in this discussion directly, in his "Examination of Maurice's *Theological Essays*." His lectures on the Fatherhood of God contain a positive contribution to the same department of theology. His work on the Atonement, at first arising out of points of detail disputed among Reformed divines, and afterwards rewritten on a more comprehensive plan, ranks along with these, and is equally entitled to attention. In the few remarks I am going to make, I shall confine myself, for the sake of brevity, to the two works first named.

In the "Examination" of Maurice, Dr. Candlish was mainly occupied in maintaining the common cause against assault; undertaking at the same time to evince the biblical and the theological weakness of the positions taken up by his opponent. The book has naturally ceased to be read, because the age has moved away from that precise stage of the controversy. It is well worth reading, however, as a specimen of the spirit in which the Reformed Theology may be conceived and vindicated. In any theology an element which falls easily into definite positions, and therefore can be compactly handled, is apt to be too exclusively insisted on so as to veil other elements. This has sometimes been the case, perhaps, as regards the juridical element in the Reformed Theology. Dr. Candlish maintained the richness and compass of that theology, as much as its undeniable strength and precision. His "Examination" glows all through with the consciousness of wealth and resource. For him the Reformed Theology is no mere assertion of rights and compensations; it is the scheme of a rich and wonderful revelation of God, and of a worthy and majestic dealing with man, and of a wide and various blessedness for the Church. It is so all the more, because it has so much regard to the great thought of Law. And if there remain undiscovered treasures yet to be revealed to theological search in the Scriptures, he is confident they can be welcomed most freely and most fitly by those who stand on this ground.

However, Maurice's *Theological Essays* touched many points, and the reply to it necessarily assumed a somewhat miscellaneous character. Moreover, much space had to be taken up with the weary work of rectifying misrepresentation. The art of seizing on weak points in weak expositions of a theology, for the purpose of caricaturing it, is not likely to be soon among the lost arts. But it was never practised with more extravagant unfairness, nor, at the same time, judging from all we know of him, with more honest earnestness than by Maurice. With all this work on hand, Candlish's reply is everywhere suggestive of fresh thoughts and outlooks; but it could hardly admit of much calm elaboration of any special contributions to the dogmatic treatment.

On the other hand, a specimen of the contributions which, in his judgment, theology might admit and welcome, is afforded by the Lectures on the *Fatherhood of God*. I may be allowed to indicate the theological position which it sets forth. Right or wrong, Dr. Candlish attached importance to it in reference to the defence of Evangelical Theology. In the stress laid on Sonship by the school of Maurice, he recognised an element which had a strong Scriptural basis. Instead of neglecting this, or undervaluing it, he was anxious to assign it its true place, and to conceive it in a Biblical manner. Unless this is done the Evangelical Theology, he conceived, comes maimed and weakened to the combat with its adversary. It was one of his characteristics to keep an open eye for true elements of hostile systems.

I have said that Dr. Candlish defended, with the fullest conviction, the juridical elements in the Reformed Theology. Subjection to an eternal law, with definite and unalterable responsibilities, was for him a fact at once fundamental and vital. It expressed, as he was persuaded, the very essence of the relation naturally given in our existence as creatures, the relation proper to "conscious personality in the presence of a personal God, apprehended as such."[1] To deny this is to make incurable confusion; to deny it in the interest of God's graciousness or man's wellbeing, is to deprive both of their indispensable basis and presupposition. Therefore, like all the other divines of his school, he maintained that this primary fact is fully recognised in the mediation of Christ, and is therein brought to honour; inasmuch as our Lord is seen dealing with the whole burdens and obligations arising out of our relation to law, and doing so completely and for ever.

But he believed that other elements require like justice from the theologian; and he was disposed to believe that many teachers had dwelt too exclusively on the forensic relation, as the basis on which, and the form within which, Christian benefits accrue to men. All of them, indeed, had celebrated the wealth of gracious influence, sanctifying and elevating, which comes to us through Christ. But to him it seemed not enough to say that immense and energetic influences become operative, on the basis of a rectified forensic relation. He desiderated that a further reach of definite and blessed relation, beyond that which is merely forensic, should be recognised as underlying these experimental benefits, and as communicating to them a special character and design. He "confessed it seemed to him that if Christ were nothing more than the bringer in of a righteousness, such as rectifies the forensic state and standing before God, then the obligations of holiness would be apt to be put in peril."[1] In this view then it was that he dwelt on the relation and privileges of sonship, as crowning and transcending the righteousness of the justified servant. And it is the object of the "Lectures" to assign to this idea its proper place.

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[1] *Fatherhood*, 3d edition, p. 79.

Of course it had never been doubted or concealed by any worthy expositor of the ways of God in salvation, that we are children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. Adoption is a Christian benefit. But much depends on the place in the mind given to a thought like this, and, especially, much depends on the dogmatic form it assumes, and the virtue allowed to it in the system. Too much it had floated before the minds of men as a vague, though warm and kindly, expression for undefined well-being and undefined privilege. Candlish had been led to give it a very distinct dogmatic form. And so, when the opponents sought to overthrow the Evangelical theology by their manner of asserting a Divine Fatherhood, Candlish had a counterposition, often expounded in his preaching, with which he felt strong to meet them. For the thought of Fatherhood and Sonship was as dear to him as to Maurice, only he conceived it could be more Scripturally apprehended and more fruitfully applied.

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[1] *Fatherhood*, 3d edition, p. 81.

The type of this relation is given in the Sonship of our Lord Jesus; this has been exhibited, not merely by comparisons and analogies, but in its own living light, in the incarnation and life of Christ. The relation asserted for Himself by our Lord, underlying and revealed through His actings and experiences, is true Sonship; but thus to be sons of God was not given to man in creation. All the tokens of Divine benevolence with which creation teemed, and which man above all was made capable to receive, do not amount to this—do not involve the settled confidence and security, the common interest, the mutual propriety of this relation. As created, indeed, we are not properly sons but subjects—subjects of a righteous and gracious Lord, whom we are capable of knowing, loving, and serving. Therefore we find ourselves under law, with its obligations and responsibilities. To be thus subjects, and thus to serve, is a glorious state if rightly dealt with. To be right in this relation is the primary necessity pertaining to our nature. Nor can any other form of well-being for us arise, except on the basis, or in consistency with the maintenance of this. But a still better, a still higher state is possible for us; indeed, it was all along in view. It is the state of being brought somehow into the fellowship of the Son of God, and so made sons with Him. If man had not fallen that might have come to pass in ways we cannot now imagine. For us as fallen, it comes to pass through our Lord's incarnation and mediation. He takes on Him, with our flesh, the subject state, the liability to service, and the obligations arising out of our transgression and guilt. He unites these with his own unchanging Sonship. And on the basis of perfect service and full atonement He draws us into the Sonship which is His own inheritance of blessedness. Thus the subjects, with their destiny of service, are secured and blessed in the freedom and confidence of Christ's Sonship, in which Christ Himself upholds them. This relation is to be recognised as underlying and giving character and aim to all the gracious influences put forth upon believers. In this enfranchisement, with its liberty and trust, the true type and spring of Christian behaviour is to be found.

The significance of this scheme turns on the contrast laid down between the original state, and that which arises through Christ. The former—that of a subject strictly—notwithstanding its inherent nobility and its capacity for great developments, has a probationary and precarious character which is strongly emphasised. It is the state, in contemplating which we have full in view the possibility of falling. For example, the suggestions of separate interest on the creature's side, not wholly remote from such a constitution, are indicated as throwing some light on the origin of evil. On the other hand, the grace and love of salvation are brought out strictly on the basis of our Sonship in and with Christ. The brief and emphatic statement of it all is, that as created men are not sons of God—not, at least, in any sense that is relevant to this argument—and that the Sonship into which we come by grace is of one type in the members and in the Head. We men, by adoption, and through union to Christ, enter into Sonship, which is His essentially, and which originally is His exclusively and alone. The contrast thus stated is qualified, however, by the willing admission that in the original state there were abundant elements of protecting care and kindness, which might well be called fatherly, in so far as an earthly father's care for his son is an obvious though imperfect parallel. It was further admitted that, as ultimate sonship was the destiny designed for man, there was an aspect that way in all God's dealings with him, even from the first. It was still maintained, however, that the type of relation to God in which man existed as created was that of subject strictly, and that sonship in any worthy and definite sense of it, such as brings out the proper grace of that relation, could arise only by some special association with the true Son, and could be made known only by revelation.

It has been general among theologians to assert or admit a radiance of Fatherliness and Sonship, diffused around the relations of God and man, all along the successive states which Christian theology supposes. It has been represented with devout thankfulness, as an element of love and trust, but in a somewhat intangible way, and with a vague and variable intensity. It had a certain consistency in the unfallen state; it was shattered, confused, or suppressed by the fall; and it rises into newer, warmer, and more durable goodness by the interposition of Christ. Very considerable differences of tone are observable among writers on this head, particularly when they deal with man's original state; for some have spoken much more guardedly than others of any sonship they thought fit to be ascribed to man as created, and have contrasted it very significantly with the adoption of believers. Still, the connection of thought set forth by Dr. Candlish struck men as novel, both in what it denied and what it asserted, and it was not received with general favour. Perhaps this was due in some degree to the manner in which the scheme was set forth, which was rather bare and abrupt. Dr. Candlish had hardly estimated sufficiently the difficulties which other minds were likely to feel, and was disposed to reckon on a recipiency for his speculations which did not exist. He was prepared for thorough opposition from the Broad Churchmen, but he was somewhat surprised and disappointed at the opposition in other quarters.

There were two obvious points on which the opposition took hold. One was the denial of original and primitive Sonship in man as created. It had been so usual for theologians to recognise a Divine Father's love, in some sense, as an element of good in man's first condition, that there was a ready and not unnatural outcry when this seemed to be denied. On the other side, it was a startling thing to have the Sonship of believers identified so decisively with the Sonship of our Lord—as in fact the same relation—His by original right, ours by gracious communication. That was startling; for His Sonship is run up into an eternal and inscrutable relation between Divine persons—the ground of which must be in those Divine persons themselves—and how can such a relation be conceived to derive to any creatures whatever? Much rather scornful criticism was therefore bestowed on the book by some respectable theologians. They hardly perceived that in doing so they were resigning themselves to maintain a position of considerable vagueness. They were also driven to adopt views not a little crude—as for instance that of a double Sonship in our Lord, a thing not welcome theologically, and most embarrassing in exegesis. It would have been more to the point to advert to the theological interests which Dr. Candlish sought to provide for, and to the direction in which his suggestions pointed. On the one hand, whatever benevolence pervaded the relations towards man, which God as Creator is seen sustaining, that state never can be theorised as a form of Sonship. For explicative principles you must resort to relations of another type. The love and care of the Creator for His own creature is wonderful and deep. But there may arise out of it something greater and deeper, for which a dearer name may be fitly set apart. On the other hand, the life of our incarnate Lord reveals a Sonship, and what we know of the Father's mind to Him implies a Fatherhood, surely not to be identified with the relation in which Adam stood. It presents definite conditions which mark it as something new and higher. Into fellowship with this Son believers come; and coming, they are sons with Him. The significance of this for Christian life is very remarkably dwelt upon in the Scriptures. Now doubtless it is reverently taken note of by divines, but it has not been sufficiently realised. Due effect has not been given to it in the Reformation Theology, nor in any theology. Certainly no justice is or can be done to it by those who perplex all Scripture teaching, postulating a Sonship for all mankind such as Scripture ascribes to believers. Dr. Candlish pointed in the right direction when he laid stress on the necessity of bringing out the significance of this by dogmatic precision and dogmatic contrast. He was right in marking the Sonship which we have in Christ, as intrinsically and supernaturally contrasted with the relation in which Adam stood, and which, marred by sin, we inherit. It may lay more burden on us in the way of dogmatic explanation than we are able to bear, to reason out all the problems that begin to press at this point. But this is one direction in which our dogmatic should be felt to fall short of Bible teaching, and to need expansion.

I am inclined to think that Dr. Candlish's treatment of the original condition of man assumed too much of the character of a simple polemic against Sonship and in favour of subjectship. Perhaps if he had combined his main assertion with a more sympathetic weighing of the texts and facts which have suggested to most minds the impression of a goodness we may well call fatherly, he might have strengthened and enriched his theory. He admits "anticipation" of the coming Sonship, as an element or aspect of the original state, and perhaps a thought lies there which might have been advantageously developed. On the other hand, as regards the Sonship in Christ, it cannot be doubted that the application to this question of the theology of the relations subsisting between the eternal Persons was too venturous for most minds. The Sonship which moves and lives before us in the incarnate Saviour, as He tabernacled among us, is doubtless that form of good to the fellowship of which believers come. And as far as our beliefs about the incarnation have found definite clothing and expression, it may be argued well that this Sonship is simply and absolutely that relation which immutably obtains between the Father and the eternal Word. Dr. Candlish accordingly deduced his whole chain of thought from this high source. Perhaps it is wiser to forbear using so high a doctrine as the medium through which to reach a definition of the Sonship of believers. It may be wise rather to treat it as the crowning mystery in which the subject ends. Our terms and arguments begin to fail when we rise so high. It is hard to reason of the "identity" of the relation to God into which we are adopted in Christ, with the relation, so far as that is Sonship, of the Son to the Father. It may be enough to say that in some singular and unsearchable manner the eternal Sonship—nothing less—is in the heart of that whole standing of privilege and love, by which the Church and all her members learn what it is to be sons of God.

However, this is only one illustration of a feature which appears throughout these discussions. Dr. Candlish, stating the dogmatic positions which, as a Calvinistic theologian, he thought certain or probable, assumes in the frankest way the whole theology of his school. When he is defending his consistency against opponents he assumes them to know what it is that he is bound to be consistent with. Just so when he is reasoning with friends; and his *Lectures on the Fatherhood* are really addressed to theologians of his own school. He makes vigorous application of the dogmatic supposed to be agreed on, and expects men to go with him in making the utmost use of it in any argument, making full application of its terms and ideas as far as they will go. In short, he *believed in his theology*, which is a thing that many orthodox men may be observed to do with very considerable qualifications and reserve. I do not mean that he did, or that any man should, believe in his dogmatic as he believes in his Bible, or as he believes in Christianity. But, *in theologising*, he made frank and fearless application of the positions supposed to be already gained; which, as I say, many orthodox men, and also many not orthodox, flinch from doing. Which way is the right one need not here be discussed; but there is no doubt which was his.

What has been said may recall, very imperfectly I fear, something of the position and the attitude of Dr. Candlish in relation to theology. By conviction a disciple of the Reformed Theology, in so far as he agreed with its positive teaching, he was far from accepting a merely stationary or a merely traditional version of theology. On the other hand, while sensitive and sympathetic to the necessities of the time and the movements of public opinion, he was resolutely conservative of the great landmarks of evangelical theology, preaching them and living them, as well as arguing for them. It was a singular thing to mark how his congregation embraced equally, and with equal enthusiasm on both sides, those who loved the "full" gospel and the rich Christian experience commended by the attestation of generations of Scottish Christians, and those who felt the need of having the Bible freshly interpreted, and applied to the wants and doubts and temptations of the modern time.

To me, if I may be allowed to end so, he was a very dear and noble friend. I have known none more large-hearted, more generous, more self-forgetting. I knew him in his vigour and in the height of his influence. I knew him, still better perhaps, when decaying health was gradually breaking him down, and his public burdens were pressing heavier on failing strength. No Church in our day has had a son who bore her burdens more resolvedly, who conceived her work and calling more magnanimously. This volume represents to a younger generation, as far as a biography can, his manner of caring for the common weal. May it be the means of propagating and perpetuating the same spirit in the Church he loved!

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